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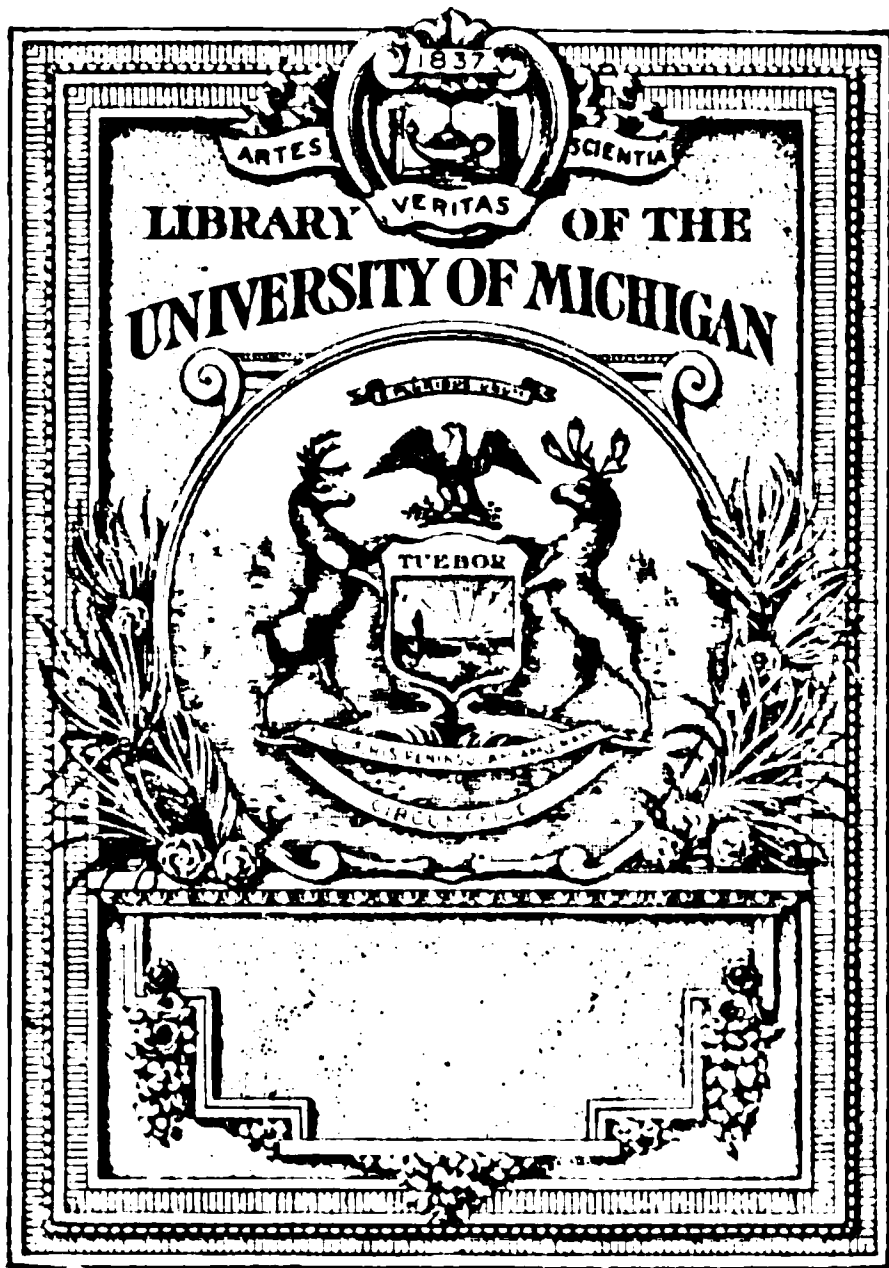
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THE
OFFICIAL REPORT
OF THE
CHURCH CONGRESS,
HELD AT
LEICESTER, 1880.

THE
OFFICIAL REPORT
Church of England
CHURCH CONGRESS

HELD AT LEICESTER

On SEPTEMBER 28th, 29th, & 30th, & OCTOBER 1st

1880.

EDITED BY DAVID J. VAUGHAN, M.A.

HONORARY CANON OF PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL; VICAR OF ST. MARTIN'S,
LEICESTER; AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



JOHN HODGES

24 KING WILLIAM STREET, CHARING CROSS, W.C.

1881

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PREFACE.

THE sudden death of Mr. CHARLES J. COOKE (who, as in previous years, had undertaken the duties of Official Reporter of the proceedings of the Leicester Church Congress and Sub-Editor of the Congress Report) within a few days of the opening of the Congress would have been in every way most disastrous, had it not been for the kindness of his son, Mr. BASIL COOKE, who, notwithstanding this terrible domestic calamity, volunteered most courageously to fill his father's place; and filled it, all the circumstances considered, with singular efficiency. The father's loss, however, could not but be felt, both at the time of the Congress and in the preparation of the Report. To the want of his watchful and experienced care must be attributed, I think, the loss of the Paper upon "The Moral and Spiritual Training of Church Choirs," which was read by The Very Rev. the DEAN OF YORK at the Morning Meeting in the Temperance Hall on Wednesday, September 29th. All inquiries and efforts have failed to recover this Paper. It has been traced to the hands of one of the reporters, who, having made some use of it, laid it again upon the reporters' table. Beyond this it has been found impossible to trace it. The loss of this valuable Paper has been matter of very great regret to all who are in any way responsible for it; and especially to the Editor of the Report,—making the Report, as it does, so manifestly incomplete.

It will be for the readers of the following pages to form their own opinions as to the value of the Papers, Addresses, and Speeches contained in them. For myself, I cannot refrain from saying that the very laborious and anxious task of editing has been not merely lightened, but has been turned again and again into positive pleasure, by the deep and thankful sense of the ability, zeal, and good sense, to which the Report of the proceedings of the Leicester Church Congress bears such abundant witness, and which the minute attention required for the correction of the Press has forced repeatedly upon my notice. It is impossible not to feel hopeful for the future of a Church, which has such manifest gifts and graces at her command for the Master's service,—however arduous be the task which lies before her, and however great the perils by which she is surrounded. And to this I must add, that what was felt by so many at the time will be felt, I think, at least as much by the readers of the Report; namely, that the proceedings throughout were marked by a craving after peace and unity, which, without in the least interfering with the freedom of speech and the vigour of discussion, gave a special charm and dignity and weight to the whole work of the Congress.

It was universally admitted, that the Leicester Church Congress was, to say the very least, not unworthy of its predecessors, and was likely to give a new lease of life to such Congresses in the future. Looking forward to these future Congresses, I trust I shall not be thought presumptuous for urging that all possible pains should be taken to make them a real gain, in the highest sense, to the localities in which they are held. A Church Congress ought, it seems to me, to have a more distinctively Mission character impressed upon it. There is a danger of organizing them too much with a view to the convenience of visitors from a distance, the *habitués* of Congresses, and too little with a view to the requirements and the spiritual good of those on the spot. For example: the admission by ticket to the Opening Services is a great blot, which might easily be got rid of by increasing the number of the Services. There is a waste of power, too, which might readily be obviated. When some of the most eminent preachers of the day are presen

in a place, it seems a thousand pities that, with circumstances so favourable and so general an interest aroused, their gifts should not be largely employed in the churches of the place for the conversion and the edification of the souls around. A substitute, of a much higher order, might thus be found for the Working Men's Meeting; which, however impressive by force of numbers, is of too undefined a character to be of much real value. Meetings (either free or at a very small charge) might be held every evening, at which subjects of special interest to the Working Classes should be discussed, with papers and addresses and free debate afterwards, in accordance with the ordinary rules of the meetings of a Church Congress; and, at the same time, Services might be held in some of the churches of the place, and the assistance of distinguished preachers secured, with special invitation to the Working Classes, along with all other classes, to attend.

The experience of the past year emboldens me to say, by way of suggestion to the Secretaries of future Church Congresses, that it is very desirable that the list of invited readers and speakers should be completed before the end of June; and that it would save much time and trouble afterwards, if the names and addresses of speakers who take part in the discussion were carefully recorded by the Secretary in attendance at each meeting, as well as by the Official Reporter whose duty it is to do it.

I most sincerely hope, that the readers and speakers whose papers and speeches are recorded in the following pages will have no reason to find fault with the accuracy of the Report. Great care and pains have been taken to insure accuracy, and I have every reason to think that they have been successful.

The publication of the Report has been unavoidably delayed beyond the date at which the publisher hoped to issue it. A volume of close upon seven hundred pages, the joint production of some two hundred authors, cannot be got through the Press at the same rate as an ordinary work of similar size. The foot-note on page 359 is a specimen of many similar difficulties, and an indication of many unavoidable delays arising out of them. The speech referred to there will be found in the Appendix at page 650. The delay in the

return of the MS. was due to the speaker's absence on the Continent. Indeed the experience of the last few weeks has satisfied me, that, if the Official Report is to be carefully and properly prepared for the Press, its publication cannot possibly be accomplished before the January or February of the ensuing year.

The Report is now sent out with earnest wishes that it may extend and perpetuate the many good influences and results of the Church Congress of 1880.

DAVID J. VAUGHAN.

ST. MARTIN'S VICARAGE,

LEICESTER.

12th January, 1881.

Church Congress, 1880.

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THE SERMON

BY

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,

PREACHED IN

S. MARTIN'S CHURCH, LEICESTER,

ON TUESDAY, SEPT. 28TH, 1880.

“Now if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with Him.”—*Romans* vi. 8.

THE first century after the crucifixion is at once the most eventful and the most obscure age of the Church's history:—eventful, for the Church emerges from it with her four Gospels, which have preserved for ever the living image of Christ, with the Epistles of St. Paul, which are at once the history of a man and of the state of many churches, with a worship almost complete, and with a hold upon the pagan world marvellous in its power and its results:—obscure, for this great growth took place with a kind of unconsciousness. We have no account of the actual writing of any Gospel, and are discussing at the present moment the when and the where. Of the growth of the Church's spiritual power we can judge from certain hints; but there is nothing to prepare us for what Trajan found, when he ascertained that the adolescent religion had emptied the temples of the declining paganism.

The Acts of the Apostles tell us much; they are a precious record; yet still, most of the mighty growth which shall overshadow the earth went on secretly and in darkness. Historians have no word to say about Christianity; they confound in their careless survey Christian and Jew. The Jewish land, looking westward over the great tideless lake round which the civilisation of the world was spread, with Egypt and Africa on the left, Greece and Rome and Gaul on

the right, had power given to her,—small, uncultured though she was, and down-trodden by the feet of many conquerors,—to impose her religion upon all those regions. Some, denying *a priori* all the supernatural, may try to account for this movement by natural causes. I am quite unable so to do. No marvel recorded in Holy Writ is more a wonder than the growth of the Church herself. Take, for example, the phenomenon of this Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul has come to Corinth, to which his Second Epistle had lately been sent, and there he spends three months (Acts xx. 2, 3), no doubt confirming the Church and his own authority over it. Those three months are a great crisis in Church history. They are “the glorious summit of the Apostolic career.” Behind him, in the east, from Jerusalem to Illyria, a chain of churches marks the road which he has come to Corinth, which may be called the last stage of his journey.

Looking westward from thence, another world opens before him. The vehement desire has been growing to conquer for Jesus this world too. There must have been infinite faith in the power that sustained him to account for his vast ambition to grapple with Rome herself. That indeed was his purpose, and he writes hence the Epistle to the Romans, soon to follow it with his own presence. It is addressed to Rome, but it is Jewish to the core. The relation of the Gospel to the Old Law is its paramount subject. The arguments of the Apostle are not addressed to Jews whose faith is dissolving into that cosmopolitan toleration that best suited the Roman atmosphere. They presuppose an open Bible and much knowledge of its contents. Is there one man in Rome who could follow the reasoning of the Apostle, so as to be able—for this is the problem that must have been at first to hand—to give the Gospel its place of supremacy without pouring contempt upon the less perfect Law? Yes; there must have been in Rome a zealous, powerful Jewish community, as fit to deal with such an argument as any synagogue to be found in Judea. From three or four hints we learn that such a congregation did exist. Pompey brought some thousands of Jewish prisoners of war from the capture of Jerusalem in the year B.C. 63. Augustus, the friend of Herod the Great, had given them their freedom. Secure in a quarter assigned to them they pursued their industry, and worshipped the one true God. Already, Seneca tells us, that the customs of this most wicked people had so prevailed that they were received through the world; the conquered slaves had given laws to their conquerors.

Into this powerful and vigorous community the seed of the Gospel fell. Accident, as men are pleased to call it, prepared in the great central city—a new Jerusalem—a race of zealous

Jews, of irrepressible vigour and constant tenacity, ready to judge and receive the new doctrine. We are not told, but we can suppose, the flame that would be kindled between the law-abiding Jews and the new converts. We need not be told that it was terrible. Claudius found reason to expel all Jews from Rome, because "they were assiduous in rioting, impelled thereto by one Chrestus." It was a vain remedy; it had been tried by Tiberius years before, and quite in vain. When St. Paul came to Rome he found the expelled community firmly established. Thus, in the centre of the world's life, a Jewish body, tenacious, indestructible, had adopted the religion of the Cross, with its creed of active, proselytising love. St. Paul addressed his profound arguments about the law, not to Jerusalem crumbling and fading away and soon to perish, but to Rome, the tolerant ruler of many states. Christianity, still confounded with Judaism in the lawless pagan mind, took deep root in the Roman people. And because the Roman religion was not fit to prevail in other lands, being in the main a civil and official religion, with Rome herself for its chief god, it came about, by what M. Renan calls "the irony of history," but for which we should find a better name, that Rome, intending all the world to follow her own worship, unconsciously lent all her machinery to the Jews and Christians for the propagation of the knowledge of the true God; and the Capitoline Jupiter, belief in whom could not be transplanted with effect beyond the shadow of the capitol itself, was replaced by the worship of Jehovah. This is but one of the steps of growth of the Church, of which no contemporary history exists. The gradual growth of liturgical worship, which Justin Martyr in the second century shows us as already complete; the growth of a body of oral teaching, containing the facts of our Lord's life and doctrine; the composition, in silence and obscurity, of four Gospels, each separate and distinct in its character, yet forming, when once united, a complete picture of the Son of God in his earthly life; the formation and organisation of a hundred churches, under various conditions; all these went on, and history was silent about them, and minute records of them are wholly wanting; and the controversies consequent on the obscurity will last for ever.

Yet, when a century has elapsed from the Resurrection Day, the world recognizes a new phenomenon, a fact not to be gainsaid, that Jesus of Nazareth, has become a mighty power, that the "Chrestus"—Christus—on pretext of whose tumults the Jews were expelled from Rome, is now mightier than any prætor, or even than an emperor, and that his followers will pull down every idol, and sweep each temple clean, and scatter all the little deities which in Rome and about it were told off, so to speak,

to attend at every separate act of life. By such a combination of circumstances came to pass the greatest step of change which the moral and intellectual life of the world has ever undergone. Christianity, after a period of growth within the Jewish Church, burst forth from that which could not contain it; and, with St. Paul to interpret its position, found a home and a work in every land. Wonderful power! wonderful growth! In silence and in darkness is preparing, for a wonder-working future, the Church of Christ.

A perfect history of the first age, under the usual conditions of complete evidence and ample documents, it would be impossible to write. The silence of the Book of the Acts, the unique record of this period, is as remarkable as its utterances. But in the obscurity and silence all the circumstances that make for the divine purpose are being used for the founding of the future Church, which the next century will have to recognize in comparative completeness. So I have seen the River Loiret start from the earth a complete river, whose gathering grounds are in the under darkness, and speed towards the great ocean; where some of its drops shall sparkle as ice in the Polar Sea, and some rise up as subtle vapour under the tropical sun. The drops have gathered in the soil beneath; the little runlets that usually ripple over the grassy surface have made paths for themselves through sunless clefts and channels far underground. Phrases like Renan's "Irony of history" are empty of any meaning that can interpret the phenomena of the early Church history. St. Paul, in the midst of them, says of them, "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty that no flesh should glory in His presence." We should make up our minds on this question, if any of us have not done so—Does the growth and power of the Church in the first century speak plainly to us of the hand and providence of God? What the answer would be in a congregation like this, I cannot harbour a doubt. Churches founded and growing vigorous; gospels written separately and for special purposes, but growing together into a harmonious whole; the relations between law and gospel made clear; persecutions directed against the courage and resolution of converts, that seem weak to resist, yet whose courage carries them through the gate of torment into heaven; Roman expulsions converted into triumphant missionary excursions, and Roman institutions and customs ministering unconsciously to the spread of the new belief:—such are the facts. Rome, empress of the world, god of the world, casts branches on the path of Christ that enters in; and strews her garments for His feet.

Now the Pauline teaching, which may be said to have

guided this mighty formative act, has this mark about it conspicuous above the rest. It is not what hasty readers expect to be found there—a theory of faith; an altered gospel from one who was not of the chosen twelve; a Christian halo shed upon Jewish history and ritual. It is the impression of Christ's death and resurrection upon the spirit and life of one who believes in Christ with all his heart. St. Paul, it is true, was not with the Lord through His ministry; and naturally we do not look to him for additions to our knowledge of the acts of Jesus Christ. The discourses of our Lord he did not hear, and does not reproduce. But the great facts of our Lord's ministry, His death, and His resurrection, are not only matter of profound reverence to him, but they are his life. He and all that think with him are buried with Christ by baptism into death, and are risen in His resurrection. (Rom. vi.) "If one died for all, then all died; and that He died for all that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them and rose again." (2 Cor. v. 14, 15.) "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, and not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God." (Col. iii. 1-3). It is needless to multiply such passages; many might be found. But it is quite undeniable for any Bible reader, that St. Paul's religion was an intense longing to be conformed to the image and the acts of Christ.

Those acts were of world-wide significance. When Christ died on the tree, an old world died; when He rose again, a new world sprang into being out of His tomb; and His cross and tomb made a new life possible. The old character of each man must be changed by the deep impress of Christ Himself into a new stamp and character, that of the Lord Himself. The apostles in their sufferings, "a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men," are upborne by this conviction, that they are living Christ's life in suffering as He did. "I bear in my body," says St. Paul, "the marks of the Lord Jesus." (Gal. vi., 17). A life Christlike and transformed by Christ is that which Paul preaches. The presence of Christ is not with him mystical thought and contemplation, but is a real something, attested by every aspiration of the believer, and by every act of his devoted life. Here is the correction of the well-known scoff, that St. Paul founded Christianity over again, and proclaimed a new faith. The freshness of his system lay in its being a revival and refreshment of the first belief. The last words of the Gospel are "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." The opening words of the Epistle to the Romans are a recognition of the living power and presence of Christ,

who was "declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead." No man would have been more likely, from a human point of view, to have laid claim to some personal share in a work so mighty as that of the apostle's. No man is a better example of the teacher who labours that Christ may be all in all. The notion that a Pauline belief is subjective, impressional, emotional, has only thus much ground, that the apostle will have nothing to do with a religion that does not touch the heart and the affections. But his faith is objective; and the Lord Jesus and God the Father, dwelling in man by the Divine Spirit, are its object, its aim—are Religion's very self.

Brethren beloved, on such an occasion as this, for one in my position it seems to be a duty to look out upon the prospect of the world and the Church, and to give such counsel as suits one's limited powers. I might tell you of the great activity that prevails; of the spectacle of a hundred bishops gathered in London but lately; of immense sums spent on church building; of missionary efforts blessed with far greater fruit than in the past; and with such colours on my palette I might draw a picture of the future, glowing with the gold and purple of a new sunrise, upon a landscape yellow with waving corn and rosy with ripe fruits. Something of this kind is, indeed, expected of us; and we are inclined to gratify the expectation,—to be optimists if we can. The faith of the many is so weak, that it expands with encouragement, and loves to offer its back to the caressing hand.

Let it be truly said then, for encouragement, that the Church is full of life; but let it also be said, for the truth's sake, that the troublous outlook of the Church perhaps was never darker on some sides than at present; and that, if the Church of God would keep her place (I do not now speak of her national character), she will have much to do, and must not be content with her present rate of activity nor her present standard of ministerial fitness. There may be no persecutions of the old Roman type. I do not think there will. There is no room in Smithfield now to kindle the ancient fires. Celsus, the man of science, wrote what he thought of the new extending religion of the Cross; and his argument, known only from Origen's confutation and the like, has hardly had full justice done to it. The work of the Church refuted him more than the pens of opponents. The modern man of science comes forth to criticise; will the work of the Church refute him? Celsus represented the old pagan conservatism; the modern has all the hopeful eagerness of a new discovery and much of its proselyting spirit. The early Church pretended to deal with all the problems, religious and social, which the Gentile world presented; and the victory rested with her. Will she abate that pretension now? She cannot do so without loss.

But the problems are more complex, the scale of education higher, the field of knowledge far wider. Who is sufficient for these things? Already in the harvest field of souls there is a great waste. The corn is laid, the ears are sprouting, the mildew defaces them. Many people seem not to know how great the devastation is. Souls brought up in full belief that they were God's creation, and made to live with Him eternally, are now without hope of the future. And the unknowable God, so men dare to call Him, has withdrawn beyond their sight. Try not to measure the depths of that ineffable despair!

In all eternity I had one chance,
One few years' term of gracious human life;
The splendours of the intellect's advance,
The sweetness of the home with babes and wife.
* * * * *

This chance was never offered me before;
For me the infinite past is blank and dumb,
This chance returneth never, never more;
Blank, blank, for me, the infinite to come.
And this sole chance was frustrate from my birth,
A mockery, a delusion; and my breath
Of noble human life upon this earth
So racks me, that I sigh for senseless death.

These words are not the poet's imagination, but the actual cry of desperate souls, once taught to believe. The wolf is busy with the flock of Christ; the beautiful flock! I do not think that even my brethren of the clergy realise the extent of this mischief, or probe the depth of this wound in the side of the Lord Jesus. Every form of opposition present to St. Paul's mind at Corinth, before he threw himself into the Western world, has its counterpart now. We shall hear, in discussion on Temperance, of a sin and a misery great as any in the pagan world. In our Indian dominion 240 millions obey us; and only a few thousands are Christians among them. There is still a world to fight with; there is still left to us some hope to prevail by the power of Jesus Christ. With what instruments may we hope to accomplish the work which remains? The answer to this momentous question, which all parties in the Church are able to accept, must refer to the ground deeper than the level of our unhappy controversies; it must be drawn from the foundation of faith common to them all. Every one, to use the words of St. Paul, if he would have part in this regeneration, must "put on Christ." What does this mean? Surely far more than that at a certain time a man felt that he was reconciled to God through Christ; far more than any religious emotion or feeling at all. Every man must with his will have chosen Jesus as his Lord; must cleave to Him with gratitude for the Cross and Resurrection as his deliverance; must resolve that Jesus is the one true leader and

guide ; must determine that after Christ's example all his life shall be fashioned. Trust in Christ, love of Christ, imitation of Christ, all are part of the same act, which St. Paul calls the putting on of the Lord Christ. You choose Him for your general ; you obey His orders ; you are happy when you can act like Him, in small things as in great. Our position towards our glorious Leader is the same, in a sense, as that of the first Church at Rome ; and yet it is different. With unquestioning faith and love the first converts, looking on that self-denying life, on that face of beauty, fell down before Him, saying "My Lord and my God !"

We, belonging to an age, which for good or for evil criticises everything, have seen the acts of the Lord sifted, judged from many points of view, and have gained this at least, that the example of Jesus is as much an object of imitation as it was to the simplest convert of Rome or of Jerusalem. There is nothing against Him. If aught could be alleged against Him, the critics would have found it. If anything could be plausibly invented against Him, enemies who are no critics would have composed it. "I find in Him no fault at all." So we that seek a guide may let our whole heart go out towards Him, sure that His love will never meet with the icy breath of disappointment there where Christ dwells and leads. For self-denial and self-sacrifice, for meekness, humility, and patience, for love to God and man, for a life of struggle with evil, and of obedience to the Father's will, for holiness of heart, for a grand and beautiful life of holy service, such as the world never before fancied or invented, seek Christ, and you will find them ; and, dwelling on these perfections, you will in some measure make them your own. And as this is the obvious duty of each one, even so it is accessible to all. To confute narrow views of science by means of theology, there must be some fair knowledge of theology, and at least a little acquaintance with science—a fact which, if remembered, might make some champions of the moment doff before the encounter their unproved armour. But a life hid with Christ in God is possible for all, if the will is only good. There is no slight note, that, in the revival of religion amongst us, first principles may be neglected ; and we may seek in the Mediæval Church, or in the time of the Reformation, an inspiration and example which the first age should supply from the very Cross itself. We will not drink of the broad river ; but rather of the fresh spring, as it breaks out from the Rock of Ages.

Union with Christ ! Imitation of Christ ! You can believe, that, in the light of that idea, your reverent communions would be more real in their strength and refreshment ; that your preaching of repentance would be enforced by the contrast between sin without and the saints within the fold. Missions to the heathen would be blessed, because the missionaries would

show them how excellent is the example of the community around them. Temperance missions would have the strength of the self-denying, present Lord to enforce them. Arguments with unbelief might be fewer ; but the best argument of all would be, that Christ was visibly present to fashion the hearts of His people. To bring Jesus nearer to us, and to devote ourselves more to Him, is the hope of the Church in future. By the promise of Christ of eternal help, by the glorious work of the Spirit of Christ in the first age, we are encouraged in new attempts. And this we all believe ; here at least we all unite. The Church is built and cemented on this idea of the living presence and power of Christ. Things rage against you ; sin and doubt and superstition. Doubt is stronger than ever ; sin almost as strong. Shall not faith perish ? Will not the Church be crushed by her foes ? The Lord looks on, answers the heart of His flurried disciple—"What is that to thee ? follow thou me !"





THE SERMON

BY THE

VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LLANDAFF,

PREACHED IN

S. MARY'S CHURCH, LEICESTER,

ON TUESDAY, SEPT. 28TH, 1880.

“And lo, I am with you alway.”—*Matthew* xxviii. 20.

The heart demands to-day some large thought, some word (as the Psalmist speaks) “exceeding broad”—and it finds it here.

The scene of the text is laid in Galilee—as though the risen Saviour would throw back the light of the Passion upon the Ministry; would knit into one the Sermon on the Mount and the discourse in the guest-chamber—reminding His disciples of the earlier saying, “I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!” and now exchanging it for *this* saying, “Straitened no longer, set free now by the accomplishment of that baptism, I can at last manifest to you myself—myself in all the offices of Prophet, Priest, and King—at once the Way and the Truth, the Resurrection and the Life.”

“The mountain” has figured often before in the Gospel narrative. It is one of the minor mysteries, it is so still, of the sacred story. The mountain of the beatitudes, the mountain of the night watch, the mountain of the Transfiguration—to which of all these would the thoughts be inappropriate which gather around the mountain of the self-manifestation of the Risen?

The place is the open air of God's heaven, on one of God's wonderful mountain sides—and what, now, of the congregation? Is this the assembly of St. Paul's “five hundred brethren at once?” Or shall we content ourselves with picturing a more select company of “the eleven disciples” alone?

I think we shall love best the latter, and read here of the eleven men so well known to the Church of all time—specimen men, representative men—representative of character, representative of feeling, representative of opinion, representative even of doctrine—representative in two ways besides—(1) that they were some of them men of renown, and other of them men undistinguished and unnoticeable in the record of the holy history—(2) that they were in different stages and periods even of believing, having room amongst them for very low degrees of attainment in the very faith itself of which they were all to be the pillars.

They are here by appointment. They are here in virtue of the message sent by the women on the first Easter morning, "Go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee—there shall they see me." They have been here, perhaps, waiting certain days—and though they have all seen Him since He was risen, yet the strangeness of the Resurrection idea is still upon them, they can catch it but faintly and it is soon lost again, they know not in what guise or in what form to expect Him, He is familiarizing them gradually with the spiritual presence, they saw Him, they worshipped Him—blessed be the comforting word which follows, "but some doubted."

Yes, there may be a doubt which yet can worship. There is a Christian, as there is an infidel, doubting. There is a doubting, which thirsts, which longs, which seeks, which prays—the test of it is this, does it worship?

We linger thus in the porch and vestibule of our subject—is it not good for us to be here?

The Risen Saviour has been seen gradually and in the distance—now He draws near. The sound of the voice—the same voice which raised Lazarus, the same voice which shall one day quicken life in myriad sepulchres—carries conviction with it to the last doubter. Were ever words quite so stately, quite so melodious, as these which in less than three brief sentences close the first Gospel?

"All authority was given me"—given, that is, in the eternal counsels which framed the vast scheme—"in heaven, and on earth." One half of this universal whole is incommunicable, is all His own. Intercession is its secret—inspiration is its utterance. The "authority in heaven" is that which receives of the Father the unspeakable gift, and sends it forth, in showers of blessing, upon the waiting earth. The "authority in heaven" is that presence with the Father, not as the Second Person of the Godhead, but as the God-Man, the humiliated and exalted Son, which makes Him the "Head over all things to the Church which is His body," receiving of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, and pouring forth upon His people that Divine

influence which the world itself, though it understands not, is constrained both to see and hear.

But the "authority" is "on earth" also. It is written in one of the last parables that the departing Lord "gave authority to His servants." The interpretation is here. "Go ye therefore"—because of that authority which has earth, not heaven only, for its province—"and make all nations disciples."

I pause for one moment upon the audacity (I speak as a man) of the mission and the commission of this saying. Say that there were then "five hundred" brethren—say that the ministry of Jesus had to that extent prospered—what was it for Him to stand on that Galilean hill-top, and tell eleven men to go forth and make all the nations, including Imperial Rome herself, disciples? Deity or madness—I know of no third thing—and in the might of that Deity they listened and they obeyed.

Brethren, in virtue of that commission and of that authority the Church started on her long journey, and has marched hitherto. It is delightful to feel that for one week at least we live and breathe in an atmosphere of believing. Other things may come of this Congress—one thing must come of it—the refreshing of souls in a sympathy which takes in all lands and all ages—the sympathy of a common faith, a common work, and a common worship.

Our hearts bless the great King for that word "discipleship." We could not respond to great requirements—we could not write ourselves among the number, were the title either saints or heroes, either exemplary or perfect. But make all nations disciples—just washing them with lustral water—just baptizing them into the Triune name—and then putting them to school in the school of Christ—this does not seem altogether above or out of our sight—this was the commission—brethren, we are here to-day, gathered on the strength of it.

I would bid you recognize the simplicity and the facility of the aim and of the method of the great Lord. He knew well that to do some great thing is not given to us—therefore He says to us only, "wash and be clean"—therefore He asks of us only discipleship, which is, receptivity of teaching—prepares us for its being a gradual work, a slow work, a life-long work—and bids His eleven to become this, this predominantly, teachers in His school—a school which has all nations for its scholars, and a school which has all centuries for its term.

The educational purpose of the Church is the thought emphasized in the charter. How slightly has that charter been studied, how ignorantly have its clauses been interpreted, by those who have made attainment, whether in gift or grace, its condition! Every antecedent stipulation, whether of feeling or of assurance, has been an arbitrary

addition to the code of the kingdom. "You must have gone through this or that phase of spiritual experience—you must have done this or that, felt this or that, if you would be a Christian"—is so much of surplusage and so much of impertinence on the lips of the Evangelist. Christ says only, you must be willing to learn—Christ says only, you must become a scholar in my school.

O the beauty, the tenderness, the Divine humanity, of the Gospel fresh from the Galilean mountain! Would to God that it had been kept pure and undefiled—the Gospel of an unconditioned discipleship, the Gospel of a practical, a comprehensive, and (let me add) a hopeful education!

And what, then, is to make this work possible? Each word is suggestive of difficulty. Even to "go"—to take your several journeys hither and thither, ye whose home has been little Galilee, ye whose geography has been bounded hitherto by the sea and by the river—even to "go" is not easy. But to "make all nations disciples"—ye who know not so much as one language by grammar and dictionary, by elegant idiom or correct accent; ye who have no experience in teaching, and no access, by skill, tact, or eloquence, to the mind and the soul of one human listener—"how can these things be," even for one nation, even for your own neighbourhood or your own village? Yet more, to induce all nations to enter a small despised community, not even, like the Syrian soldier, by "washing seven times in Jordan," but by submitting themselves to some little local "laver of regeneration," at once insignificant and mystical—and then to put themselves to school for a life-long instruction, under ministers and pastors naming themselves by the name of a crucified Nazarene—again we ask, how can these things be? By what power or by what virtue can this commission be borne, or this mission accomplished?

Will earnestness of purpose, will enthusiasm of soul, will conviction firmly based on certainty, make it conceivably or imaginably possible? Will a manual of minutest guidance, for each thought and each utterance, will an inspired book, will a Gospel or a Bible, suffice as the directory for this world-wide, this age-long journeying? Will the reminiscences, however exact and indelible, of the last forty days, or of the awful Passion week, or of the three years' companying before it—will these sufficiently equip and sufficiently inspire the little band of travellers and voyagers for their arduous, their super-human enterprise? Or will association, that most powerful instrument of all enterprises, will co-operation of heart and hand, will the knowledge that they are not alone, but backed and propped by a company of sympathetic coadjutors, in all their faith and in all their conflict—will this enable them to obey

the triple and the fourfold injunction, to go, to evangelize, to baptize, to educate?

Brethren, the questions answer themselves in the asking. The effort would have been a fanaticism, would have been a folly, would have been a nine days' wonder, if even a wonder—would have been a failure and a jest and a mocking-stock, if any one of these aids, or all of them, had been the support leaned upon. I dare to add, that the success attained proves incontestably that these were not the props leaned upon. What was promised was, that preternatural, that superhuman thing, to which nevertheless, in its foundation thought, nature herself, human nature, can add the testimony of an incomparable potency—not enthusiasm, not sympathy, not society, powerful as are all these in their place and way—but, a Presence. “Lo, I am with you alway”—if that was true, if that was possible, if that was made good, then we can wonder at nothing—not at a world formed into a Christendom, not at a Church planted in the hearts and souls of mankind.

“Lo, I am with you alway.”

These men had had experience, every one of them, alike of presence and of absence. That fearful night on the sea of Galilee while He was praying on the mountain, was a typical night for the Church and for the Christian. That other occasion, when the three were away with Him on the mount of Transfiguration, and the rest were left powerless and resourceless in the face of one single possessing devil, was not likely to be forgotten by them when they saw Him making preparation now for departure, and served to emphasize, if it could not interpret, the grace and the charm of this revelation of blessing. Though I am taking a far journey, far as heaven is from earth, and leaving you behind me in a world blank, dreary, and hostile, yet, lo—for does not the very sight of me attest the saying? lo, I will be with you—lo (for the time cometh, yea, is now come) I *am* with you, alway, “all the days,” even unto the end of the world.

The promise is of a Presence. Three or four things are on the surface to say concerning it. (1) It is a spiritual presence. The departing Lord is the speaker, and He speaks of the time after His departure. (2) It is a personal presence. “*I am with you.*” (3) It is a companion presence. “*I am with you.*” (4) First, an individual companionship. “You” is the multiplied “thou.” These eleven men, separately called, separately influenced, now separately commissioned, are, each one, to have the Invisible Lord for their companion. (5) Next a corporate companionship. There is a Church as well as a Christian. In some sense—we cannot define it—there is a presence with the society over and above the presence with the

man. There is a sense in which the word can be said to the Church, "which temple are ye," as well as a sense in which the word can be said to the Christian, "Thy body is the temple." (6) It is a perpetual presence. "All the days" is the beautiful original—as though to parcel out the wearisome length of being into those little liveable parts which are the constituents of the lifetime. And this, "even unto the consummation of the age," the mighty "Æon" of earth's own lifetime—a "consummation" explained by Himself, on the great Parable-day (Matt. xiii.), as the harvest of the long seed-time, when the wicked shall be finally severed from among the just—no minor catastrophe therefore (as some have dreamed), whether destruction of Jerusalem or downfall of idolatry, but that conclusion and summing up of time itself, which is the epoch of the Advent and the Judgment.

"Lo, I am with you alway."

The suggestions of the text are many, did time permit their development, in reference to the Church of the present, and to the occasion on which we are assembled.

The life of the Church is the living presence.

We speak among friends, not to enemies. No word of reproach or of partisanship shall fall from these lips. Together we ponder the Church's Charter—together we confess the shortcomings of our Churchmanship.

Too much have we lost sight, every one of us, though not all alike or equally, of the Personality of the Presence. We have lost it, sometimes, in a mechanical view of duty—as though organization might take the place of spirituality, or as if the living man, realizing the Presence, were not the one only influence of a true Evangelisation. We have lost it, sometimes, in a doctrinal exactitude—as though a nicety of word and phrase had a monopoly of "disciplining," or as though there were indeed at all in words the capacity of speaking the very thing itself seen and known in heaven. We have lost it, sometimes, in a strife of tongues—as though the wrath of man, even in defence of Divine truth, could ever work out righteousness; or as though there might not be some truth out of our ken, the possession of one who had seen something of the vision of God, where none, not even the wisest, see it all round and all through. We have lost it, sometimes, in the mere bustle and turmoil of overmuch speaking and hearing—desiring to be the Church's champions or the Church's counsellors, instead of looking to it that we tilled carefully our own little furrow or two of the Church's field, making the particular Parish, whether scattered or populous, exemplary and evidential by its own assiduous and individual culturing. Sometimes, even in our teaching, the Divine personality of our Lord has

been lost in the Human—it is a tendency of the day. Sometimes the work of Christ (or one act of it) has been suffered to obscure or displace the Person. Sometimes one clause or one phrase of the Word of Christ has been made the whole of it, and then that isolated clause, that widowed phrase, has been practically substituted for the living Lord Himself. Sometimes the attention of the people has been sought by adaptations novel perhaps and ingenious, yet altogether secondary if not fanciful, of the Scripture written for our learning—an embellishing process has been tried upon the stewardship of the mysteries—to the loss, on the one hand, of their nutritious property—to the obscuring, on the other hand, of the Saviour Himself, as the one rest and satisfaction of souls erring and straying till they find Him. Sometimes, worst far of all, the Presence, which is our life, has been lost altogether in some vague generality, and the teaching of the pulpit has degenerated into a mere inculcation, inconceivably spiritless and lifeless, of a morality far less searching and far less profound than that of many a human philosophy prior or external to Christianity itself.

“Lo, I am with you alway.”

Is it true?

There are those who practically ignore the promise, as to our own branch (at least) of the Church, by a tone of disparagement, or by a tone of despondency, alike (unawares) deeply dishonouring it. There are those who speak, almost, as if the Presence had been withdrawn for a century or two, till the altar light was suddenly rekindled, in a particular place and in a particular year of this last half-century.

Brethren, believe it not. Christ has been with His Church of England through all her generations. Never was there a time when the Simeon and the Anna were not watching in the Temple day and night for the consolation of Israel. These were made independent, doubtless, in large part, of the ministerial teaching, by the inward help of the Divine. But we refuse to accept the current estimate of that ministerial teaching itself. There was everywhere, during the dullest and dreariest days of England, a ministry and a pastorate faithful among the faithless. Without claiming a high degree of spiritual devotion for those “Rectors” of past generations, whom the pencils of Jane Eyre and George Elliot have immortalized—who yet did a work, not to be thought scorn of, in rebuking vice and upholding virtue, in maintaining at least the habit of worship and the belief of hell and heaven, among their people—we have glimpses, at least, of a loftier piety than this in many a parish and many a parsonage of those degenerate days of the Church. Far more than a century ago there were, in these Mid-

land towns certainly, pastors of a nobler type and mould than these—and if I venture to speak of them, it is because a member of a family resident for a hundred and twenty past years in Leicester, can speak of that which he knows in doing so, and is but “glorifying God in” His servants, if he makes mention in this Church of one or two illustrious examples to-day.

An obscure and half-illegible tablet on the wall of this Church bears the name of a former Vicar of St. Mary’s, sixty-seven years ago here laid on sleep—whom it designates first of all in brief phrase as “A Scholar, a Philanthropist, a Man of God.” Each word of that threefold description was verified in the ministry and in the life. “For five-and-thirty years Vicar of this parish—for nearly forty years minister of Christ in this town”—“kind, active, wise, magnanimous, throughout his whole life he sought not his own but the things which are Jesus Christ’s. . . . He drew and detained large multitudes, while he opened to them the Scriptures, and while he unfolded to them all the counsel of God. His eye, his voice, his language, gave authority to his teaching—and the Spirit bare him witness. . . . Called from his earthly sanctuary, in which his soul had delighted, with his testimony almost upon his lips, he was suddenly made a pillar in that Temple of God, from which he goes no more out.”

Such is the character of him drawn by a master hand—that of one who came next in order of time among the powerful influences of the Church in Leicester. A man of different mould and making—more keen in his intuitions, more logical in his reasonings, more intense in his sympathies, more comprehensive in his doctrines—combining in his catholic grasp the antagonistic opinions of many schools and parties—touching Calvinism itself on the one side, and anticipating a later Anglicanism on the other—brave to renounce alike popular applause and Ecclesiastical ambition at the supreme call of truth—dying, as he had lived, the Vicar of the mother Church of this town—mourned still, half a century afterwards, by a few surviving hearers, who tell you, that he left no equal, and has had none since, whether in light, or strength, or sweetness.

There was peace, in the earlier part (at least) of the period, between the Church and the Nonconformity of Leicester. Political Dissent was scarcely yet on the horizon, and Episcopacy was not yet made *the* “*articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiae*.” The name of Robert Hall is still a household word in England—Leicester was the scene of his meridian, as Cambridge of his rising, and Bristol of his setting. It was one of the attractions of the old Midland Circuit, that the members of its Bar could listen, on some Sunday or week-day evening of

an Assize, to that thrilling and glowing eloquence in one of the narrow and crooked lanes adjoining this Church. The funeral panegyric of Thomas Robinson the Churchman was spoken by Robert Hall the Baptist on a Leicester platform—it remains among the too scanty memorials of an eloquence which has shared the common fate of extemporaneous utterances.

Yet it would be the greatest of errors to imagine that the Clergymen of whom I have spoken were not characteristically and distinctively Churchmen. The solemnity of the preaching was one feature—the reverence of the ministering was another. These aisles were crowded in those days (as I have heard from the last surviving eye-witness) by standing men. The hymnody was then of the congregation, not of the choir—it was the united voice of thoughtful and manly praise. The public administration of the Sacrament of Baptism (sometimes even by immersion) was revived, more than half a century ago, after long national disuse, in St. Martin's Church in Leicester. At the altar-rails of St. Mary's, in the first years of the century, there knelt hundreds of devout communicants, at celebrations of the Holy Supper, less frequent perhaps, but not less reverential, and stricter, by far, in the whole conception of its requirements, than is to be found (for the most part) in the ideas and habits of a later generation.

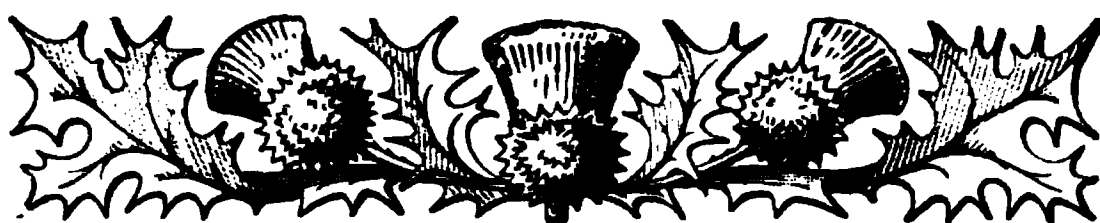
“I am with you all the days” was true certainly then. And shall we speak more timidly, more hypothetically, now?

We have need, I know, to remind ourselves of the “unsearchable ways” of the Divine procedure, as we look upon a Church torn and harassed—“fightings without, and (too often) fears within.” We might sometimes vacillate about the Presence, did we not remember that, whatever else it is, it is essentially a spiritual presence—not to be tracked always by human conditioning—veiled, oftentimes, in habiliments not of one colour or form—demanding, in all who would behold it, an eye “spiritually discerning,” and a heart of love hoping and believing all things.

There is one, one only, possibility—and of that it is well that we should never be unmindful—that the candlestick might be removed from some particular Ephesus, Sardis, or Laodicea, while the Shechinah remained alight and kindling in the central shrine of the Universal Church. But where is the indication, to an eye of average discernment, of the unchurching of England? When was the Word of God more dear to the hearts of her people—when was there a more earnest tenacity of the pure Catholic faith—when were the fruits of good works more abundant or more salubrious—when were the ministrations of such as have a message to souls more eagerly sought or more thankfully welcomed? “In quietness and

confidence shall be your strength"—not in feverish anticipations, not in doleful imaginings, not in those sinister forebodings which sometimes fulfil themselves in self-made sorrows. Never confound the circumstances of an Establishment with the essentials of a Church. Give God thanks for what remains to us of a National Church in England. Be wise to distinguish things that differ, even in those measures which may seem to threaten it. Most of all, show to the adversary, whether of your faith or of your standing, such evident results, of beauty and virtue, of mercy and charity, that, if you fall, he himself may mourn you—and, if you stand, as stand you will, by God's help and blessing, you may draw gathering thousands of your countrymen to follow you, as you follow Jesus.

"Lo, I am with you all the days," whether dark or bright, of the life of time—and at last, in the consummation of the long age, I will come again and take you unto myself.





TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
CHURCH CONGRESS,
HELD AT LEICESTER.

CONGRESS HALL, TUESDAY AFTERNOON,
28TH SEPTEMBER, 1880.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of PETERBOROUGH took his seat as PRESIDENT at 2 p.m., and delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

RIGHT REV. AND REV. BRETHREN AND BRETHREN OF THE LAITY,—
The first duty of the President of a Church Congress is to offer it, on behalf of the diocese in which it assembles, and of the town to which it has been invited, a cordial welcome. As regards this diocese, I can testify that the desire to receive you has long been entertained, and has been more than once pressed upon its Bishop, who, if he hesitated for some time to comply with that wish, desires now to join heartily for himself in that welcome which he tenders you on behalf of others. As regards the town of Leicester, I am happy to know that willingness to receive you is not confined to the Churchmen amongst its inhabitants. When I say that the Mayor of this town, himself a decided and consistent Nonconformist, has consented to take his place on our reception committee; and when I add that Nonconformist hospitality has been liberally and readily placed at the disposal of that committee, I think that I may venture to say to you on behalf not only of the Churchmen of this town, but of many who are not Churchmen, “Welcome to Leicester!”

My next duty, and it is one that I perform with great pleasure, is to invite—may I not say to convey—the expression of your thanks to the distinguished preachers who have this day addressed us in

sermons of which I will only venture, in their presence, to say that they were worthy alike of the preachers and of the occasion. And now, having discharged these my first duties as your President, it remains for me to find, if I may, some words which may suitably preface our proceedings—words which should aim at setting before you and myself the true purpose and idea of our meeting, to which we should one and all of us endeavour to conform, and which we should strive to promote. And in doing this I will (I hope with your approval) omit to speak of one supposed great object and result of Church Congresses. I mean the promoting of tolerance and charity amongst Churchmen by bringing together members of all parties of the Church, and training them first to endure and then to esteem each other. I will not speak of this, because, to tell you the truth, I am a little tired and even a little ashamed of hearing it made so much of on these occasions. It is not altogether to our credit, that the President of each Church Congress should commence it by half-nervous assurances of his confidence in the Christian charity of the assembly over which he is about to preside; or that he should conclude it by congratulations on the fact that a number of brother clergymen and brother Churchmen have met together for four days, and have actually kept the peace!

It is really time, I think, that we should take all this for granted; that we should assume, once for all, that Churchmen know how to behave themselves as well as other people, and that they have learned long since to own and to esteem all that is good in those from whom they most widely differ.

Setting aside, then, this somewhat worn-out plea for Church Congresses, let us try if we can find any better and deeper reason than this for their existence. Now, it seems to me, on looking back over a period of twenty years to the time and the circumstances of the origin of Church Congresses, that they were an attempt—necessarily an imperfect and perhaps a partly unconscious attempt—to meet what was then a great need and a great desire of the Church. I mean the need and the desire for some general and representative assembly of Churchmen—some assembly in which Churchmen of all orders and ranks, of all schools of thought, might unite together on the one broad basis of their common Churchmanship to confer upon the affairs of their Church.

The need and the desire for such an assembly, and the attempt to satisfy them, were the natural and necessary outcome of that great revival of our Church's life for which the earlier part of this century will ever be memorable in her history. As that great religious movement spread itself widely and deeply through the Church, stirring it all over with fresh impulses as the rising sap stirs bark and bough and bud after their long winter sleep—it carried with it,

as a part of its motive and vivifying power, a truer and a higher conception of the Church than had long prevailed. Churchmen began everywhere to conceive of the Church no longer as an ecclesiastical corporation into which men entered by ordination, but as a divine family into which men were admitted by baptism—no longer as a mere department of the State, but as part of a kingdom older and wider than any State, a kingdom which had survived and would survive many States, a kingdom having its own conditions of citizenship, its own laws, its own forms and conditions of life.

But, as men became thoroughly conscious of this, the necessary result was a desire for some mode in which the corporate life of the Church should express and manifest itself, should guide and order its own course. In cherishing and in obeying such a desire—in seeking the revival of her public assemblies, which were a part of her original constitution and to the gathering together of which her Master had promised from the first the blessing of His presence—the Church was only, like all other living things, developing her life in accordance with its own inherent and necessary laws.

This feeling first took outward shape in the revival of Convocation. But it soon became manifest that Convocation could not completely satisfy this need of the Church ; and for this reason—that while, on the one hand, Convocation represented only the clergy, on the other hand, a great change had passed, during its abeyance, over the great council of the nation, which at one time might have been regarded, and indeed was regarded, as representing the laity of the Church. Parliament—which at one time in its history was virtually a lay Convocation—had long ceased to be an assembly exclusively of Churchmen ; it had even ceased, or was just then ceasing to be, an assembly exclusively of Christians. When, therefore, the time for the revival of Church Councils had come, some place had to be found, under these altered conditions, for the representation of the laity, and that, too, in their distinctive character as members of the Church, and not, as heretofore, as members of the nation.

Now, it appears to me that Church Congresses, in their constitution and idea, were an attempt to find such a place for the laity. Certainly they first gave to the laity an equal place with the clergy in a Church Conference, and they seem, moreover, to have aimed from the first at giving to each Congress a representative character ; not representative by *election*, for which the Church was not then ripe, but representative at least by *selection* ; the principle acted on from the first by Congress committees being that, so far as regarded its selected elements, the Congress should as much as possible present that aspect which it would present if freely elected by the Church at large. Add to this the fact that *bonâ fide* membership in

the Church is a condition of membership in the Congress; and, further, that it must be presided over by the Bishop of the diocese in which it assembles, and you will see, I think, that the Church Congress from the first was something more than a mere chance-medley of persons interested in Church matters—a mere fortuitous concourse of Church atoms—and that it has always exhibited the distinct, even if rudimentary, outlines of those mixed and representative assemblies of clergy and laity, which are becoming, under the conditions of modern political and ecclesiastical life, the form in which Church corporate life is necessarily and instinctively shaping itself.

But these elements being, as I have said, but imperfectly present in Church Congresses, it is clear that these labour under considerable disadvantages, and are exposed to dangers from which other assemblies are free. For instance, not being in any way legislative, their discussions are not steadied and weighted by the sense of responsibility attaching to words which may become laws; and further, as the subjects for discussion do not arise spontaneously from the necessities of legislation, there is the obvious temptation to select, not those which are solid and important, even if unattractive, but rather those that are telling and popular, and which will *draw* speakers and an audience.

Again, these Congresses not being truly and perfectly representative, not only are they an imperfect test of Church feeling and opinion, but they are actually in danger of becoming an untrue test, inasmuch as a sense of fairness induces each committee to aim at giving to all schools in the Church an equal representation in our debates, which, as all schools in the Church are not equal in numbers or importance, must be so far a misleading representation. And inasmuch as Congress is not, properly speaking, a deliberative assembly—does not, that is to say, come to any decision directly upon any question discussed by it—there is the obvious temptation to come at this decision indirectly, if not by votes, by voices; by the volume of sound which greets the appearance of some party leader, or the cheers which follow the utterance of some party watchword, as each party in turn tries thus to elicit what may appear in the papers as the “feeling of the Congress,” forgetting that, after all, shouts are not syllogisms and that shouting proves nothing except the strength of the lungs of the shouters.

In one word, the dangers of Church Congresses are manifestly these—that, in numbers, they may prove unwieldy; in choice of subjects, limited; in discussion, rhetorical and declamatory; in general result, unpractical.

Now, if this be so,—if, on the one hand, Congresses are really exposed to these dangers, and if, on the other hand, much of their

original work is now being done by more regular Church assemblies which have since sprung into existence, and which are, what Congresses are not, elective, representative, and deliberative,—it may be asked, and, indeed, it is being asked by many, whether Congresses, having done their work in the past, might not give place to those other Church assemblies, the formation of which they have so largely stimulated ?

And, if I were asked why this is not yet so—if I were asked to explain the fact of the continuance of such assemblies as we see here to-day—I should venture to interpret it as meaning this—that the desire and the need which Congresses first sought to meet are not yet all fulfilled. Our] ruridecanal, our diocesan conferences, excellent as they are, are still local ; they are not yet even provincial. They cannot, therefore, claim to speak for the whole Church. There is yet to be evolved out of them, and there are, I think, signs that there will yet be evolved out of them, by a process of natural growth and selection, some central and general assembly, elected, representative, deliberative—entitled to speak for the whole Church, lay and clerical, with all the weight of its representative character—a body to which may yet be intrusted, whether in amalgamation or in alliance with a largely reformed Convocation, within due and reasonable limits, some such powers of self-regulation, of internal control, as Parliament seems increasingly disposed to grant to other institutions, not more desirous, nor, I will venture to say, more deserving of it than the Church of England.

That some such central and general assembly of the Church of England will yet be the completion of her present growth of representative institutions, seems to me as certain as any event in the future can be. That, when it does come, it will bring its own defects and dangers, is quite certain. He must be a careless student of Church history who believes that Church Councils are a panacea for all Church difficulties. But of this, nevertheless, I am persuaded, that some such uniting central assembly of the Church is all but a necessity, if she is to hold her own amidst her many rivals, who, though inferior to her in numbers, are yet superior to her in this, that they are, what she as yet is not, thoroughly and completely organized, whether for work, for reform, or for defence.

Meanwhile Church Congresses may have their work to do, if it were only to keep before men's minds the idea of some such central and general assembly as still an unfulfilled *desideratum* of the Church. And meanwhile, if I may venture upon a word of counsel, it would be that Congresses should carefully avoid those dangers to which they are liable and of which I have spoken ; and they will, I think, best do this by aiming as much as possible at giving to their proceedings a strictly practical character, both as regards the

subjects they discuss and the manner of their discussion ; that they should aim mainly at being Conferences of Church workers simply desirous of conferring together as to the best means of doing the Church's work.

This I can testify has certainly been the aim which the committee of this Leicester Congress has steadily set before itself. We have desired that our Congress should be a review of the progress and the methods of Church work in all its various departments.

In a word, the idea of our Congress, if I may venture to speak for it, is this—the Church of England for her Master's sake the servant of the English nation. That is surely what we mean when we speak of her as the National Church. That is a privilege of which no legislation can ever deprive her. That is a duty and a responsibility of which she may not dare to divest herself. We are here to find an answer to the challenge, not unfairly put to us—What is the Church of England *doing* to justify this high claim on her part? We are here to discover, if we may, what hindrances she still meets with, what helps she may devise, in the performance of her great task. And this desire to be practical will account for the omission from our list of subjects of some of what are called the “burning Church questions” of our time. If these do not appear in our programme, it is not because we were afraid of them ; but simply because they were crowded out by subjects which seemed to us at once more important and more practical. For burning questions are not always important ones ; sometimes they are even pitifully small and unimportant. And besides, they have, for the most part, I think, a happy way of burning themselves out, if you let them alone. Are we not walking now, coolly and comfortably enough, over the ashes of more than one once burning, and now burnt out, question ? No ! The really great and urgent questions of the day are far other and weightier than these.

While we have been disputing about details of ceremony and modes of worship, the world around us has been discussing whether there is any use or meaning whatever in our worship or in the faith that it expresses. It was a burning question once, whether the minister should deliver his Master's message clad in a black dress or in a white one ; and, while that dispute was being waged, the question was smouldering all around us, whether he had any message whatever to deliver. It is, or it lately was, a burning question, at which side of the holy table the clergyman should stand to minister the sacrament of his Lord ; but it was and is a burning question with thousands who have never witnessed nor cared to witness either position, whether the Lord of the sacrament were an impostor or a fanatic. It is a burning question what is the precise mode of that Lord's supernatural presence in the Eucharist. Alas !

it has ceased to be question with multitudes, whether there be any supernatural at all. Yes! the one great Church question of our time, before which all others fade into insignificance, is this. Round about church and chapel, impartially indifferent or impartially hostile to both, lie the masses of our great town populations, the scattered units in our country parishes, for whom life has no higher, no better meaning than that of a daily struggle for the means of a joyless existence, uncheered by the hope of a happier hereafter, undignified by the consciousness of Divine descent and heirship of immortality. What can the Church of England do for these? These masses on whom, in their fast-growing might, some are looking with timid fear, and others with sinister expectation, but on whom the Church should look only with yearning and affectionate desire, as her truest wealth and her most precious Catholic heritage—this tangled, trodden, earth-soiled harvest, into which her Lord has sent her to toil and reap—can she gather this? Can she so enlarge her barns as that they shall hold this? Here, believe me, lies the one supremely urgent question, for which we have to find an answer, and that speedily. And in the answer to this question, if she can find it, lies the secret, not only of the Church's duty, but the secret also of her strength and her security. Her path of duty is in this respect what it has always been—the path of safety too. The Church of England has been learning of late the lesson—has she at last fully learnt it? well for her if she has—not to 'put her trust in princes.' Not in the favour of statesmen; not in the adhesion of, nor in her adhesion to, this or that party in the State; not in trying to obtain from the timid friendship of one set of politicians, or from the contemptuous patronage of another, a defence against the inveterate hostility of a third, will her security be found, but in the hearts of the people, in the affections of the multitude whom her Master is calling her to win and to serve for Him.

It is to learn how far she is doing this, and how she may better do it in the future, that we are gathered here to-day. Of this we hope to learn much from those best fitted to tell us of it. From the toilers for Christ in the streets and the lanes of our great cities, where stand, thick-set in weariful monotony, the homes, too often the unhealthy and unhappy homes, where labour dwells, increasingly apart from capital and culture, and where the Church in the person of her minister often stands the only connecting link between them; from the pastor of the seemingly fairer and happier country parish, where, nevertheless, dark evils and impurities lie festering beneath the outwardly unruffled and somewhat stagnant surface; from the zealous laymen who, sharing the work of the clergy, are yet able to judge it from a standpoint differing from theirs; from our statesmen and legislators whose presence here testifies that they recognize in the Church a mighty

instrument for a people's welfare and happiness ;—from each and all of these we look for words of guidance and of encouragement—guidance and encouragement that shall abide and bear fruit hereafter.

Our Church Congresses may pass away and give place to other machinery ; our methods of Church work may grow, and change in their growth for other and better appliances ; but after all it is the zeal and the love of the workers that tell most in all work for God. Those who succeed us and who enter into our labours will doubtless see much in our work that was faulty—will learn from our failures, profit by our mistakes ; but this, at least, it is in our power to ensure—that they shall say of this generation of Churchmen, that, with all its imperfections, all its faults, it was one that strove honestly and manfully to understand and to grapple with the evils and the dangers of its day ; one that, spite of many failures in other things, did at least succeed in this, that it handed on to the age that followed it, not this or that pattern of Church work, but the true spirit of the workers—a spirit of courageous faith, of resolute self-denial, of patient continuance in well-doing !

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

- (a) THE CONDITION OF THE GREEK CHURCH AND OTHER CHURCHES OF THE EAST, IN RELATION TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND ITS FOREIGN MISSIONS.
- (b) THE CHRISTIANS OF KURDISTAN AND THE CONFINES OF PERSIA.

PAPERS.

Rev. E. L. CUTTS, D.D.

I HAVE been desired to open up the whole subject of the Eastern Churches in relation to the Church of England and its foreign missions, before speaking particularly of that one of them of which I have some special personal knowledge. I think, in order to explain clearly what these various communities of Christians in Eastern Europe, in Asia, and in Africa are, it will be necessary in the first place to recall, however briefly, the condition of the Church of Christ before the commencement of the Mohammedan conquests, which brought gradual ruin upon so large a portion of it.

In this general survey of early Christendom look first at the Churches of the Roman Empire.

The great Patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, with North Africa, are well known to us all. I only pause to remark that in the early days of the Church the

Patriarchates of Asia and Egypt were the great seats of the population, civilization, learning, and influence of Christendom. The Patriarchate of the West was then the least populous, least civilized, least important, part of Christendom.

But the Kingdom of Christ had spread far beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. The important kingdom of ARMENIA was the first (before the conversion of Constantine) to adopt Christianity as the national religion.

Into the wide PARTHIAN Empire the Gospel had been carried even in Apostolic times, and a Church had been organized, which spread and flourished in spite of frequent and bitter persecution. Its Chief Prelate had his See at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the capital city of the Great King; and at the Council of Nicæa he was recognized as next in rank after the three ancient Patriarchs. As the Persian Empire was the rival of the Roman, so the Persian Church rivalled in extent the whole Church of the Roman Empire; for it sent its missionaries and founded Churches over Central Asia as far north as the North of Tartary, into China in the East, and into India as far south as Ceylon.

In the fourth century ABYSSINIA adopted Christianity as the national faith, and constituted a flourishing branch of the Church in the heart of the great continent of Africa.

This was the Early Church in its widest extension.

In the fifth century the barbarians broke up the Western Empire. Then in the first half of the seventh century the career of Mohammedan conquest began. Persia was won in three great battles (A.D. 632). In less than two years (633—635) Syria was conquered. Egypt fell in a campaign (638). The conquest of North Africa occupied half a century (647-709). A few years afterwards the Mohammedan arms extended into Spain (712). And by the end of a century, from the time that Mohammed first set up his standard, the Caliph was the most potent and absolute monarch of the world.

After the confusion of conquest was over, the first Caliphs treated their Christian subjects with toleration and lenity. When the Turkish dynasty (founded 1038), in the eleventh century, succeeded them on the throne, they, more bigoted and fierce, despised and oppressed the Christians under their sway. The fierce Tamerlane, when his Tartar hordes swept over Asia, in the fourteenth century, endeavoured to extirpate the Christian name (1370—1405). Lastly, in 1453, the great and wealthy city of Constantinople fell under the arms of the Turks, and the triumph of the Mohammedan arms over the Eastern half of Christendom was thus completed.

I have next to ask your attention to the *present condition* of those Churches which once were the strength and pride of Christendom.

Again, let us look first at the great Patriarchates once included within the Roman Empire—Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, with North Africa.

First, the Roman Patriarchate. The barbarians who broke to pieces the Empire of the West, and laid the foundations of the nations of modern Europe, embraced Christianity; and while the Christianity of the East and of Africa was dwindling under a

thousand years of Mohammedan rule, the young and vigorous nations of Europe were growing into power, and the Churches of the West were growing with them; until at length the ancient preponderance of East and West was reversed; and Europe became the principal seat of the population, civilization, learning, and influence of Christendom.

It is this accident which has given Rome so great a preponderance in Christendom, and encouraged her attempt to assert a supremacy. But the ancient Patriarchates, however diminished in importance, continued to maintain their existence, and to assert their ancient independence, to the present day. Their revival and the growth of the new Churches of the Anglican Communion will one day soon again modify the balance of power in Christendom.

Of the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church, which we commonly call the Greek Church, with the group of more or less independent daughter Churches of Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia, is the very respectable representative. This Orthodox Eastern Church, scattered over the Turkish Empire, together with these daughter Churches, numbers nearly seventy millions of souls.

I have mentioned the Russian Church in connection with the orthodox Eastern Church, of which it is a daughter: but we all know that the Russian Church stands by itself among the Eastern Churches; it is not one of the decayed ancient Churches, but the Church of a vigorous progressive race, with whose political growth of late centuries, and supposed aspirations in the future, we are all familiar.

The Patriarchate of *Antioch*, whence Paul and Barnabas went forth to preach the Gospel, whence Ignatius was sent to Rome to martyrdom, is represented by a prelate who still bears the great title of "Patriarch of Antioch," and the great name of "Ignatius." It will be remembered that he came to England in 1874, and went about among us seeking sympathy and help to educate his people. His usual residence is at Mardin, a town in Mesopotamia; his flock consists of 150,000 so-called Syrians or Jacobites, scattered about the towns and villages of Syria and Mesopotamia. They are poor, ignorant, persecuted, and heretical in one important point of doctrine. They are monophysites.

The Patriarchate of *Alexandria* also still survives in the Coptic Church with its Patriarch, thirteen bishops, and about 150,000 people scattered through Egypt. This Patriarch still nominates the Metropolitan of Abyssinia; as he did in the days of Athanasius, and has done ever since. The Coptic Monasteries have of late years supplied us with very valuable ancient MSS. of theological writers. This Church is chargeable with the same heresy as the Church of Antioch. It is right to notice the handful of orthodox *Melchites* who still represent the ancient doctrine of the Alexandrian Church; but they have no hierarchy, and are so closely connected with the Patriarch of Constantinople as to look like foreigners.

When we look for the Church of *North Africa* we find that this once great Church—the Church of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine—has entirely disappeared. In the time of Pope Gregory VII

(in the latter part of the eleventh century) we find that three bishops could no longer be found to consecrate a brother. About the middle of the twelfth century the succession of pastors and the worship of Christ were abolished along the coast of Barbary (Gibbon, III, 241):—the only great division of the Church which has thus entirely perished.

We next turn to see what has become of the ancient Churches which lay beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, and take them in the same order as before.

The *Armenian* has ceased to be an independent nation since the middle of the fifth century, but the Armenian people have maintained their distinct nationality; have spread themselves over the greater part of Asia; and have in many cities almost monopolized the commerce of the place. The Armenian Church has not only maintained all its ancient Sees and kept up a regular succession of prelates, but has even extended the number of its hierarchy. There are about 5,000,000 Armenians; and in numbers, intelligence, and wealth, they are the most important Christian community of the East, excepting the Russian. There have in modern times been two endeavours to effect a union between the Armenian Church and the orthodox Eastern Church, and it is probable that this may take place, perhaps at no distant date.

The *Abyssinian* Church continued to exist, maintaining its original connection with the Church of Alexandria, but for centuries forgotten by the European world. It still exists, however ignorant and corrupt; still with the Bible, Creeds, and Sacraments—a Christian Church of three to four millions of people in the midst of the African continent.

The Church of the *Persian* Empire is still represented by the so-called Nestorians, who, about 150,000 in number, still maintain their hierarchy, their sacraments, their ancient liturgy, and all the essentials of a Christian Church, in the mountain villages of Koordistan and the plains on the south and east of the mountains.

Lastly, one of the outlying dependencies of this Persian Church still survives in the interesting community of the *Christians of St. Thomas*, on the Coast of Malabar. Described by Cosmas, the Alexandrian merchant and great traveller, in the sixth century; visited by an embassy from our Alfred the Great; made known to Europe again in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese; they still exist, in number about 116,000, an ancient native Christian Church; seeming to offer the materials for a great missionary agency in India ready to our hands.

To an understanding of the present condition of these Eastern Christians it is very necessary that I should further call your special attention to the fact that each of these ancient Churches (so far at least as I know them in Asiatic Turkey and Persia) is divided into three portions, a centre and two wings:—the centre, consisting of the main body, retaining its ancient faith and worship; a Papal wing, and a Dissenting wing. The Roman Church has very long laboured to reduce these ancient Churches to its obedience. It has a host of able priests and zealous sisters of mercy, chiefly French, incessantly at work among them. It is able to offer its converts the

great advantages of a European system of education, and the political protection of the French consuls in the East; and it has been able to gather a body of proselytes out of each of these ancient Eastern Churches. The American Dissenters also have for half a century or more been labouring energetically among these ancient Churches. In earlier years they endeavoured to introduce reforms among them without interfering with their Church order, and then they deserved our respect and sympathy. Of late years they have avowedly abandoned their earlier policy, and are endeavouring to form a dissenting sect out of each of these ancient Churches, and in this course of policy they are no longer entitled to the sympathy of English Churchmen. The Dissenting agents are able to compete with the Papal agents by offering to their converts the bribes of a European system of education and *the political protection of the English consuls.*

I submit that the policy of England is to offer all sympathy to these ancient Churches, not to make confusion worse confounded by encouraging the establishment of a third set of "Church of England" sects, beside the Papal and Dissenting sects. I do not ignore the grave theological differences which divide us from them. I am not ignorant that there is much which calls for reform in these ancient bodies. I do not desire a restoration of formal communion, until the theological differences have been satisfactorily dealt with. But I maintain that these ancient Churches, with all their faults, are the best hope of the future of Christianity in the lands governed by the Porte; that it is our policy, interest, duty, to encourage them to maintain their independence against Rome, and their Churchmanship against Dissent; to encourage at the same time the spirit of enquiry and tendency towards reform which is springing up in them; and to give them such counsel, material aid, and political protection as they may require and we may be able to give.

The restoration of these "old waste places" of Christendom in Asia Minor and Syria, in Egypt and Central Africa, in Persia, and in India, is in itself a worthy object of our missionary enterprise.

Their restoration would have further missionary results upon the unbelievers around them. To trim the lamp of pure religion upon all these ancient candlesticks, pouring in fresh oil, would make an illumination in many dark places of the earth, where the direct rays of our English Christianity have little chance of penetrating.

I fear that the magnitude of the general subject, briefly as I have dealt with it, has left me very little time to speak particularly of that Eastern Church of which I have some special personal knowledge, viz., the body of Nestorian or Assyrian Christians in Koordistan.

First, to explain who they are, I must recall your minds to the Persian Church, of which I have already spoken. Planted in Apostolic times, growing up in the midst of the Magianism which always continued to be the national religion of Persia, flourishing in spite of persecution, we have seen how it spread, from North Tartary to Ceylon, from the Euphrates to the interior of China.

In the fifth century, when the question raised by Nestorius (on the mode of the union of the two natures in our Lord Jesus Christ)

distracted the Eastern Churches, these Churches of Persia and the further East declined to accept the definition of the question laid down by the General Council of Ephesus; and from that time these Churches ceased to be in communion with the rest of Christendom.

Nevertheless, they continued to flourish. The Patriarch of the further East could count up twenty-five metropolitans under his obedience, and hundreds of bishops, spread over the whole of Asia east of the Euphrates. At the period of their greatest extension, in the beginning of the eleventh century, it may be doubted whether the contemporary Pope, Innocent III, counted so many spiritual subjects or possessed greater spiritual power than the Patriarch of the further East.

These Churches, from their geographical position, were the first and greatest sufferers from the persecution of the Turks and Tartars. Their Patriarch moved his See successively from Ctesiphon to Bhagdad, from Bhagdad to Mosul, and lastly from Mosul to Kochanes, a mountain village in the midst of the mountains of Koordistan. It was probably the ruthless policy of Tamerlane which, in the fourteenth century, drove a remnant of the Persian Christians for refuge into the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains of Koordistan, where they have maintained themselves in semi-independence from that day to this. The Nestorians, then, are the lineal descendants and representatives of the once great and powerful Church of the Persian Empire.

Let me show you their place on the map of Asia. From the south-east corner of the Black Sea draw a line to the top of the Persian Gulf, bisect it, and the middle point will put you in the middle of the Nestorians.

The main body of them inhabit villages in the mountains of Koordistan. Some have ventured down into the plain on the south of the mountains about Mosul. Others have ventured down the eastern side of the mountains into the plain of Oroomiah, which is in the dominions of Persia.

Their Patriarch—the lineal descendant of the Prelates who once were seated at the Persian capital, and thence ruled over the Christian East—now lives in the little mountain village of Kochanes. He rules over one metropolitan, 12 bishops, 260 priests, and about as many deacons. The whole number of the people, if we count in both the Papal and the Dissenting wing, is from 120,000 to 150,000. They retain their ancient liturgies, which are of the family of the Syriac Liturgy of St. James. They administer the Holy Communion with leavened bread, and in both kinds. They are free from the doctrinal corruptions which gradually crept into the Western Church during the middle ages; but they doubtless have some superstitions of their own. They have among them men not unlearned in their own literature. They still multiply their sacred books, in large MSS., written in a magnificent large character, with ornamentation of interlaced work, such as was used in our Saxon MSS. of the ninth century. But the education given to the people generally is, like all Eastern education, small in quantity, and almost worthless in quality. They are a fine intelligent race of men, very desirous of advancing out of their backward condition,

and fully conscious that a better system of education will be one great means of national regeneration.

Ever since—some 40 years ago—they became acquainted with the character of the Church of England, and with the points of resemblance between their position and our own, they have shewn confidence in us, and have been anxious to have our sympathy and help. In a letter written by the Patriarch to the Archbishop of Canterbury at that time, he says :—

“ We have learned with certainty that there still remains in the West a holy Church, independent and free from the corruptions of the See of Rome, which is the Mother of Error ; with a priesthood derived from the Apostles, a right doctrine respecting the holy sacraments, as well as a primitive ritual.

“ I entreat you, for the sake of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that you do not reject this, our petition, seeing that it is not a great thing with you nor is it a hard matter to a nation holding the true faith, and which sends forth so many messengers among the people and heathen, so that in you is accomplished the saying of the Psalmist, ‘ Their sound is gone out into all lands and their words unto the end of the world.’ Is it not a small matter to such a nation to give up one person to those who are in such need of his assistance ? ”

Again and again such appeals have been repeated. Successive Archbishops, Archbishop Howley, Archbishop Longley, and the present Archbishop, have determined that it is proper to give such aid. The subject was fully debated in the Upper House of the Southern Convocation last year (see the *Guardian* for July 9, 1879), and the result was that their Lordships unanimously commended the appeal of these Nestorian or Assyrian Christians to the sympathies of [the House and of] the Church of England generally.

A clergyman has been recently sent out, and I do not doubt that his personal qualities will make him useful there ; but he is not an Englishman, and not in English (but American) orders, and I venture to say that it is very desirable to send after him as speedily as possible an English clergyman who can thoroughly represent our English character and our English churchmanship.

I can say from personal knowledge that the position of the representative of the English Church among those people would be one of great interest and of great usefulness. Is there not some able, energetic clergyman willing to take it ? I beg to appeal to the Church of England on behalf of my friends in Koordistan for such a man, and for the funds necessary to give them speedily and effectually the aid they have so long asked.

We profess great interest in the Christians of the East, but so far it is all empty profession ; as a nation we have not done much for them, and as a Church we have done nothing. If it has been because nobody has told us what to do and how to do it, here at least is an opportunity. The Patriarch of the ancient Persian Church asks us to send him a clergyman, and to help him to educate his people. Our own Archbishops desire to do it, and ask the clergy to give them a man, and the Church generally to supply the means.

In conclusion, I repeat their own words, which I have already read to you: "We entreat you, for the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that you do not reject this our petition, seeing that it is not a great thing with you . . . nor is it a hard matter to a nation holding the true faith, and which sends forth so many messengers among the people. Is it not a small matter to such a nation to give up one person to those who are in such need of his assistance?"

The Rev. CHAS. R. HALE, D.D., Baltimore, Maryland,
United States.

THE Church of Russia, of which I would speak to you, is one of eleven autonomous Churches, composing the orthodox Eastern Communion, often called with perhaps less accuracy the Greek Church. Six of these churches indeed, are made up mainly of those who—Greek by race—use the Greek tongue in the affairs of daily life, and, by consequence, in Divine Service. The members of the churches, which are respectively under the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, the Archbishop of Cyprus, and the Holy Synod of Greece, number a little over 8,000,000. In four of the remaining Churches, those of Montenegro, Servia, Roumania, and in the Austrian Empire, there are about the same number of souls, while in the Church of Russia the faithful number about 60,000,000.

In these orthodox Eastern Churches, Holy Scripture is appealed to as the rule of faith, and the early General Councils are considered the most authoritative interpreters of its doctrines. And, therefore, the Scriptures are not kept from the laity, nor the prayers said in an unknown tongue. If, for a like reason to that which leads us to prefer in Divine Service the Prayer Book version of the Psalms, an older form of the language is used in the churches, the older Russian (or Slavonic) and ancient Greek differ, far less than is commonly thought, from the Russian and Greek of daily life.

Throughout the orthodox Eastern communion the precedence of honor is ever accorded to the Churches presided over by the four Patriarchs. And this, although the second in rank,—the "Most Blessed and Holy Pope and Patriarch of the Great City Alexandria, Father of Fathers, Pastor of Pastors, Archpriest of Archpriests," honoured yet by a title which seemed not to ill befit his early predecessor,—has now under him *no* diocesan bishop, and but 5,000 of the faithful; and the third in order, for years after he entered upon his high office, had in the city where the disciples were first called Christians no church edifice, but worshipped with his flock in a cave in the mountain side.

Admiring, and sympathizing with, the respect shown for the days that are past, we should fail of a correct view of the condition and prospect of the Orthodox Churches in the East, unless we took into account, and carefully studied, that Church which, although the fifth on the list of those Churches, has within it nearly, or quite, four-fifths of the members of the Orthodox Eastern Communion—the Church

of Russia, by far the largest national Church in the world. It can hardly be disputed that no little influence must, and of right ought to be, exerted by a Church with 93 bishops, 34,000 parish priests, and, as I have already said, 60,000,000 of the faithful.

The Russian Church claims an Apostolic origin. St. Andrew, the first called of the Apostles, is said, on one of his missionary journeys, to have visited what is now known as the Crimea, and, having preached the Gospel to the flourishing Greek colony there, mindful that his mission was not to Greeks only but to barbarians, to have proceeded northward, on his errand of mercy, among the wild Scythians, so far as to where the City of Kieff now stands.

About the middle of the ninth century, Askold and Dir, princes of Kieff, and companions of Rurik, sailing to Constantinople on a predatory expedition, were turned from their evil purpose and converted to Christianity, and returned to their own land to spread among their countrymen some knowledge of the Divine Saviour. Many years after, Olga, the widowed daughter-in-law of Rurik, while governing Russia during her son's minority, went to Constantinople for fuller instruction in the truth than she could have at home, and was there baptised. Her teaching and example had little influence over her son; and even her grandson, Vladimir, ascended the throne as an heathen prince. But after a time the good seed sprang up. Several reasons combined to turn Vladimir's mind towards Christianity. But one of the strongest of all was the thought that this was the religion of the beloved Olga. His baptism was followed by that of vast numbers of his subjects. Idols were cast to the moles and to the bats, into the streams and into the fires, and Russia became a Christian country. And although the apparent suddenness of the change has given it, to some, an air of unreality, it should be remembered that, through the translation of the Scriptures into the Slavonic language by Cyril and Methodius, and by other means, the way had long been preparing.

At Vladimir's request a bishop was sent from Constantinople to be metropolitan of Kieff, then the capital of Russia. For about 250 years the metropolitans of Russia came from Constantinople, chosen and sent by the Patriarch, and were, with hardly an exception, of the Greek race, the other bishops being Russians. Then the usage grew of choosing *at home* one to be metropolitan, and sending him to Constantinople for consecration, or, if already a bishop, to be confirmed in his metropolitan office. With the taking of Constantinople by the Turks communication with the Patriarch became more difficult, and therefore less regular. Metropolitans, chosen now for Moscow, which was become the capital, entered upon their high duties without awaiting the sanction of the Patriarch. Still nominally dependent upon Constantinople, the Russian Church became practically autocephalous. In 1583 accomplished facts were recognized by the Patriarch conferring upon one who, in his sphere, exercised like power with his own, the Patriarchal title. Ten Patriarchs presided over the Russian Church, the last of whom, Adrian, died at the very beginning of the eighteenth century. Then the Church was, for a time, under the charge of one of her senior bishops. In 1721 a Holy Synod was established to administer the

affairs of the Russian Church, and under the charge of such a Synod it continues to this day.

The Holy Synod of Russia is now constituted as follows: The Metropolitans of St. Petersburg, Kieff, and Moscow, the Ex-arch of Georgia, two or more other bishops, chosen for not over two years at a time, and two priests, one of them the principal Chaplain of the Emperor, the other the Chaplain General of the Army or Navy. At the sessions of the Holy Synod, but sitting apart from the rest, having no voice in the discussions, nor yet a vote, is the Ober-Procurator, the representative of the lay element in the Church. He acts as the medium of communication between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities.

In the different dioceses there are Diocesan Consistories, formed somewhat after the model of the Holy Synod, to assist the Bishop in the administration of his diocese. It would seem that the Holy Synod and their Consistories are fairly representative. Changes with a view of making them more fully so are discussed in Russia, just as here in regard to Convocation.

I have not seldom been asked whether, in my judgment, the Russians are a *truly* religious people. The grave charge is often made—too frequently perhaps in the spirit of him who ‘thanked God that he was not like other men’—that their religion is, very generally, but on the exterior and not from the heart. So far as I could judge in such a matter, if I compared such members of the Russian Church as I have happened to know at all well with an equal number of *my* countrymen, or of *yours*, I do not think the Russians would suffer by the comparison.

It is very generally believed that the Russian Church is, in a very undue sense, subordinated to the State. That the civil authority should have some influence in the affairs of an established Church is a matter of course—that such influence has gone beyond proper limits, except, possibly in a few isolated cases (as some may think has happened even here), it would be hard to show.

It has been thought that Peter the Great, in the steps which he took for replacing a Patriarch by a Synod, aimed a blow at the rights of the Church. The facts would not seem to warrant such a conclusion.

When Peter took in hand the reins of government, and undertook the reforms which, despite the rudeness of the way by which they were brought about, were most salutary, he found much in the relations of Church and State which required change. Many disorders had confessedly crept into the Church government and among the clergy. There were many irregularities in the administration of Church affairs. In troublous times powers had been lodged in the hands of the Patriarch which appertained rather to the civil than to the ecclesiastical authority, so that there was, as to civil affairs, a dualism which was most unfortunate.

The change was not made on Peter's sole motion, but was in accordance with the advice of leading ecclesiastics, and was promptly approved by the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch. The See of Alexandria was then vacant, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem seriously ill.

Synodal Government, we must remember, prevailed in the East

from the time of the Great Councils. And although the disorders of the times put into abeyance the practice of large and frequent gatherings of the Bishops, yet the principle has never been lost sight of. The Patriarch of Constantinople has, for hundreds of years, been assisted in the administration of his office by a council of twelve Metropolitans, without whose advice he takes no important step. And recently, when there was a question of perhaps again having a Russian Patriarch, a distinguished Eastern theologian declared it would be a mere anachronism to set up a new Patriarchal Throne, when the ancient Patriarchates themselves were administered on Synodical principles.

That, sometimes, the Ober-Procurator has had a military title, has seemed to some to imply that the Synod was tyrannized over by him. But it should be remembered that, in Russia, civil functions are often assigned to officers of the army or navy. Nor should we forget how often such officers prove, in the English and American Churches, most devoted and efficient laymen. And letting the objection go for what it is worth, it has been many years since a General or an Admiral was Ober-Procurator. The present incumbent of the office (Constantine Petrovitch Pobaidonostseff) is a civilian, and was, a few years since, a professor in the Ecclesiastical Academy at St. Petersburg.

It is often alleged that the Russian clergy are very ignorant. This charge is certainly an exaggerated one. Hear the admission of a witness by no means too favourable, the Jesuit Gagarin, in "*La Russie serait elle Catholique !*" (pp. 44, 48). "The Russian clergy," he says, "are not known. I would not imply that they are perfect or irreproachable, but I maintain that they are calumniated, and that they are more cultivated and more moral than they have the credit of being. They have, in our day, made remarkable progress in sacred and scientific learning. We can have an idea of the degree of instruction attained, by the works they have published of late years, which testify to a marked improvement in ecclesiastical studies."

I can myself bear witness that every word of this is true. Learned works are continually issuing from the Church press in Russia, dealing with various questions of Church History, Liturgies, Theology, &c. The greater part are original; some, as, for instance, Canon Robertson's Church History, now appearing, translations. The *Christianskoe Chtenie*, a bi-monthly review, published under the auspices of the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg, would well bear comparison with the Church Quarterly, and it is but one of several ecclesiastical reviews. And not only are there many learned bishops and priests, but earnest efforts are made for the diffusion of knowledge throughout the whole body of the clergy. In every diocese there is, as a rule, a theological seminary, where the children of priests are educated gratuitously, and others, desiring to share in the advantage, at a small cost. Under the Metropolitans of St. Petersburg, Kieff, and Moscow, are Spiritual Academies, fitly ranking with Universities. When a large part of the Russian people were ignorant serfs, it was, perhaps, not to be wondered at that many of the priests who ministered to them should neglect to keep up the

studies of their youth. But with all that is now doing for popular education there is the need felt of learning on the part of the clergy. The little prospect of advancement set before the great body of the parochial clergy, and the poverty of many of them, obliged oft-times to cultivate their glebes with their own hands, have, to a degree, interfered with their intellectual improvement. Some steps have been taken, and others are under consideration, which may lead, it is hoped, to a change for the better in both these respects.

It is pleasant to see the growing interest in the study of God's Word. Several commentaries of considerable merit have appeared of late, or are now appearing. A revised translation of the Scriptures into the Russian language, under the auspices of the Holy Synod, has recently been printed, after many years of patient toil, and copies of it widely circulated. Shall we not join in the words by which the Czar greeted the completion of this work? "I pray God to show the saving power of His Holy Word in making the Russian people go forward in truth and piety."

It has often been said that the Russian Church has no missionary spirit, a charge that would only be made in ignorance of the facts. That, years ago, it, like our own Churches, did little for missions, is indeed true, and for them, as for us, extenuating circumstances might be found. But for many years past zealous efforts have been made for the conversion of heathens and Mahomedans. A most flourishing mission of the Russian Church exists in Japan, with 6,000 converts; and many native clergy and catechists. The *Orthodox Missionary Society* of Russia, with its various diocesan branches, each with its bishop at its head, is doing much to increase the interest of clergy and laity in the good cause.

In connection with this Missionary Society, is a Missionary Training School, at Kazan, for fitting missionaries for their work in the foreign field, and for giving those who are to be parish priests in parts of the country where Mahomedans abound, such instruction as may enable them to cope with the arguments of the followers of the false prophet.

I wish there were time to give even a brief sketch of the life of that great missionary hero, Innocent of Moscow, lately gone to his rest, after labouring in Missions in Kamchatka and Alaska forty-five years, and, when his health began to fail him from age and exposure, labouring ten years for Missions, as Metropolitan of Moscow, and founder, and first President, of the *Orthodox Missionary Society*.

I have endeavoured, in the time allotted to me, to show *something* of what the Russian Church is. I have been compelled, for lack of time, to make *assertions* when I would most gladly have given *proofs*, to sketch in merest *outline* what it would have been far more satisfactory to set forth in more *detail*.

The Missions of the Churches of the Anglican Communion have very little to do with the Russian Church. So far as relates to the people of the Russian Empire, we can leave the care of their religious instruction with those on whom God has laid the responsibility of it—the Bishops and Pastors of the Russian Church. In Alaska the two Churches might come in contact, but the American Church has deemed it wiser, for the present at least, not to enter upon a field

which the Russian Church cultivated so well while it was part of the Russian dominions, where it still labours, and where it can work with advantage.

In Japan, missionaries of the English, of the American, and of the Russian Churches, are working side by side, and, as a rule, very harmoniously. Cases of misunderstanding will, of course, arise, but the kind forbearance and mutual sympathy which have characterized the leaders in these missions, will surely, by God's blessing, prevent evil result.

Let the relations between the Church of Russia and the Churches in communion with it, on the one hand, and the Anglican Churches and their Foreign Missions, on the other, be always *relations of Christian charity*. Whatever be one's political views, likes, and dislikes, let the followers of the one Lord, especially in matters where religion is directly concerned, endeavour to *think* kindly, to *speak* kindly, to *act* kindly, towards each other. In the words of the venerable Patriarch of Alexandria, in a letter which I had a few years since the honour to receive from him: "Until the Lord vouchsafe the fulfilment of the great work of unity, many inconveniences and stumbling blocks will exist among us, and many misconceptions, on either side, and misrepresentations will arise." "But," as he goes on to say, "Mutual patience and forbearance, enkindled by Christian love and by the inestimable importance of the great and God-pleasing ends at which we aim, can remove all such."

Let us endeavour to understand the position of our brethren better than we do, and take every fitting opportunity of letting *them* understand *us*. On either side it will probably be found that there were more points of agreement than were supposed, and that the differences were often much less, in reality, than at first sight appeared. While misconceptions prevail, there will be, at times, mistaken action. Let us, realizing our own liability to err, make due allowance for mistakes, and, only thinking evil when we *must*, think good when we *can*.

So shall we be doing our part in hastening the time, though *we* may not see it, when God shall make up the dissensions which divide His people one from another, and when "Jerusalem shall dwell as a city that is at unity in itself."

ADDRESSES.

SIR R. TEMPLE.

My Lord President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It devolves upon me now to address you upon the subject of Foreign Missions, and to ask your moral sympathy and material support for that most sacred cause. Ladies and Gentlemen, Foreign Missions represent one of the loftiest and widest themes that can be propounded; therefore, it is only possible for me at this moment to select one part of it. I shall not, therefore, dwell upon the operation of Foreign Missions in the Colonies and in various parts of America, Africa, and Asia, especially the Empire of China. I shall confine myself to India—that country upon which you will naturally desire to hear from me particularly. It has been my lot, or my good fortune, to

serve in every portion of the Indian Empire, and, during my career, to be acquainted with every important mission, every Protestant Mission almost without exception, in that great Empire; therefore, what I have to tell you is not what I have heard or what I have read, but what I have seen and what I know. Also, what I have seen is not old or obsolete; on the contrary, it is recent—partly what I have seen last year or the year before, and so on. Now I will venture to take some of the objections or arguments which are mainly raised against Christian Missions in India. I will venture to take those bulls, as it were, by the horns, to state them fully to you—as Englishmen, you like to look at things fully in the face and to look at both sides of the question. Then, let me state some of the objections, with my answer thereto. Now, in the first place, you are sometimes told that the money and the receipts spent upon Missions in India are being wasted, or that they produce very little result, and that enormous sums, averaging now no less than £450,000 per annum, taking the income of all the Protestant Missions together; that no less than 7,000 persons—taking the European ordained missionaries, the native clergymen, the lay catechists, the teachers, and the school-masters—are employed, as you are told, with small result. Now, is it really small? There are not less than 350,000 native Protestant Christians in India. But that does not represent the whole result. There are vast numbers of children who, though they are not Christians, are receiving education at the hands of the Christian Missions. It is not possible to put them at less than 150,000. That is 500,000 persons belonging to those Missions which you are asked to support. Besides that, think of the glorious result of raising the reputation of England in the East; of the augmentation of our influence among the people of India. You know that much in our administrative, our military, our political, conduct is disputed; but the natives see something in the Christian Missions about which there can be no dispute whatever.

Besides all this, you are told that all these vast establishments are not so efficiently supervised and worked as they might be. Now, ladies and gentlemen, let me assure you that if you could see the working of those Missions on the spot, if you could see their churches thronged with the congregations, their schools with the children flocking to the class-rooms, their native villages happy and contented, you would be satisfied that the establishments are efficiently working. Then, you are sometimes told that the enthusiasm which glowed in the breasts of missionaries of old, no longer glows in the breasts of missionaries of the present day. You are asked sometimes, Where are the successors now of the great missionaries of old? Such missionaries as Martyn, Ward, Schwartz, and Judson? You are asked, upon whom has the mantle of these great men descended? Upon whom? I will tell you. It has descended upon Bishop French, upon Bishop Serjeant, upon Bishop Speechly. It has descended upon William Smith, upon Walsh, upon Alexander, upon Alexander Duff, upon John Wilson, upon Anderson. These have, some of them, been recently gathered to their rest; but every one of them has worked within the sight of us still living. Then, you are sometimes told that the establishments of the Missions are utterly scattered over the surface of a vast empire and continent, dotted here and there like oases in the midst of boundless deserts of sand. Now, is that the case? Why, in Eastern India you may see the aboriginal tribes coming under the influence of the missionaries in large numbers. They have an extensive organization. At Benares you will find a cluster of Missions which have, combined with other circumstances, succeeded in subverting the Hindoo religion. In Northern India you will see the Cambridge Mission working at Delhi, with a little senate and management of its own. In Western India, in the Deccan, you may find a combination of Missions of all denominations, constituting on the whole a

large social organization; and in Southern India you may see whole tracts, almost whole districts, inhabited by native Christians. They are not scattered, they are in that sort of condition which leads to success.

You are sometimes told that local opinion, among those Anglo-Indians who are best able to judge on the spot, is adverse to the Missions. Of course there is a difference of opinion on this, as on every subject, and some opinion is adverse; but is that, do you suppose, a dominant opinion among Anglo-Indians? Take some of the highest names—the names of Lawrence, of Frere, of MacLeod, of Montgomery, and you will find they are most favourable to the Missions. But in plain justice to your countrymen and countrywomen in the East, you should bear in mind that they always support the Missions. A large portion of the missionary subscriptions comes from them; no sermon on behalf of Missions is ever preached to them without response; no collection is ever made but what it is bounteously filled by them. If you have any doubt on this subject, consult for yourselves the published accounts of the great missionary societies, and you will see how largely, how universally almost, the Anglo-Indians subscribe to Missions. How, then, can it be said that their opinion is adverse?

Then, you will be told that the missionaries sometimes meddle mischievously in civil and political affairs. Now, I think it very important that missionaries should not lend themselves to popular excitement. But, on the other hand, the missionaries establish most friendly relations with all their neighbours. They are always sympathetic, ready to listen to the cry of distress and to remonstrate against oppression, and to bring it under the notice of the proper authorities. I say that all the best authorities in India are ready and glad to have information from the missionaries. Thus they obtain information as to what goes on in the interior of the country, an insight which could not be obtained in any other way. So it is that the missionaries are exercising a most beneficial influence upon the state of the people. Moreover, they are setting the brightest possible example. They show the natives the practical virtues which are taught by Christianity, and in every season of famine, or distress, or general trouble, the missionaries are always in the van of those who minister relief. Then, again, it will be said that the natives are becoming educated, that the labours of missionaries hitherto have been among uneducated people whom it is easy to convince by argument; that, now the natives have become educated, they will no longer listen to plain and simple arguments, but will require something more subtle and refined, and that this refined Christianity in the future will not make that progress which it used to make. There is some truth in this, but on the other hand recollect that the ancient universities are now making special efforts to train up a new class of missionaries who will have the highest attainments and uninterrupted leisure to devote to this matter. Then, lastly, you will be told that the Missions depend upon you alone, that there will be only European clergy and no native clergy. That is not the case. The native clergy are rising up by hundreds, and are supported by congregations who are born in the faith and who cling to it with tenacity from generation to generation.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have just answered to you, as time permitted, the main arguments which are advanced against the Missions in India. You can judge of their validity and of their invalidity; but, if you are satisfied of the invalidity of these objections and of the validity of my answers to them, then I entreat you to support the Missions. The mainspring must come from you. There is a great machinery at work throughout the world; you are its prime mover. There is a clock which marks the progress of Christian truth amongst the heathen; you are its mainspring. Therefore, support these Missions, for the sake of the heathen, and above all things, for the sake of obeying the commands of Almighty God.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR.

ONE object for which the Bishopric of Gibraltar was established, as some of you may call to mind, was to promote mutual knowledge and friendly relations between the Church of England and the historical Churches of the East. This object my predecessors, and I following in their steps, have endeavoured to fulfil. But in spite of our efforts, many a cloud of ignorance, many a cloud of prejudice, many a cloud of misconception, arising from the deliberate and persistent misrepresentations of centuries, still remain to be rolled away. At Smyrna I find that men are popularly divided according to their religious opinions into three classes, Christians, Catholics, and Englishmen. Last November I had an interview with the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, and from words which fell from his lips I gathered that even he supposed, or pretended to suppose, that the Church of England was called into existence at the time of the Reformation, and was the recognised head of all Protestant sects scattered over Christendom. Though I assured his Holiness that the Church of England only washed her face at the Reformation, and that she could count almost as many grey hairs as her venerable and orthodox Sister of Constantinople, I am not sure that he was disabused of his error. Now if we are ever to be brought into more intimate relations with our Eastern brethren, the first step which we have to take is to remove these misapprehensions, and to show by such communications as our Bishops and others may have with Eastern ecclesiastics, by the character of the churches which we build in Eastern lands, by the nature of the services which we hold in those churches, by the doctrines which we preach, by the books which we circulate, by the lives which we are seen to lead, and, I must also add, by the judgment and discrimination which we exhibit in dealing with such members of the Eastern Church as may visit these shores, what really are the principles, faith, worship, and discipline of our Church when they are displayed in their true colours. In this work of refuting misrepresentations, and removing such suspicion and estrangement as misrepresentations have produced, no institution has rendered more signal service than the Anglo-Continental Society, and no individual has rendered more signal service than the zealous and learned Founder and Secretary of that Society, Prebendary Meyrick, as may be seen by any one who will read the correspondence which my friend has lately been conducting with certain distinguished members of the Eastern Church. Nothing could exceed the heartiness of the welcome which has uniformly been given me by Bishops, Archbishops, and Patriarchs of the Eastern Church when I have visited such places as Bucharest, Odessa, Constantinople, Philippopolis, Smyrna, Athens, and Cyprus. Now what is the reason why I have been received with so much honour, and with such open arms? What is the reason why Eastern Prelates have attended Public Services which I have held? One reason is that I belong to a Church which is known to entertain very friendly feelings towards the Oriental Church, and which shows the reality of those friendly feelings by abstaining from all proselytising raids among her flocks. Often have I been thanked for adopting in this matter a different policy from that followed by the American missionaries. All praise is due to these American missionaries for their brave, persevering, self-denying efforts in promoting education, in relieving distress and suffering, in furthering the good cause of freedom and civilization. But their policy of inducing individuals to forsake the Church of their baptism and of their country, and then leaving them in the cold, forlorn, isolated position of Christians without a Church, I believe to be a most mistaken policy. Equally mistaken I hold to be that policy which would plant in these Eastern lands a new Church, constructed on the model either of the Church of England, or of the Church of Rome, or of any other Church, actual or ideal. There are enough divisions already in the Church of Christ. If

another is to be added, at any rate let not the parentage of this fresh schism lie at our door. It is lamentable to reflect that not one of these ancient Churches but is at this moment suffering from schism. From documents revealing the inner life of these Churches, which I had the privilege of consulting when I was last at Constantinople, I learnt that the seeds of discord and schism are being sown in the Church of the Chaldean Christians at Mosul, in the Church of the Syrian Jacobites, in the Church of the Gregorian Armenians, in the Church of the Catholic Armenians, in the Church of the Bulgarians in the Province of Saloniki, in the Church of the Greek or Orthodox Christians of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Now what enemy is sowing this evil seed? What enemy is endeavouring, partly by intrigues conducted secretly at Embassies, partly by Missions sent directly to these Eastern Churches, to bring them under his yoke? The enemy is no other than that old, persistent, deadly foe to moral and spiritual liberty; that old, persistent, deadly foe to liberty in all its forms, to the liberty of individuals, to the liberty of Churches, to the liberty of nations; that old, persistent, deadly foe to liberty, who in the late war, which, whatever its sins, brought liberty to thousands upon thousands of oppressed Christians, scrupled not to give his sympathies and his prayers to the oppressor, and now scruples not to form an alliance with the same heathen oppressor, which oppressor, perceiving that the suppression of these free and troublesome Churches would relieve him of embarrassment, is only too glad to abet the Vatican in its policy of disintegrating and then absorbing these ancient and hitherto independent communities. This policy of disintegration, which the Church of Rome pursues, is surely not a policy which the Church of England is going to follow. Our policy should be the direct opposite. Our policy should be to foster all healthy, independent, spontaneous growth, to uphold the principle of national self-governed Churches; where we see disunion, we should promote union; where we see bondage, we should restore liberty; where we see individuals, congregations, Churches, detached from the system to which they rightly belong, we should seek to bring them back again. In any plan which we may entertain for helping these Churches our first principle should be to do nothing that could interfere with their independence, their authority, their solidarity, their nationality. As we respect and value our own liberties, we should respect and value theirs. Otherwise we are sure to forfeit confidence and to provoke antagonism. So close is the bond that unites Church and nation in the thoughts of Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, that to weaken the Church is to weaken the nation, to disintegrate the Church is to disintegrate the nation, to uphold the unity and solidarity of the Church is to uphold the unity and solidarity of the nation. What, for example, makes a people like the Armenians love and venerate their Church? What but the knowledge that, scattered far and wide as they have been for centuries, living in many different lands amidst alien races and creeds, but for their Church they could never have preserved their separate national individuality, but would long ago have been absorbed? What makes Greeks at Athens staunch supporters of their Church? They may not be very regular in attending its services; they may not be very orthodox believers in its doctrines; but they loyally uphold their Church; and for this reason, that the Church is in their eyes an essential element of the national life; churchmanship is with them only another name for patriotism. In like manner I should advise that, whatever project we may form for bringing these Churches into closer relations with ourselves, nothing should be done to interfere with their distinctive forms and usages. We have no thought of changing our own rites and ceremonies, so, unless they be absolutely superstitious, we need not ask our Eastern brethren to change theirs. Any attempt at fusion would be as unadvisable as it would be chimerical. These Eastern Churches are very jealous of their national usages, as the Bishop of Rome lately learnt to his cost, when he ventured to interfere

with the usages of the Catholic Armenian, and of the Catholic Syrian Church, and in both cases provoked rebellion by the interference. Our Eastern brethren may appear childishly fond of kissing those icons or pictures which hang in their churches. They may invoke the saints in the public liturgies. They may render an excessive homage to the Blessed Virgin. They may hold formal and material views, very different from our own, respecting the Sacraments. They may wear vestments which an English, Scotch, or Irish Bishop might look upon with suspicion. They may attach too much value to the observance of fast or festival, and too little value to the observance of the great moral duties prescribed by our religion. They may not always show a very scrupulous regard for those manly virtues of truthfulness and honesty by which Englishmen set such store. Their clergy may be very poor, and in some cases very illiterate. They may have taken slight pains to keep abreast of modern thought and progress. They may have fed their people on the dry husks of orthodoxy and formalism, and neglected to quicken their mental, moral, and spiritual life. While our eyes are open to these defects, as the eyes of their own Archbishops and Patriarchs, who are generally men of learning and culture, are open, we must remember that it is these Eastern Churches which we have to thank for whatever knowledge of Christian truth, whatever observance of Christian principle, whatever reverence for the name of Christ, still survives in these lands. We should remember also that the spirit of these people has been broken by ages of mis-rule, that the iron of a most cruel oppression has entered into their soul, and that if men are for centuries treated as slaves, they inevitably acquire the vices of slaves.

We should remember, also, to our shame, that during this long night of crushing bondage no helping hand, no words of sympathy, no kindly and brotherly thoughts, reached them from Western Christendom. More than this I might say. Were I to affirm that it is owing to the petty, miserable, despicable jealousies of the great Christian powers, that the chains of this bondage have not been broken long ago, I should be stating a plain historical fact. But I forbear to trespass further on this dangerous ground, and will confine myself to the strictly ecclesiastical and religious aspect of the subject. It cannot be denied that reform is greatly needed in these Eastern Churches. But such reform should be effected within the Churches and by the Churches themselves. If we come across individuals who are dissatisfied with the doctrine or the ritual of their Church, while we help them with our counsel, and cheer them with our sympathy, we should exhort them not to forsake the Church of their fathers, but to remain there, as centres of life and light to their own people. Our principle should be that of the great Apostle who said, "Brethren, let every man in that state wherein he is called there abide with God." Alive to the differences which separate us from our Eastern brethren, we should be alive also to those things in which we are at one. We are at one in the reverence which we pay to the same Holy Scriptures. We are at one in having the same Creeds. We are at one in having the same Apostolic orders, and the same Sacraments. This common ground we have already, but we may reasonably hope that as the gates to Western civilization are opened this common ground will widen. But we must be patient. Things are not yet ripe for union. Any hasty, impulsive, ill-considered step in this direction would retard, and not advance the cause. The mists of ages are not to be scattered in a day. Estrangements and schisms, which have lasted for twelve hundred years and more, are not to be healed by a single Conference. Much may be done by mutual intercourse; much may be done by friendly discussion; much may be done by acts of brotherly sympathy; much may be done by education; much may be done by good government; much may be done by wise, persevering, energetic use of the opportunities so unexpectedly placed in our hands by our acquisition of Cyprus, and our

protectorate of Asia Minor. The eyes of Christians in the East have long been turned to England, as the country whence deliverance would one day come. We have opportunities at this moment of elevating the religious life of the Oriental Churches and of shaping their destinies, such as we never had before, and such as no other nation in the world possesses. Independently of our material power, we have this great moral power, that we are trusted, that we have the confidence of our fellow Christians, that we are known to be lovers of liberty, and, as such, to be desirous of promoting, and not of prejudicing, their independence. God grant that we may rise to the full height of these opportunities. God grant that we may not belie these hopes and expectations which men build upon us as the deliverers of the East. God grant that we may have eyes to see the suppliant hands which Armenians and other races in Asia Minor stretch forth towards our shores, imploring sympathy and aid. God grant that we may have ears to hear the cry for light, life, and liberty, which has been ascending for centuries to heaven from many an oppressed Church, from many a down-trodden people. God grant that we may burst the fetters of our selfish isolation, and awake to the duty which our position as a living branch of Christ's Catholic Church entails, of succouring in this hour of their sore need these suffering members of our common brotherhood. The Turkish Empire is fast crumbling to pieces, and hastening to its well-merited doom. To restore, revive, regenerate, the old Churches in these lands, to turn anarchy and chaos into law and order, is England's great work and mission. The ideal for which, as Churchmen, we should strive is an inter-communion of national, independent, self-governed Churches, embracing all who accept the Nicene Creed, which, as we all know, before the introduction of the disputed clause, was the one condition of union required by the Church of Christ. None of us may live to see this ideal attained, but the sanguine may reflect that ideals, if wisely conceived, and wisely, bravely, perseveringly pursued, have a marvellous way of working themselves into realities.

The Rev. CANON TRISTRAM.

THE subject is the condition of the Eastern Churches in relation to the Church of England and its Foreign Missions. I take it that the Scriptural position of the Church of England in her missionary aspect in the East is best typified by the position of the Bishopric of Jerusalem, a position which is one of protest not of antagonism, a position which is one of testimony not of rivalry, a position which suggests reformation not demolition. We are in the position, I conceive, in the East, of witnesses against errors, which, unlike those of Rome, are not integral parts of the structure—the elimination of which means the downfall of the whole—but which are rather poisonous and parasitic plants clinging to the old ruins and sapping their strength; and which, if they were on a living tree, would be drawing out the very life juices of the tree. And in whatever I may have to say about the Eastern Churches, I trust I shall speak as I feel, in a spirit of Christian love and Christian charity. We have been exhorted this afternoon already to speak kindly of these Churches. I am not aware that a man speaks less kindly to his friend when he tells that friend plainly of his faults. The first question that occurs is this—Is there any immediate prospect of reformation arising from within the Greek Church and its branches? My lord, in the time of Cyril Lucarius, Patriarch of Constantinople, there was some sign of an approach between the Greek and English Churches. Those were the days when to the Church of England the Church of Greece was indebted for the very first printed theological works that ever issued from the press in the Turkish dominions, and when the Greek Church at Constantinople, in the

days of our king, James I, received her first printing press, smuggled through the English Embassy. The fate of that printing press was illustrative of the fate of Reformation efforts in the Greek Church, for it was very soon destroyed by a Greek mob at the instigation of the Jesuits and the French Minister. Cyril Lucarius entered into much correspondence with the Hungarian Protestants. Archbishop Laud was consulted, and exhibited deep interest in, and sympathy with, the movement. But the active hostility of Rome was soon evoked. In 1634 we find Cardinal Bandini complaining that Cyril, the Patriarch, denied invocation of saints, image worship, transubstantiation, and the necessity for auricular confession. Transubstantiation was indeed a new doctrine then to the Eastern Churches, and many of their liturgies still prove this, where the highest terms of affectionate adoration are used to the elements *before* consecration, and in the Armenian, even before they are brought in. The word *Μετουσίωσις* so familiar since, was then scarcely known. When Cyril Lucarius was deposed by French intrigue shortly after, his successor, Cyril of Borœa, maintained the authority of those very articles which Cyril Lucarius had declared were not part of the doctrine of the Greek Church. In 1678, under the same Papal influence and instigation, was summoned the Council of Bethlehem; and that Council anathematised Protestants and Protestantism, and for the first time declared that the doctrine of purgatory and the doctrine of transubstantiation were tenets of the Greek Church and were necessary to salvation. Still the whole Greek Church, although bound by the decrees of the Council of Bethlehem, was not prepared to reject union with England as against Rome, for we know that in 1723, at the Synod of Moscow, through the intervention and under the guidance of Peter the Great, the English bishops were asked on what terms the Church of England would enter into communion with that of Russia. Let us mark their reply. They required the renunciation of the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints, as well as the abolition of *Eikons* and the rejection of the decrees of the second Council of Nicea, which authorised *Eikon* worship. The matter was referred to Constantinople. Meanwhile Peter the Great died and the whole negotiation was laid aside, and very shortly afterwards the Patriarch of Constantinople declared it was impossible to consider such proposals. So ended the last attempt to bring about a union between the Greek and English Churches. Whatever the Greeks felt then, at the present moment when the Church of Russia is trying to absorb her Mother and Sister Churches, and endeavouring to rival Rome in stamping out National Churches independent of her, showing her missionary zeal in Bulgaria in deposing Bulgarian prelates for Russian nominees, and in restoring, instead of the modern vernacular, introduced in the present generation, the antique Slavonic in the Bulgarian services, there seems little hope that Russia, a mere ecclesiastical rival of Rome in her lust for spiritual despotism, will be disposed to reform even those corruptions and abuses which she has not yet authoritatively declared integral parts of her system. We have just been told that her retention of the antique Slavonic in her own office is merely a piece of sentiment akin to our retention of the Prayer Book version of the Psalms. I say, my lord, that this is an unfair and deceptive illustration. The old Slavonic is further from modern Russ than Anglo-Saxon from modern English. It is a language with which, though I have travelled in Russia, I never met a lay Russian who was familiar; and therefore, my reverend brother who spoke on this subject must have been more fortunate than I was, and Russians have often told me that many of the village popes are utterly ignorant of the meaning of what they read. There is one Church with regard to which we may have very good hope, both of reformation and union; I mean the Church of Armenia, the oldest and most persecuted National Church in the world. I think, my lord, that Armenia has peculiar claims upon the Church of England, as the oldest National Church. Her history, her sufferings, and the length of time she

resisted the approaches of Rome in the 15th century, for she remained practically Protestant till that time, all give her a claim upon our interest and our sympathy. Christianity was the established religion of the kingdom of Armenia 50 years before Constantine emblazoned the cross on the standards of Rome. The Armenian Church, we are glibly told by the supporters of Greece, is heretical. How? The Armenians, we are told, never received the Council of Chalcedon. For a very good reason; because her bishops were never invited to that Council. Armenia was involved at that time in a struggle with Persia, her bishops knew no Greek and the Greeks understood not Armenian. But they never have denied or contradicted in any way dogmatically in their Ecclesiastical formularies the doctrines set forth by that Council of Chalcedon. Then, again, no Greek patriarch has ever claimed jurisdiction over Armenia; they never claimed to have territorial rights in a country which was never part of the Roman Empire.

To the present day the Armenian Church mixes no water with the wine; and she recognises the right of marriage among the priesthood. The great Archbishop Gregory, the Illuminator, was succeeded by his son, who himself married after he became Archbishop, and was succeeded by his son. Shortly afterwards came the Patriarch Isaac, the translator of Holy Scriptures into the Armenian vernacular. But as the Greek Empire decayed, Rome, ever vigilant, watched her opportunities in the East. Georgia, a portion of the Armenian Church, was first intrigued against, but was finally detached by Constantinople. Then in the 14th century, hard pressed by enemies on all sides, Kurds, Persians and Saracens, the Armenian kingdom was reduced to the province of Cilicia and the mountain region east of it. Rome watched her opportunity, and promised the help of Venice, Genoa, and Spain, if Armenia would recognise her claims. In their extremity the Armenians were reluctant, but they agreed to introduce the cult of the virgin and saints, transubstantiation and purgatory. Although the Armenians accepted the terms, they have left it on record that they did so, not because they believed the doctrines true, but because it was the only way to escape from the Turkish dominion. Rome never gave them the help she promised and they were swallowed up by Turkey. As to the mode in which Rome acted, I quote the words of an historian, who is generally an apologist for Rome: "The manner of the attempt was too often bad, and the way in which the ancient calendar and liturgy were tampered with, has been exposed by modern writers." After the nation had fallen under the Ottoman yoke, Rome renewed her assaults, and offered the protection of the Western Powers to those of the Armenians who would acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. Hence the Uniat Armenian Church, one of the most wanton schisms in all Christendom. Yet the Pope allowed them to retain the Communion in both kinds for the laity, the use of the old Armenian language and liturgy (though interpolated), and the marriage of their clergy. To this schism, which still has its head quarters in Venice, about one fourth of the Armenians have given in their adhesion, from political motives, and for the sake of a protection which, without foreign aid, they would not have enjoyed. Armenia is now a second Poland, partitioned among three empires, Turkey, Persia, and Russia. She has 2 *Katholicoi*, 13 Bishops in Russia, 5 in Persia and 48 in Turkey. But when in 1828, her ecclesiastical metropolis, Etchmiadzene, became the prey of Russia, her chief *Katholikos* was cut off from jurisdiction in Turkey, and she has had a hard struggle to maintain her Ecclesiastical unity. Still the whole Armenian Church, since her partial submission to Rome, holds many errors. Of indigenous growth are her strong monophysite tendency (though this is explained away by many of her sons), and the actual offering of the sacrifice of animals to propitiate and prepare the worshippers for the Eucharist; while from Rome she has adopted transubstantiation, the worship of the virgin, of saints, of relics, and purgatory. Yet she has a married clergy, communion in both kinds, and an unmixed chalice, and her liturgy con-

tains incidental testimony against transubstantiation. But I put it to you whether we can hold intercommunion with a church which still retains these corruptions. Did we separate from Rome merely because of the Papal Supremacy or because of her doctrines also? Remember that the Armenian Church maintains all these superstitions. If we separated from Rome because of her doctrines, I say we are justified in refusing communion with the Armenians until their Church is reformed. If some of her members refuse to join the Mass, I say we are justified in supporting and receiving those who have had their intelligence awakened through the instruction given by the American missionaries, and have now set up in Armenia, not a separate Church, but, having been forced out of their own Church, are somewhat in the position of Wesley, wishing to remain in their own Church, as long as that Church will receive them and allow them to reform. They have no desire for a new Church. If we are wrong in supporting Archbishop Migherditch and the Armenian Reformation movement, then Bishop Cosin was wrong when he declined to receive Mass in Paris, but communicated with the Presbyterians. The American missionaries, by their educational labours, have saturated the Armenian people with scriptural knowledge, and have awakened in them the desire for reformation. But the whole tone and system of congregationalism is repugnant to the oriental mind, while a reformation on the lines of the Church of England is exactly suited to the genius of the people. Those who have been forced out, and many who still remain like Nicodemus, coming by night, wish to work parallel to their national church and are ready to return when reformation begins. They are like Wycliff and the Oxford Reformers under Henry VIII. The Archbishop of Canterbury has shewn the greatest sympathy with this movement, as His Grace feels it is the duty of the Church of England to show Orientals what we really are, and to open their eyes to their own corruptions; and this we must do by taking their Reformers by the hand and recognising them. And I submit that we of the Protestant Reformed Church of England must hold Gospel truth and apostolic doctrine as something greater, higher, and dearer than any mere ecclesiastical uniformity.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. OSCAR D. WATKINS, Chaplain at Allahabad.

A FEW words of practical experience about the relations of the Church of England with the Armenians in India may not be altogether unwelcome. For nearly five years past I have been chaplain to a district at Allahabad, in the north-west provinces of India; but I have had the happiness to include among the members of my congregation a small number of Armenian Christians, varying from 12 to 20. These Armenian Christians have from time to time, in the absence of their own clergyman, applied to be admitted to Communion with ourselves, and they have invariably been amongst the most zealous and staunch supporters of the Church. The Armenians of India are a thriving, commercial community. In Calcutta they have an Archbishop who was brought up under Russian influences. In some of the stations they are unable to support their own clergymen, and, therefore, they come to us and ask us, without forgetting their own privileges as a separate community, to be admitted for a time among ourselves. Of course the very first question that a clergyman asks himself under those circumstances is—Am I justified? Am I in any way condoning the Armenian heresy? This is, of course, a very grave question. We find that, in the

case of the individual Armenians who come to us, there is never any difficulty in accepting the teaching which we give them, and which is in common with the whole Catholic world. The Armenians have not been proselytised by us; and in the absence of their own clergy they are glad to be admitted to our office. It was my privilege, only a day or so before I left India, some three weeks ago, to give the last Sacrament to a lady, who expressed her gratitude to me in terms which brought the tears to my eyes.

The Rev. PREBENDARY MEYRICK.

I AM very thankful that this subject has been brought before the Congress at its first meeting. I know well that members of the Churches of Greece and Russia look with interest on the discussions of our English Congresses, for they have written to me before now to ask what was said about the Greek Church and the Russian Church at them; and I am glad that we are now sending a greeting to the ancient Churches of the East. Aristotle, if you recollect, tells us that those are most likely to be friends who have the same enemies. Now, it is quite certain that the Churches of the East and the Church of England have one and the same most bitter enemy, anxious to swallow up the Church of England, and to destroy the Churches of the East. And this being so, it would be well that in the face of this powerful enemy we should speak friendly words and have kindly dealings one with another. The question, however, is not now whether we have not the same enemy, but whether we are not really and truly friends. I suppose the difference between coalition and agreement is this, that a coalition exists between those who do not agree in principle, but unite for a particular purpose; while agreement is confined to those who are united in principle. My lord, I say it is not a coalition which holds together the Church of England and the Churches of the East, but a real agreement. It is true, indeed, that there are points of difference; and who asks for fusion? We do not ask for fusion, we ask for kindly feeling and understanding one of another; and surely we can do more in affecting the mind of the Eastern Church on those points in which they differ from us by kindly action than by ignoring or assailing them. It is true that there are differences; but look at the points of agreement. Do we not both hold that there is one Head of the Church? Do we not hold that the Scriptures are the authority to which we are all to look, and that they are an open book for all to read, and are not their Scriptures exactly the same as ours? And do they not agree with us in the great doctrine of Justification? And as to some of those things which Dr. Tristram stated just now—whatever authority the Council of Bethlehem may have, I say that there are not ten persons in the Greek Church at this moment who hold the doctrine of Purgatory. Nor is the doctrine of Transubstantiation required to be believed in, though it is held by many individuals, having crept into the Oriental Church from the Church of Rome. Our union with the East, then, is not a mere coalition, but a real agreement on essentials. And I am quite sure that if any of you had been at the Bonn Conference, and had there heard and conversed with the Russian and the Constantinople theologians, you would have seen that this is the case. We acknowledge that there are differences; we cannot accept the Seventh Council, and we never will accept the Seventh Council; nor the two practices by implication sanctioned by it, the adoration of saints and of images. But in other respects I maintain that there is or may be agreement between us. And, surely, where there is difference, is it not better to speak kindly to our brethren, not only because we are in the face of the enemy, but because we are brethren, because we and they are Christians. Remember that they have not

adopted any principle which precludes reform, but that they look up to the authority of the Ancient Church. The authority to which they bow is Holy Scripture, interpreted, where interpretation is necessary, by the Œcumenical Councils, and the witness of the Ancient Church. That we may the better understand one another, I hope that from this room there will go forth a kindly message to the Churches of the East; assuring them that the Church of England has nothing to do with that disintegrating process which some American Dissenting missionaries carry on. Surely, we shall do more by helping to reform from within, than by drawing off one here and one there from without. There is much misrepresentation of Anglican doctrine among Easterns, and of Eastern doctrine among Anglicans. Dr. Guettee, in Paris, and Dr. Overbeck, in England, or wherever he may now be, having been members of the Church of Rome, and having afterwards joined the Greek Church, have done their best, and are doing their best, to misrepresent the Church of England in the East; and the Eastern Church is in like manner misrepresented in England. I hope we shall try, all of us, to look at the best things, in a spirit of charity, one of another.

The Rev. CANON TREVOR.

I HAVE rather hung back from addressing the Congress on this occasion, because I have so often spoken on Indian Missions, and because you have heard a better and more recent authority in the distinguished Statesman, the late Governor of Bombay, who I trust is reserved for yet higher office in India. We are all much interested in what we have heard on the subject of the Eastern Churches; but I confess, my lord, I do own to a nearer duty and a deeper interest in our Indian Missions. They call for our direct attention, and it is impossible to bestow it upon them too quickly or too largely. No one who has stood, as I have, in the presence of heathenism and idolatry, can ever forget this paramount claim. All that I have seen and read may be summed up in two points—first, we have to preach the Gospel to the natives of India. When I was there some very clever persons were of opinion that preaching the Gospel was a worn-out institution; that we should have more hope of reclaiming and civilising the heathen by means of high education. The idea was taken up very warmly by some very learned missionaries, chiefly, I think, of the Kirk or Free Kirk of Scotland. For some time the new system seemed to meet with success, and threw into the shade the humbler labours of the old fashioned missionaries. But I believe the system of educating the natives into Christianity has broken down; it is found to end only in educating the heathen into Atheism. The command of God is to preach the Gospel to every nation; and I believe that true success will only come from a faithful obedience to the command. By the Gospel I do not mean any system of doctrine, whether large or narrow. What the preaching of the Gospel means is to be seen in the Acts of the Apostles. It is the telling out the story of the Lord Jesus; how He took man's flesh upon Him; how He bore our sins in His own body on the tree; how He died a sacrifice for man; how He rose again, and in His own resurrection gave an assurance of resurrection to all who believe in Him; how He went up into Heaven to make intercession for us with His Father, and how He will come again to receive His elect in glory. Tell out this story; tell it in every language, in the most homely words, and I say it will reach the hearts of thousands; it will break down the idol and his altar far more speedily and effectually than all the learned labours of those who are to be trained in Sanscrit at the University of Oxford. All the long-established idolatries will fall to the ground; all the hard inextricable difficulties of caste—I have seen the thing

myself, and I know it from those who have seen it—I say all the difficulties will disappear before the presence of the Lord, who follows upon His own word, confirming it by signs following. There is one other thing, my lord, which has struck me in personal observation, and in my study of Indian Missions. Essential as it is to begin and hold on and continue always preaching the Lord Christ, and Him crucified; in the second place it is necessary to give believers the means of worshipping Him. I believe the Prayer Book of the Church of England, translated into other languages, has been the most successful missionary work ever sent from the press. The people whom we wish to bring to Christ are not the remains of old Churches; they have come out of Heathenism, they want to pray and to receive the Sacraments. They must be guided in the use of the Holy Scriptures. For these purposes they want set times and seasons when prayer shall be offered, when the Sacraments shall be administered, and when the Holy Scriptures shall be read and expounded. They cannot perform all these things for themselves; they want guidance and regularity, and as much as possible uniformity. My opinion is, that no voluntary or self-regulating system of worship will ever answer the needs of those who have come out of the elaborate rites of Heathenism. In our own services and our own liturgy they have all that they require. I have myself seen the Heathen standing round the windows of a little Church whilst the daily prayer was being offered, and I have heard them say—"Good prayers, those; those Christians are the people of God." I have heard the Moslem say that, and I have heard the Hindoo say that. Those who came to listen not only remained to pray, but have been brought to the missionary to be instructed and baptised. With my own hands I have baptized into Christ's fold more than one hundred souls born in Heathenism. Of those one hundred, I believe not more than two or three lapsed back again into Heathenism. The rest were confirmed and steadied in their faith by participating in the worship of the Church of England. I say, preach the Gospel, and give them what has been so long a blessing to your own country, the Prayer Book which has come down from our fathers. It appears that some of us are beginning to tire of it, and to look for newer forms. But I say, give it them entire—burial office and all—for nothing can be more useful in building up the Native Church, which is the ultimate object of your Missions in India.

The Rev. Dr. MARGOLIOUTH, Vicar of Little Linford,
Newport Pagnell.

I TRUST I shall be pardoned—perhaps be borne with, and sympathised with—when I venture to make a few remarks upon a subject which predominates my heart's desire and unceasing prayer to God, by no means foreign to the subject under consideration and discussion; I mean the salvation of Israel. It was a marvel to me how such a subject as that which heads the programme to-day should have been misunderstood or neglected. The Church Congress is a grand institution, and the Foreign Missions of the Church are specially entitled to a pre-eminent place on the annual platforms of Church Congresses. The subject of Foreign Missions takes us back to the time and place when and where Church Congresses were first organised, when the great charge was delivered, by the Divine Head and President of the Church, to "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, beginning at Jerusalem." And, strange to say, the second part, which was intended to be the head and front of the programme, is generally neglected,

except once in five or six years. We have heard a grand sermon this morning; and, since the Archbishop of York has left this platform, there can be no need to hide one's conviction that it was a very grand sermon indeed. I was very much disposed to believe that after hearing that sermon, the Subjects' Committee would have added a paragraph anent Foreign Missions of the Church, namely Missions to the Jews. I am sorry that I was mistaken. What the most reverend preacher said this morning respecting the Epistle to the Romans that it was JEWISH to the core, I confidently affirm respecting the Church of England and Church Congresses. They are JEWISH to the core. It would be a legitimate boast for this nation that the sun never sets on the Church! What is the condition of the House of Israel! Sifted and scattered over the face of the habitable world! Wherever man treads, wherever the sun walks his circuit, the Jews are to be found. And yet the dispersed of Jerusalem, amongst whom the Divine President of the Primeval Church Congress ordained that the Gospel should be preached first, are overlooked on the platform of this great assembly. We have listened with great interest, with intense and absorbing interest, to the very able, eloquent, and suggestive speeches made this afternoon. They were solemn and instructive speeches; but when one comes to analyse and compress all that has been said, I would respectfully ask the question—Where do you find in the whole Bible a promise that the various Churches of this dispensation should ever be united ere the Jewish Nation has been brought back to the faith. It is then that the Churches will be all united together. It is then, "When the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea." Search the Scriptures ever so diligently, you will never find such a promise. On the contrary, as the Archbishop in his sermon endeavoured to convey that, although Churches had multiplied and revived for a time, it was only for a time, and that until the Lord shall arise and shine upon Jerusalem, darkness and gross darkness shall cover the earth. It is right to preach the Gospel in all the world, because the Lord commanded it; but we have no right to assume that we shall be able to accomplish by our missionary efforts that which God Himself only can bring to pass. The late Edward Bickersteth, uncle of the present Bishop of Ripon and Dean of Lichfield, was once pleading, at a public meeting, the cause of Missions to the Jews, when a slip of paper was handed up to him with the information "800,000,000 of heathens and only 8,000,000 of Jews." "Yes," was the impromptu response, "It is because of my profound concern for the 800,000,000 of heathens that I am so jealously affected in behalf of the salvation of the 8,000,000 of Jews." I most cordially echo those genuine Christian sentiments.

The Rev. PREBENDARY CADMAN.

I had no intention of addressing this assembly, but having been asked to say a few closing words, I am very thankful to do so. I am thankful, my lord, because I really do feel thankfulness for what has taken place here to-day. There have been various opinions expressed; but those opinions have been, or will be, brought to the test of fact. For a long time I have taken great interest in the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity amongst the Jews. I rejoice that facts have been brought out in a way to expose many wrong opinions which have been formed,—some of them very prejudicial. We owe great thanks to that noble man, Sir Richard Temple, for his address. I believe it will tend to give energy to Missionary speeches at Missionary meetings throughout this country for a long time to come. Personally, I thank him for his testimony. We may be

thankful, too, that we have had an opportunity of discussing at this Congress the subject of the Oriental Churches in relation to the Church of England. When the statements that have been made are compared, I believe there will be found to be more agreement than was at first seen—for example, with reference to the administration of the cup, facts have been brought forward by those who are well-acquainted with the history and condition of these Churches; and facts are what we are anxious for, in order that we may draw from them inferences which will show us what our Christian privilege is as witnesses for the truth of God in this great Church of England, and what our duty is with reference to all those with whom God's Providence brings us into contact. And then I do feel thankful, my lord,—if the speaker is present he will forgive me for saying so—for that plain and straightforward statement made to-day with reference to the Gospel. The term expresses not some peculiar party views, not some matter of mere opinion; but rather what we find written down in God's Word. It is not enough to say that the Gospel has been preached, but that the Gospel revealed in Holy Scripture, namely, the glad tidings about the offices and work and character of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, has been preached. As the moon is the faithful witness in heaven to the sun, even when the sun cannot be seen, because the light of the sun is reflected from the moon, so it is the great privilege of the Church, and I believe we may claim this especially as a distinctive characteristic of the Church of England, to be a faithful witness to the Sun of Righteousness. And the best thing we can wish or desire is, that His light may be so received by us, that it may be reflected by us throughout the world. And then I am sure that what we have heard about the Jews will not be lost sight of; for we must not forget that it is written, "If the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?"

TEMPERANCE HALL, TUESDAY AFTERNOON,

SEPTEMBER 28TH.

The Right Hon. Lord JOHN MANNERS took the Chair at 2.30.

**THE CHURCH AND THE POOR.—PAUPERISM—
ITS TREATMENT, CURATIVE AND PREVENTIVE.**

(a) REMEDIAL ACTION OF THE POOR LAWS—ORGANIZATION OF CHARITY—MORAL EFFECT OF THE POOR LAWS UPON THE PEOPLE.

(b) ENCOURAGEMENT OF THRIFT—ALLOTMENTS—COMPULSORY INSURANCE.

PAPERS.

ALBERT PELL, ESQ., M.P.

THE subject submitted to the Congress on this occasion is one peculiar to our kingdom, and an evil of our creation. The part which the Church and religious folk have taken and continue to take

in its existence, in distinction to that which it may be thought Christian congregations and individuals ought to take, is becoming daily of more importance and more a matter of interest. It is not simple poverty or destitution that we to-day come together to consider; these are conditions common to man in all ages and countries, the genuine and sad consequences of an imperfect and fallen state, but which, after all, in England at least, is, as it ought to be, exceptional, and within such limits as make it easy to palliate. Pauperism, however, is a child of our own rearing and training, the offspring of selfishness, ignorance, indifference and uncharitableness among those who are well-to-do, and of cunning deceit and indolence among those who compose its ranks. The two play into each others' hands under the sacred name of Charity, and those who administer the English Poor Law for the most part give a sanction to this game of beggar my neighbour. Let it be remembered that in only two European countries, England and Denmark, are the poor relieved exclusively by a special tax levied for that purpose, and it is only in three, viz., in Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, that we find a legislative declaration of the right of every destitute person to be supported by the State. Mr. Doyle, in his report on Foreign Poor Laws, says "it is not quite accurate to speak of the English system as giving a right to relief; the applicant under no circumstances can claim it as a right, cannot enforce it by any process of law or recover for the withholding of it, as he could if a legal right existed." French writers from M. Naville to M. Thiers warn their countrymen against imposing a special tax for the relief of destitution on the ground that its existence would lead to the recognition of the right of every destitute person to be supported by the public, that is, to the recognition of the principle of communism. But if in England there is no right to relief, it is equally certain that the establishment of a fund for relief is insisted on. So it is, we establish and endow pauperism. Society, of course, approves; for while the State has its pompous array of Poor Law Presidents, inspectors, guardians, relieving officers, chaplains, medical officers, and rate collectors inviting as it were the weak and irresolute to drop into the pitfall of out-door relief, Society has its corresponding "Institution" with its banker, report, noble chairman, annual sermon, or ball, bazaar, professional beauty, flags, bands, and touters. Pauperism can hardly be traced to want of employment, for we know that in the heyday times of 1870 the proportion of paupers to the population was higher than in 1860—rising in fact as wages and employment rose, and falling again when the prosperous flush was over. No doubt this diminishing evil was partly due to information disseminated at the Poor Law Conferences, which, in a measure, cleared public opinion, and partly to the support such men as Mr. Goschen and Mr. Stansfeld—in office as President of the Local Government Board, and as Ministers of the Crown—gave to reform in the administration of out-door relief; but it remains a matter of notoriety that under the shadow of the houses of the rich in what are termed close parishes unusually high per centages of pauperism are recorded, while in places with no squire, no parson, no endowed or casual charity, the relieving officer's duties are light; he has not,

in addition to the solicitation and craft of the would-be pauper, to contend with the patronism of the rich bestowed upon the applicant under the name of charity.

The City of London, with an endowed income of over £100,000 a year of parochial charities, a decreasing population of only 76,000, and a forest of churches, is conspicuous for its pauperism. As its wealth increases, so does this blot and sore, till the ludicrous is reached in a Mansion House meeting for the encouragement of Thrift. About 70 persons in a thousand residents are in receipt of parish relief in this Babylon reeking with wealth; a large proportion of these have the miserable grant augmented out of the local endowed charities till it has been calculated that to take up poverty as a profession gives the competent practitioner a reasonable probability of an income of over thirty pounds a-year. Once away from its wealth and its charities, among the real poor on its Eastern outskirts and in Whitechapel, we find but 25 to the 1,000 inhabitants in this degraded condition, and in Bethnal Green the still lower proportion of 22 to the 1,000:—the cost of relief in the City being equal to a poll tax of £2. 6s. 4d. a head on its inhabitants against 5s. 4d. in Bethnal Green; and, while the City of London scatters nearly £19,000 annually among its so-called poor in out-door relief, Whitechapel, with the same population, applies but £740. The result is just what might be expected—a roll of over 3,000 out-door paupers in the wealthy City against 420 in poor Jewish Whitechapel, while 2,260 make their home in the Workhouse of the former Union against the smaller list of 1,450 in the latter parish. During my visit to America last year in connection with the Royal Commission on Agriculture, covering over 9,000 miles on that Continent, I was never asked for alms but on three occasions—once in Wall-street, New York, the centre of American wealth—once in St. Louis, the most prosperous town on the Mississippi, and once by a Red Skin in Manitoba, demoralised, poor fellow, by the annual grant of five dollars (20s.) which the Canadian Government allows to the full bred Indians in their territory. The Prime Minister, Mr. Norguay, spoke to me of the mischief and misery the pernicious grant causes, and added that the best men refuse it and claim the franchise instead of the dole.

Looking back can we say that the Church, omitting primitive times, has quite understood her duty towards the poor? We all know the part she has taken as a distributor of alms, and how ecclesiastical corporations were enriched by assuming this function. They became enormous landowners by “Frank Almoign,” “in franca Eleemosina,” land having been bestowed on them to be held “in pura et perpetua Eleemosina”—for doling for ever and nothing else. The same consequences ensued that follow now, with similar disposition of property, namely, hypocrisy, indolence, deceit, and beggary. Whole districts in the neighbourhood of religious houses became tainted with pauperism, the very nature and disposition of the inhabitants deteriorated, and for centuries after the reformation succeeding generations bore about them the evidence of the degradation of their forefathers whose real need was after all never satisfied. The truth is, these institutions, like your modern alms-

givers and ordinary incompetent Poor Law Guardians, created the necessities they pretended to relieve. Some of the impotent poor may have received benefit from their bounty, but the historian, Hallam, assures us that "the blind eleemosynary spirit inculcated by the Church of that day was notoriously the cause, not the cure, of beggary and wretchedness."

The reformation came, and with it the great turning point of our Poor Law legislation, in the Act of the 43rd of Elizabeth, designed to furnish the idle with work and the impotent with food. At the time it was hoped that human want would find relief and solace in Christian alms, and collections for this object were ordered on Sundays, while the parson was to stir up the people to be bountiful in giving. Houses and materials were to be provided by charitable devotion of the good people under the ministers' special Sabbath exhortation. The scheme was a "castle in the air." Charitable devotion was a thing to talk of, perhaps to profess; there was no poor rate to practise it with; so then the law came to closer quarters with these "good people," and we have the appointment of Sunday collectors, who were to take the names of those willing to give, and the weekly sums they were good for. If any refused, he had to submit to a gentle exhortation; if he continued obstinate, he was reported to the bishop; and, if still refractory, the bishop handed him over to the Justices in Sessions, who, if persuasion failed, were to assess him in such a sum as they thought reasonable. Out of the failure of godly exhortation and magisterial persuasion, sprang the poor rate. The practice of the Church had been such as to raise a class accustomed to calculate on alms for support, but it failed signally to inculcate Christian principle vigorous enough to influence action, and establish a living example of the rich voluntarily helping the poor out of their difficulties. Possibly, after all, the best intentioned felt that the case was too far gone for such treatment.

Serfage and villainage had, however, at no very remote time, been abolished, and the people had acquired the right of independent action, and, in some instances, taken upon themselves the duty of providing for their own wants. The local tie was loosened, there was a stir and motion among the labouring classes in search of fresh industries which the "good people" and ruling classes of the day do not appear to have regarded with favour, for in the second year of the Restoration they carried an Act relating to settlement and removal, which made the most effectual and extensive invasion of the rights of an Englishman which had ever been attempted since the Conquest. "We might be sure," Mr. Coode says, "that, if a law had been proposed to make every gentleman, found in a place where his ability to pay his way was doubtful, liable, on the suggestion of such persons as overseers, to have his person put under their control by a warrant of two justices, and to be forcibly carried (to say nothing of his being driven by the cart whip) to the place of his birth, such a proposal, if seriously urged, would have excited an opposition which would scarcely have stopped short of revolution." This scandalous law, however, concerned "none but labourers and the people nearest to them in condition, a class inert in politics, unrepresented in Parliament, and without literary or oratorical champions."

So matters took their downward course, while the evil consequences of this abominable law were aggravated by volumes of ill-considered enactments. Events in the end proved that Parliament and the Executive were not wiser than God. The rich became alarmed for their rentals, and statesmen uneasy. Experts were consulted, and the new Poor Law of 1834 introduced, striking at relief in aid of wages, and subsidies to indolence. Lord Althorp called attention to the large use the magistrates (good people again) had made of ordering relief to be given to the poor in their own dwellings, the consequence of which had gone on from bad to worse until all sense of independence had been nearly obliterated among the poor. Lord Brougham pointed out the distinction between public and private, established and casual charity, and described with much force the evils arising from confounding the one with the other, or applying the general and forced contributions of the Poor Law fund as if they were levied for the purpose of providing comforts for the many, instead of relieving the destitute few. It can hardly be said that the sound doctrine thus pronounced by Lord Brougham has, in our later times, been accepted and acted upon by the mass of those who administer this fund. Experience shews that these "good sort of people" disturbed by the sight or by the rumours of some real or feigned distress at their own doors, without any sacrifice of time, without intelligent enquiry, without reasonable reflection on the mischief they are doing, the mere creatures of an animal impulse, and blind to the distinction to which Lord Brougham referred, pose as moral examples of the exercise of a divine and self-denying charity. It is to the selfish conduct of these so-called generous persons and the opportunity the law gives them for exercising their misnamed philanthropy in the administration of the Poor Law, that by far the greatest amount of drunkenness, indolence, domestic cruelty, and degradation can be traced.

"What's the use o' savin' when they help yer if ye're ill—
Four bob every week, Jemmy, and pay your doctor's bill?
There's some as abuse them Guardins, and say they're hard as a stone,
But folk come to like them better, Jemmy, better the more they're known.
Then, drink boys, drink boys, never stop to think, boys;
Wi' wages high, let money fly;
To-morrow they may sink, boys."

The Act of 1834 was defective in permitting the possibility of giving continuous out-door relief. There is abundance of evidence, those that run may read it, that the undeviating application of the in-door test results in the decrease of pauperism among the lower orders, and, which is of equal importance, is accompanied by a recognition of the duties owing to the poor, among the upper. We shall all probably agree that the Church, including of course laymen, has not made a point of directing public attention to this subject, or, with regard to out-door relief, been bold enough to proscribe and denounce a system which encourages improvidence, encourages unthrift, encourages drunkenness, and encourages lying above all things.

Can our teaching be true or wholesome with respect to out-door relief, when we find the object with many in the bestowal of it is to engraft what they are pleased to call charity upon a system of

strictly legal relief; though under the guise of generosity they keep down wages, destroy the independence of the poor, and absolve the rich man from his obligation. The effect of such a misconception of duty on the part of those who administer the poor law is thus described by Count Holstein. "The morality of the poor man suffers, for he looks upon the provision as a right for which he need not be thankful; and the morality of the rich man suffers, for the natural moral relation between him and the poor man has become completely severed, and thus is the highest principle of charitable action, Christian love, exposed to great danger of destruction."

Consider what a national disgrace is the existence within our borders (in England and Wales) of nearly 900,000 persons, who, if these cases were genuine, were unable on January 1st, 1880, to find sufficient means of livelihood, and this out of a population of about 23,000,000. These figures seem to my mind perfectly appalling,—the exhibition of so large a proportion of our neighbours submitting to such conditions, strange: but stranger still that the Church, as a body with such high professions, neither remonstrates nor brings influence to bear in the direction of reform. Popularity might, it is true, not attend such a movement; but the question remains,—Does she not fall short of the high mark of her calling by passing the matter by? The establishment by which her existence is distinguished from that of other religious bodies depends for its continuance, we may rest assured, as much on a clear perception and enforcement of the duties of citizenship, as on dogma and ritual; and in the plea for toleration and possession which in time we may have to urge it will be well if we are able to include this, that we tolerated neither slavery nor pauperism. The task is not too great for us; if our hearts were really in it, it would be completed. It is not after all so much in the great cities and in the busy north that the people suffer from this wrong as in the thinly-peopled country districts where one great man's possessions extend unbroken through several parishes.

The model village furnishes a complete picture of charitable policy when a few unemployed widows are found depending on the rate supplemented by private periodic benevolence and patronage. Mr. Brooke Lambert says he has known the value of a box of cigars or even of a seal skin jacket sacrificed to gratify this impulse; but, after all, this is only decorating pauperism, and does not make it any the less ugly. It is just by such makeshifts that the exercise of that benevolent spirit itself, in the offices of personal kindness, in a real intercourse of sympathy with the wants and sufferings of the poor, has been too much superseded. Charity and law have scarcely a single point of contact. They are of heterogeneous origin, and as far as they enter into the compound of any system, they draw different ways, and are as immiscible as oil and water. In proportion as such institutions as are provided by the Poor Laws assume a settled and organised and permanent character, in the same degree does the administration of them become more a matter of police than of humanity. With whatever feelings of ardent benevolence and sanguine hope of relieving distress persons may have engaged in them, the due fulfilment of

the office of administrator of funds raised under that code is found to involve a continual suppression not an indulgence of the feelings of humanity. These are the opinions not of a layman, but of the head of an Oxford college, a dean of our Church, and a bishop conspicuous for character and learning. I may be permitted to conclude with quoting his own words, expressing as they do, most clearly and forcibly, views which I for one hold to be true and important. Speaking, with reference to the poor law, of the confusion of moral duty with the task of legislation, he says—"that what all individuals ought to do, it is the business of the law to make them do, is a plausible position, and has actually been adopted by some of the ablest and most virtuous men. But nothing in reality is more fallacious. In the first place it destroys the very essence, not only of benevolence, but of all virtue, to make it compulsory; or to speak more properly, it is a contradiction in terms. An act to be virtuous must be voluntary. This endeavour to invest the laws with the office of humanity, inconsistent and impracticable as it is when attempted from the purest motive, does, in reality, often originate from an imperfect sense of moral obligation, and a low degree of benevolence in men themselves. Absurd as the thought is, when expressed in words, man would be virtuous—be humane—be charitable—by PROXY. To throw off, however, the care of want, disease, and misery upon the magistrate, is to convert humanity into police, and religion into a Statute Book."

After this you will hardly expect to find in me a warm advocate of compulsory thrift. I incline rather to removing stumbling blocks and to helping in a generous spirit the voluntary efforts of the poorer classes by legitimate undertakings to better their condition. Take, for instance, distributive co-operation, properly conducted under the provisions of the Provident Societies' Acts, not worked with borrowed capital under a system of credit, or by men who don't understand their business. I believe the principle that lies at the root of this movement to be sound, "no debt, no difficulties;" or as I saw it expressed on the walls of a saloon in the west of America: "To trust is to bust. To bust is hell. Therefore, no trust, no bust, no hell." Take, again, small committees for a parish or Union, uniting to carry out in the country the sort of work of enquiry and assistance conducted by the Charity Organization Society in London. A few days and pounds, devoted as part of the business of life to this purpose, not as a pastime, will save many a family from sliding into pauperism, and prevent many an impostor getting on the relief list. The presence on the Board of Guardians of members of this association has been attended with the best results; with the extension of this practice it would be found that any real case of undeserved hardship, under a stringent administration of the Poor Law, would be easily dealt with by private charity. Can nothing be done to render our endowed Charities really useful; reform is unpopular and extremely difficult, but it is none the less needed, the present system in too many instances being a direct encouragement to improvidence. Something more can be done without legislation for the wage earner, in introducing investments at a rate of interest better than that of the Savings' Bank, such, for instance, as Con-

solidated Railway Stock, Foreign Rentes, Corporation Stock—even Consols. When the savings are very small it is not difficult, by co-operation, to put together amounts in the aggregate sufficient for purchase into these and similar securities. But, still more, among the wealthy, who dabble with distress in the form of relief societies and soup kitchens, are there none who will establish closer relations with the poor as house owners in the worst and most degraded districts of our large towns, and first improve their dwellings specially with respect to sanitary provisions, and then by simply insisting on the punctual payment of rent, decent living, and sobriety, convey into the very homes of the people a practical moral lesson. This is being done in East London with a fair return for the capital spent. In some such undertakings as these it has been found that assistance may be rendered, and the response made to such opportunities is sufficiently encouraging. We shall do no good but much harm by relieving our poor neighbours of responsibilities they ought to accept and efforts they ought to make as independent and free men; but we render incalculable service by helping them to help themselves, which I venture to think thousands would be more prepared to do, were it not for the English Poor Law.

The Rev. W. LEWERY BLACKLEY.

OUR programme this afternoon invites us to consider the curative and preventive treatment of pauperism. I must begin by criticising the programme, and by making a statement which many of my hearers will, perhaps, set down at once as simply one more extravagance on the part of a man supposed to utter a good many. I will declare my opinion, in the hope of making it theirs, that we can only consider one of these sub-divisions to-day with any prospect of profit, and that is the preventive treatment of pauperism. We may leave its curative treatment alone, for it cannot be cured. The wit of man has not yet devised or divulged a recipe for the purpose sufficient to satisfy reasoners who can appreciate the difference between a specific and a nostrum—between a physician and a quack. To take one pauper from a workhouse and secure him a good income alters the circumstances of one pauper, but not the nature of English pauperism, any more than to hold some water over your head in a tin-can alters the nature of all water to fall to the ground.

There is no cure for pauperism, though there may be here and there, and now and then, some palliation suggested against some special paroxysms of the disease. And to accept this truth in its fulness we must consider what a pauper is and what pauperism does.

A pauper means only a person who, being destitute, claims and receives aid from poor rates; and what follows? That if there were no poor rates there would be no pauperism.

“But poor rates depend on Poor Laws?” “Yes; and, therefore, if there were no Poor Law there would be no pauperism.”

"But, surely, if pauperism necessitated the Poor Law, it cannot be the Poor Law which makes the pauperism." I reply, it was not pauperism, but poverty, which suggested the Poor Law; and I deny that it ever necessitated it. England would not have vanished from the universe a bit more than France has, had it never had a Poor Law. And I assert that the introduction of the Poor Law created all the pauperism in attempting to diminish part of the poverty.

"Nay," I shall be told, "this is quibbling. For in such a case the poverty and the pauperism are the same things." "Not at all," I reply; "for the pauperism existing in England now is relatively enormously greater than the poverty which the Poor Law was introduced to relieve. It was meant to assist a few; it has resulted in pauperising the many."

To what, then, is this dreadful failure due? To the fact that our Poor Law is based on a wrong and unjust principle—that of compelling all thrifty men to support all wasteful men, and of rewarding all who neglect the social duty of self-provision by fining all those who fulfil it.

This leads us next to the question, "However bad the principle, why is the policy wrong? What harm does it do to make the better off pay for the worse off, the successful for the unsuccessful—in a word, the rich for the poor?" It hurts every class. Firstly, it theoretically hurts the rich; but, as they can afford to pay, I will, for shortness sake just now, regard their hurt as *only* theoretical and sentimental. Next, it hurts the independent-minded working man, not merely sentimentally, but bitterly and gravely, either in corrupting his principles or hindering his progress.

To such a man the rate collector comes with his demand note. "What is this for?" "Poor rate." "I don't want it," he replies; "thank God, I'm no pauper. It can't be for me. Who is it for?" "For the destitute." "Must everybody pay it?" "No, only those who have money." "Has my neighbour Brown been asked for it?" "Oh, no; he has no money." "Has he not? How do you know?" "Well, look at him, his house, his family. They are all in rags. His wife has been to our relieving officer this morning. He is a poor man, he has no money, therefore we ask him for no poor rate."

What may the thrifty man reply in thousands of such cases? He may say, "My neighbour earns shilling for shilling the same money as I. We do the same work for the same master, and get the same payment week by week. What right have you to say he has no money, and to leave him alone in peace, while you dun and worry and plunder me? No money! The publican knows better, the pawnbroker knows better, the police know better, I know better, you know better; aye, our law-makers know better, and our laws should be better made. If I be (from your point of view) fool enough to keep a week's wages in hand, your Poor Law comes to me on Monday to make me pay for him, simply because it won't take the trouble and do the justice of going to him on Saturday when he has money, and of making him pay for himself. I do my duty to my country, my family, and myself, and your law will send

me to prison if I refuse to make compulsory payment for him. He neglects all those holy duties which I fulfil, and the same vile law lets him go basely free. And if we ask that he should be made to pay his share of money, not when he has none, but when he has as much as I,—that he should be placed only under the same compulsion, neither more nor less than mine,—then the noble army of noodles, under the blundering banner of Routine, will shout the stupid war-cry, ‘Respect the sacred liberty of the subject,’ which, translated into the language of our law, amounts to saying—with the sapience of a Dogberry and the logic of a lunatic—‘Put no compulsion on the man who will not pay, and double compulsion on the man who will;’ or, to frame the instruction in the simplest terms of common sense, tell us to outrage for ever the liberty of the good subject, in order to consecrate for ever the license of the bad.”

Thirdly, our Poor Law hurts the rate-receivers most of all. It only fines the rich, it only robs the thrifty poor. Bad though this be, it is but a mere fleabite of badness compared with its treatment of the rest. For it ruins the whole life of the thoughtless, self-indulgent poor; it corrupts their youth, it rots their manhood, and it starves their age, creating thus a mass of misery and degradation which man can neither estimate nor cure.

Now, let us classify some of the more direct evils of its practice.

My hearers will concede that improvidence, pauperism, intemperance, injustice, and discontent are bad things in themselves. If these things be bad in the individual, they are, by simple multiplication, worse in the universal. Well, every one of these bad things is national with us; and the first three—the worst three—are national in the dreadful sense that they exist in England, *and nowhere else*. Being bad they should be mended. The first step towards this is to know their source. I doubt whether many here have ever tried to trace it out. How few can give a clear answer to the following three questions:—

Firstly, why is English improvidence a national disgrace, existing in no civilised nation upon earth in such a ruinous degree as with us?

Secondly, why is English pauperism another national disgrace, which makes us the standing joke of foreign economists, the deep humiliation of our own? Why must pauperism be national in England, and non-existent everywhere else? Why, when other countries do without it, must it be indispensable and incurable here?

Thirdly, why is English intemperance a third national disgrace, making the quantity of liquor we consume engross 15 per cent., nearly twopence, out of every shilling ever available for the whole life of our people? Why should this awful blot of absolutely incomparable excess, with all the unspeakable and immeasurable miseries and sins which it entails, blacken the name and nature of the English race above those of any other nation on the globe?

These three questions present the most perplexing and distressing social problems which we are able to conceive.

But why should we let them distress and perplex us? Why not

leave them alone, as wise men leave other insoluble problems, such as the squaring of the circle, the discovery of the philosopher's stone, or the creation of perpetual motion?

There are two reasons why. The first is, because this is a matter of conscience, not of curiosity, as surely as we have hearts as well as bodies:—because Englishmen, and most of all religious Englishmen, members, not merely of an occasional Church Congress, but of the whole great living Church of Jesus Christ, being, as they humbly trust, partakers of that nature which is Divine, of that Holy Spirit which rested without measure upon Him who always went about doing good, cannot see, as we do, the exceptional wretchedness of their own nation, which in so many other ways a bounteous God has so exceptionally favoured, without longing for the consolation of its sorrows; they cannot see, as we do, in national improvidence, national pauperism, national drunkenness, national discontent, and national injustice, tremendous engines for the fortification of evil and the obstruction of good, for the ruin of man and the dishonour of God, without longing to uproot the bad, and without labouring to establish the good. The other reason for not letting these hard problems alone is that, difficult though they be, they differ from the other puzzles I have spoken of; they are, and must be, capable of solution.

I am bold to offer what I believe to be the true answer to these three problems. It is this. That improvidence, pauperism and intemperance should be national shames in England, and only individual shames elsewhere, is the direct, the natural, and the necessary consequence of our national Poor Law system.

1. The Poor Law creates improvidence, because it opposes nature. It unteaches her universal lesson that every living thing should provide for itself, by telling every youth, in the early time when provision is possible, that he need not provide, because the law will make others do this duty in his stead. It teaches him to say, what many have told me to my face—"Why should we save? There's the workhouse for such as we." And thus it teaches them that to be always destitute is the best policy, and to become independent is a prejudicial folly. And so, instead of merely succouring necessity at the end of life, it corrupts the social conscience at its beginning, and makes men improvident through all their time by telling them that their bread is sure, and that they shall never want.

2. The Poor Law creates pauperism as well as improvidence, and offering, as it does, a living, however pitiful and wretched, from the rates, to every one who will not, in his time of health and strength, provide for his own needs, makes men beggars by the hundred thousand, when they might be independent, and chains them down to the lowest measure of a miserable existence, when they might be free to rise.

3. The Poor Law causes the national intemperance of England. Why? Because, teaching the ignorant, inexperienced lad, when he is in his unencumbered years, and earning far more money than he wants for his bodily necessities, that saving is a folly, it teaches him also that it is his wisdom to spend. Therefore, as he knows no other way of spending so swift and easy, his surplus fund evaporates

in drink. How much better that, for three or four years, the law should give one single shilling of it every week to the safe keeping of national insurance, that in after days, if he chose to be poor, he need not be dependent. But, as it is, the Poor Law sends him with his wages straight to the public-house, and when his seedtime for providence is past and gone, sends him back again, a helpless, broken, miserable sot, *minus* the wages which he will never see again, and *plus* the drunkard's unquenchable lust for drink, which will never leave him till he dies, and the indulgence of which makes him poor to-day, destitute to-morrow, a pauper evermore.

The existence of our Poor Law answers the question why England has to bear the exceptional shame of national improvidence, national pauperism, and national drunkenness; and remember that it is not merely the best, but absolutely the only solution of this marvellous national anomaly, for which, so far as I know, no one else has ever given or ever had to give any other rational explanation.

I have tried to show the true source of our national evils, confident as I am to have laid nothing down that will not be found, on calm examination, to be based on solid truth; and regretful as I am that the force of my advocacy is so sadly disproportioned to the importance of my cause. For I wish I could make all men and all classes see so clearly the source of these exceptional national sins as to join in vigorous effort for their correction. Perhaps we should have millions then, as we have thousands now, exclaiming, "This Poor Law of ours is a wrong and an injustice too grievous to be borne. Away with such a system altogether from the very face of the earth!"

But such men as these, however logical, would go much too fast for a moderate and patient reformer like myself. For to abolish the Poor Law would be to cure pauperism, and it will be remembered that that is the very thing for which I set out by saying there was no cure at all. Why then should I wish to win the vast mass of national opinion to desire the abrogation of the Poor Law, if in my view that abrogation be an impossible thing? Because, when men understand this, they will agitate all the more eagerly for national insurance, for that thing which is possible, which is easy, which will eventually compass the whole result they have at heart; that thing which is even better than the best efforts they can make to cure our English pauperism, if the proverb be true which has told us so often "Prevention is better than cure."

Every one ought to provide for himself; every one can, if he be willing and wise enough to use the right means of doing so at the right time; why then should not our law say, "every one *must*?" If this were done by a law of national insurance, compelling the healthy, unburdened young of every class, by a small payment, to secure themselves and the nation, as they most easily might, against their ever needing poor rates, we should prevent any one of them from ever being a pauper, by making him, during all his life, too well provided to be qualified for rate relief. If this were done (and the feasibility of such a plan is daily becoming more evident), the lapse of a generation would cut off our whole supply of paupers, and the Poor Law, which we could not abrogate without leaving all our present and potential paupers to starve, would be starved out itself, for sheer want of

material to work upon, for lack of hapless men and women to ruin and degrade. Of course it is impossible here to argue the details of this question. They are minute and multitudinous. A great many of them will be found treated in a little shilling volume of *Essays on the Prevention of Pauperism*, published by Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co., for the National Providence League, and to be had of any bookseller. The subject has now been nearly two years before the public; and all the obvious preliminary objections, uttered, as they have been, a hundred times, have been answered in that volume once for all.

Within the last three months, however, one single new objection has been made, the only one which I confess myself unable to answer. It is that put forward by a very great authority on insurance subjects; to the effect that our nation is too densely stupid to adopt a measure so vastly good. Of course this is an objection, not for me, but for the nation itself to answer. If it be false, the accusation does no harm; if it be true, let us enlighten the stupidity. The people I address to-day are just the men whose duty it is and whose joy it should be to do it. They may—I think they must—join our National Providence League: it will bring them into good company; they may distribute our publications, they may ventilate our views. A little time, scarcely to be missed from tennis or from tapestry; a little money, easily saved even in sherry or in Zoedone; a little philanthropy, which pays its cost a thousand-fold in the sweet warming of the Christian heart by human sympathy; a little trouble, a little thought, and a great deal of prayer to God for aid, and strength, and patience, will enable any one who hears me to-day to undertake his share in the removal of a deadly social wrong, and in the establishment of a wide-spread social blessing.

But, it may be said in a Church Congress, of what religious use would such a measure be? Can we expect men to be any the holier if less wretched and dependent? I believe we can. They would certainly be further on the way to holiness; they would become more contented as they became less unhappy; they would distrust less those who long for their good, and whom they are taught to dislike as their tyrants; and the adoption of such a measure, tending to promote peace on earth and goodwill among men, would make their hearts the softer to receive the Gospel seed.

I will illustrate this truth by an anecdote, which may encourage my brethren of the clergy to take up this subject warmly—as in the line of true religion as well as of sound logic—as appealing to the sympathies and hearts of the poor, and likely to win their thoughts to holier things.

Two months ago I found myself starting from Ludgate-hill towards Victoria in a railway carriage crammed with artisans, to whom I spoke of national insurance. So interested were they that some of them went a station or two further than they had first intended, in order to hear more of the matter. As I drew near to my own destination their principal spokesman asked me, "Have you got any cards about you?" I thought he said "about *it*," and laughingly said, "No. Did you think I was an insurance agent?"

"No, sir," he answered, "it was your address I meant. What's your district? That's what I want to know. I have not been much of a one since I was a boy to go to any church at all; but if yours is within a five miles' walk from my house, I'll go to hear you every Sunday of my life."

To conclude, then, my reason for asking all earnest, thoughtful men to give us their active aid and earnest prayers in the promotion of national compulsory providence is simply this:—Our nation, glorious through the world for its justice, is dealing unjustly by its best children every day and all day long; our nation, whose privileges all other nations envy, is filled with discontent; our nation, called the most moral, is the most drunken in the universe; our nation, which has the best means for securing providence, is the most improvident; and our nation, the richest in the world, shows the greatest and most ghastly destitution.

And these terrible corruptions are unnecessary, and should be purged. These abysses of wrong were never dug to pile up the mountain of our greatness. It has never been essential to the nobility of our name that our nature should be degraded. Nor can it be true that England only becomes rich by robbing her own children. No. That is what fools imagine, who are swift to speak and slow to reason; who are ready to disagree with anything but their own crude opinions, and are prompt to cry on such a subject as this, "I do not think so," when in real truth, they do not think at all. England is great not *because* of its people's miseries, but *in spite* of them; and if it could be purged of those ghastly evils which beset it, we should be the happiest race in the happiest home this world has ever seen, the pattern of all Christian peoples, the joy of the whole earth.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP of TASMANIA.

THE scheme of a National Insurance Association, advocated by the Rev. W. Blackley and in part supported by Lord Carnarvon, has been for some time before the public. Many objections which I have felt to its adoption have yielded to a slower examination; or have been, in my opinion, successfully disposed of by Mr. Blackley.

I still think that the scheme will prove more *harsh* in its incidence upon certain classes of the community as well as more *unworkable* than its promoters anticipate. The nomadic poor, the struggling widow with her sons at college or walking the hospital, the unsuccessful trader of the lower middle class, the large body of our movable navvies, to say nothing of some 30,000 tramps, will present examples of failure, just where failure will be most deplorable, unless the country is prepared for a very extensive and costly machine.

But my present purpose is to raise the question, how far a compulsory system is calculated to do that without which no system can be called successful—viz., to educate the feeling of self-respect and honest independence in the wage-earning class of the community; whatever fails to do this does little or nothing towards converting an unhappy pauper into a happier or really richer man. What we need

is to inspire the embryo pauper in his earliest years with a spirit of self-reliance, and a trust in some national method of Insurance which he feels sure will not fail him in any future hour of trial. The noble and touching efforts of the would-be provident in spite of insecure and insolvent clubs, efforts repeatedly made and as often cruelly crushed by failure, point to the quarter in which legislation is most needed. I mean, *education in thrift and Government protection or by the offer of a national security*. When I remember the utter insecurity and the known insolvency of most of our existing clubs; when I remember, moreover, the legal provision, at the expence of the thrifty, awaiting the thriftless, it is marvellous that the artisan has made the noble effort that he has in the direction of self-reliance, amidst such terrible temptations and such sad discouragements. Immense progress has been made during the last few years in the cultivation of social and moral habits among the working classes, which it will be most unwise to discourage; compulsory methods are only justifiable as a kind of *dernier resort* when moral methods fail. The scheme proposed by Mr. Blackley is to thrift what the Main Law is to temperance. There can be no true exercise of self-denial, no recognition whatever of social duty in yielding to physical force. The thriftless youth will be thriftless still, if he is untrained in habits of providence. He will be as reckless of the future, whether that future be provided for, as now, by the poor rates, or by some antecedent compulsory payment of his own.

In proceeding to advocate what seems to me a true system, I wish you to observe

(1.) That a large and increasing portion of the working class is already making due provision for the season of sickness and for funeral expenses; that the number is becoming larger as the facilities are being brought nearer to their doors, and the absolute security offered by the Post Office Savings' Bank is becoming better understood.

(2.) That there is every reason to believe that the same spontaneous provision would be extended to life insurance and pensions in old age, and that general banking purposes will be increasingly made available, as the objects and security of a great *National Bank*, already provided for the industrial classes, are better understood.

The question is—shall the more improvident class be *compelled* to do a certain part of this great duty, or be *encouraged* to do much more, if not at once, yet gradually; or shall they be first encouraged; and then, if necessary, compelled, as a last resource?

We are, as a fact, only just beginning; and yet the results of the working of the Post Office Banks have been most encouraging.

Is there not every reason to believe that this progress would become incalculably greater, if the Government would make use of its elementary schools for the inculcation of the *theory* and the *practice* of economy. The success that has attended the French "*Caisse d'Epargne*" is a loud and seasonable call to this industrial country. In a certain desultory way, the example has been followed in some of our English schools, which promises the same happy results. It is simply impossible to over-estimate those results, if instruction in thrift became universally insisted upon, its principles made clear

through special and suitable books, and its practice brought close to each child through the machinery of the school branch of the "National Bank." Outside the Oxford Street Penny Bank a little boy not more than seven years, was heard to say to his friend, pointing to the Penny Bank, "That's where I bank." Every week 10,000 deposits are made, considerably more than half of which are under one shilling. The system which, as I am prepared to prove by official tables, has been found so successful elsewhere, is by no means unknown or untried in England. In one city, where scarcely more than five years ago there was no School Bank, there are now at least 11. The deposits in the year have reached £1,966. In the same year in another city, there were 23 School Banks, and the deposits reached £1,444. In that year at Ghent, where the system had been longer in operation, the deposits reached £5,276. The returns in France show the astonishing total from 8,033 *caisses d'épargne*, 177,000 depositors, and £123,000 worth of deposits. Who shall estimate the moral and social effect upon France, when these 177,000 depositors have grown into thorough prudent self-reliant men? And in producing these results what advantage has France over ourselves, unless it be in the absence of that all-demoralising agency of the Poor Law?

The School Savings' Bank starts from the principle that the primary school should not only be the promoter of instruction but of real education, should be regarded as the natural instrument of the social and moral elevation of the working population. I am no theorist. I can point to the fact that wherever tried, the School Savings' Bank has been ever found not only to achieve a great result, but also to make the school itself more attractive, while private benevolence could not be more usefully exercised than upon offering premiums to punctuality and progress, placed in the School Bank to the credit of the child. Such an element in the school system would render the school more popular with the parent, and make recourse to compulsory attendance less necessary. For what is the education which the parent most values—that which best fits the child for the examination room, or for the battle of life?

It is for want of such necessary training in the earlier years of life that in after life high wages only mean the most extravagant self-indulgence, prosperous beer-shops, and unpreparedness for a change of living when bad times come and wages fall. Legislative enactments in after life can never supply the remedy, though they may lend an important aid by removing obstacles and supplying facilities to its adoption. Class agitation cannot do it; we must fall back upon *individualism*. The school must bring its influence to bear upon the individual child, and every such child becomes a moral power in the school, in the neighbourhood, and in the state. Every single child, so influenced, tells upon his fellows, for, fortunately, good habits are catching as well as bad. The infection will spread from the child to the parents (who in France are often found to swell out the child's original centime into 20 and 50 centime pieces), and from the parents to the surrounding community.

The system of School Banks, whose inauguration dates from 1834, on the Continent of Europe made rapid progress, until in 1860

we find analogous and successful experiments in various districts of France, Prussia, Switzerland, and Hungary, attaining a fuller growth of organism and completeness in 1874. Last year, the tables of authority shew that in the various departments of its birth, the savings of French children attained the magnificent sum total of 2,964,352 francs—*i.e.*, £123,514 13s. 4d.

And what does this grand total mean, if applied to our own experience?

It means that many a young man would be able to start life with some little capital, or to tide over some trade crisis, or to take advantage of some favourable opening, or to provide against some attack of sickness and the infirmities of age.

It means that many a young woman, as she returns from the grave of her father, can cheer the heart of the widowed mother by advancing her deposit as a means of starting some profitable but modest industry.

It means that as the saving principle continues to permeate the laboring class, this England of ours would become not only a sober, self-restrained and contented people, but more open to the blessed influences of the Gospel.

It means a transfer of some millions of pounds from the beer-houses to the Banks of Savings.

It means that millions of what are called our future rulers would have a deposit in the National Bank, and, therefore, a stake in the country and a personal interest in its stability and prosperity.

Lastly, it means that multitudes, who, like their forefathers, would otherwise be spending their manhood as libertines and their old age as paupers, would be respected in the heat of the day, and be found enjoying their eventide in the happy consciousness that they have struggled bravely with life's difficulties, and were about to leave the rich inheritance of a good name, if not of substance, to their children.

And this is no matter of theory, no overdrawn picture.

In comparing such a system with a compulsory one, it may be objected that the deposits, being under the control of the depositors, might be withdrawn long before the season of sickness and old age. I answer that it will sometimes be so; but if they be spent upon clothing in boyhood, or furniture in manhood, or in the purchase of a cottage at the time of marriage, or of a deferred annuity, the chief object is attained—for, the habit of voluntary saving once formed, the practice may be expected to be renewed, and whatever creates the blessed sense of self-reliance will not only increase the capital of the country, but multiply the means of enjoyment, and prepare the way for higher religious influences.

It will be seen that the compulsory scheme does not provide for the family which loses its bread-winner, and therefore gives after all a very imperfect security against future pauperism. I may be told in answer—"Nor yet does yours." But there is this important difference. The man who has been educated in youth in personal habits of thrift, and trained to provide against one class of want, will be far more likely, when his first object is attained, to make fresh efforts than the man who has had his money forcibly taken from

him. And more than this, the continuous habit of thrift, once voluntarily formed, will extend itself beyond the sphere of *money* to those of *food* and of *health*, as well as other gifts, as men "gather up the fragments" in the spirit of a solemn responsibility.

But, in fairness, the question should now be asked, and it is to my mind the great question—is the method of a compulsory assurance necessarily antagonistic to that of moral training? Or, to put it more practically, can the later or compulsory principle be grafted on to the earlier or voluntary one? If a child has been taught to save £3, or perhaps £5, before he leaves school, can he be trusted to make efforts for carrying on what has been so hopefully begun? If so, not only is the £12 secured, or whatever sum is required to provide for sickness and old age, but there is also a moral certainty that habits, once formed, will lead to other provisions of equal importance, whether for a rainy day, or a strike, or a lock-out, or the purchase of a promising little business, or a life-insurance.

It would be a part of the duty of the elementary school to explain the difference of advantage between the monthly payments upon the returnable and non-returnable rates.

To secure the same object that is aimed at by Mr. Blackley, the boy would have to adopt the non-returnable scale. That scale would also have the double advantage of preventing the withdrawal of the deposits in the hour of a sudden temptation, and of securing the continuance of future payments in order to prevent the forfeiture of previous ones. The Trinity House in Hull supplies me with an instructive illustration. It performs the duties of an Insurance Society. That enlightened Corporation undertakes to pay the weekly premiums on behalf of its body, who are educated for the sea, and when they leave the school they are found, *as a rule*, ready to continue their payments rather than sacrifice those already made on their behalf.

I have said that Mr. Blackley has disposed of most of the practical objections brought against his scheme. To my own mind, the great objection is one of principle, and lies under this question—will the compulsory principle interfere with, if not cut at the very root of spontaneous thrift? His method, in the interests of justice towards the thrifty, seeks to exact from all, rich and poor alike, a minimum means of support, sufficient to protect the poor rates, in the season of sickness and old age. I have expressed the fear that such compulsory method will be a poor substitute for the voluntary one. But the question comes, *need* it be a substitute? Is there no reconciliation between the two schemes, no means of pressing the one upon the other at the termination of the school age? And if that age be far too early to leave to itself the habit of spontaneous saving, cannot the compulsory method be reserved for failure, for those who, *by the age of 21*, have failed to make the provision required by Mr. Blackley's scheme?

The enquiry I seek to institute is this—Is it not possible to divide the youth of the country into two classes—those who are making provision spontaneously, and those who are not? Is it not possible so to defer the application of the compulsory principle whilst time has been given for the *learning* and the *practice* of a truer thrift?

If at the age of 21, no provision has been made, will it not be time enough to apply the German Law, which compels all employers of operatives, whether male or female, to deduct from their wages payments to the National Bank, until the necessary amount has been accumulated? Such a rule would remove young persons who had up to adult age practised voluntary thrift from the ugly appearance of compulsion, just as the majority of boys at school are not subject to the stigma of the compulsory clauses of the Education Act. It is not that I object to the application of the compulsory method when the interests of society make it necessary, but when I see how progressive the march of self-reliance has been, since the Post Office Savings' Bank has been expanded into an Insurance Office, when I bear in mind that at this moment the deposits have reached the magnificent sum of £111,012,000, and that there are now six million separate accounts, I want an assurance that an entirely new movement shall not tend to check so grand an exercise of moral self-education.

For the futherance of the scheme which I have advocated, the State has already provided an ample machinery. I want you to think upon its potentiality. Through the Post Office the working man may be his own banker, where his savings are perfectly safe and bear interest. He may purchase, if he chooses, a deferred annuity, and he may insure his life. Within four years of leaving school, he may without inconvenience have purchased the deferred annuity, and is then at liberty to begin to make provision for life insurance, or for accumulating his savings with interest. Observe that at the age of 20, he has the same wage as at 30, which keeps a wife and family. It is clear, therefore, that he can, if he choose, lay up at 20 half his earnings, which at 30 will be needed for their support. If at 20 he earn 30s. a week, he can invest 15s. for the future. This 15s. a week in four years would come to £165. Is it too much to expect that many a boy, taught practically as well as theoretically in school and by the School Banks, would save 20s. a week out of 40s., from 18 to 22 years, and so possess not less than £223. These two sums left at three per cent. interest, unadded to, would produce at the age of 60, £495 and £660. If we ask him to spare out of 30s. weekly wages, the more modest deposit of 10s. a week, it amounts in four years to £110, and at 60 years of age to £330. How few of our labouring class, for want of mere education, which has been crowded out of our day schools by less practical subjects, have realised the simple fact that even a penny a day, saved from beer or tobacco, will reach in 50 years £172, and sixpence a day no less than £1,032!

How few realise the fact that £12 at 21 will secure 5s. as a weekly pension at 65; that if twopence a week for the last four years of school life were stored, this £12 would be reduced to £9; and that if then the provisions of the Factory Act were extended to his case, so that 12 per cent. of his weekly wages were deducted, not only would the balance of £9 be forthcoming to secure this annuity, but also a sick pay of 5s. a week till the age of 65, when the annuity would commence. In a great measure, what but ignorance stands in the way of those results?

Our common object is to make the Poor Law inoperative by diminishing the claimants. I look forward to the time when the number of such claimants may become so diminished as to allow of the relief of the Poor being once more directed through its ancient channels, when laws of love shall be undertaken by Church Charity and by old guilds, adapted to modern ideas; when the voluntary efforts of Christian benevolence shall be subsidized, not depressed, by local rates. In the Colonies we have what we call "Benevolent Societies." These societies employ discriminating agencies for the relief of real want. Their funds are subsidised by the state £ for £. The fatherless children, here as there, would, under such treatment, be transferred from the pauperising influences of a Union or District School to breathe the purer air of a Christian Orphanage. Innocent boys and girls would be kept from the taint of an hereditary pauperism. Deserving poor, who have been themselves payers of taxes, would receive support upon which they would have a moral claim, without the attachment of disgrace, and a broad line of distinction made, as cannot now be made, but which should everlastingly be made, between the meritorious and undeserving poor.

I fully endorse, and all my remarks are intended to endorse, the wise observations of the "Charity Commissioners," in their Report, that "doles in general are productive of more poverty and ultimate misery than they relieve, and the true way of relief is by helping the poor to *help themselves*, to endeavour to give them health and strength of body, intelligence and cultivation of mind, and habits of thrift, forethought, and self-respect." Since I left England in 1864, I rejoice to see how much legislation has done *directly* in the expansion which it has given to the "Post Office Savings' Bank." We all agree that something more remains to be done. What I say is—Let that *something more* be done in the direction of making more decent the houses of the most unthrifty, lessening the temptations to intemperance, and, lastly and chiefly, making far more practical the education of the Elementary Schools of the Empire.

ADDRESSES.

The VEN. ARCHDEACON FEARON, Rector of
Loughborough.

THE exhaustive way in which these subjects have been treated by previous speakers leaves little to be said by those who follow. But the more the encouragement of thrift is considered, the more important the subject will appear for the future prosperity of the population of this country. If we look to the derivation of the word from the verb thrive, we shall find something in it very suggestive. The great lexicographer, Johnson, says that thrift is one term for prosperity; and truly we may say that if a young man begins life with a due sense of thrift and economy, he will be likely to end with prosperity. Very numerous are the ways in which thrift may be promoted, and also in which the habit of it may be absolutely discouraged. We must take care which we do. Allotment gardens have been spoken of as a help to a poor man; and I do not know any greater, if these are judiciously appropriated and well managed. A

man has then vegetables for his family and the refuse for his pig. But these gardens will do little good unless care be taken in the selection of tenants. It is very doubtful whether choosing a tenant because he has a large family, as a benevolent wish would incline us to do, is in all cases wise. Perhaps the man is a bad gardener, and too impoverished to manure it. In this case he will secretly underlet it, or perhaps sell his interest to another person, and defeat your object of providing wholesome employment and food for his family. I have known persons sue for an allotment garden for this purpose alone. Again, a man dies and leaves a widow, who has never handled a spade; and yet she thinks it very hard if the garden is not continued in her incapable hands. I am not without experience in these matters. For thirty years I have let considerable portions of my glebe in allotment gardens; and I have at this time 120 tenants. One thing very desirable is to let it in small portions. One-eighth of an acre, 600 yards, is as much as a working-man can cultivate at his leisure hours. With more he is tempted to subtract too much time from his employer. If a higher class of artisan takes a garden, he wants to build a summer-house; and if there is a single brick in the foundation, it leaves you, if a clergyman, subject to dilapidation. Altogether, it is a system which will do a great deal of good if well looked after. But I have sometimes thought despairingly, that if you let land much below the market price, you will have to meet difficulties and evasions such as I have described. Before the Poor Law Amendment Act the farmers used to employ any old and worn-out men, to prevent their becoming chargeable to the poor-rates. But it was found a mischievous system, as preventing the young and active man from earning enough to make any provision for future years, and it was thus a direct discouragement to thrift. Among encouragements to thrift there is no greater than the coffee houses. All the surplus money, and some that is by no means surplus, is apt to go to the beer-shops. The coffee houses, no doubt, offer a counter attraction. There are several of these admirable institutions in Leicester. As to Charity endowments, it is a matter of surprise that people continue to give by will, and very large sums, for objects for which money a little time hence may cease to be required. The Charity Commissioners have done good service in this matter. It is a better and a purer thing to bestow your money judiciously in your lifetime. In conclusion, I repeat the opinion I gave at first of the importance, which cannot be over-estimated, of the encouragement of thrift and early carefulness in the lower and middle, as well as, I would add, a great many of the upper classes in this country.

The Rev. C. W. STUBBS, Vicar of Granborough.

To me, as a country parson, the question of the prevention of pauperism comes home in a very practical manner indeed. I am the vicar of a country parish in which more than 70 per cent. of the population are potential paupers—that is to say, that out of some 70 families in the village more than 50 are either actual or prospective recipients of the bounty of the Poor Law. I have not a single labouring man, past work, in my parish who is not either in the workhouse or in receipt of out-door relief. When I lived amongst Sheffield workmen I used sometimes to come across people who asserted that they would rather starve than receive parish pay. I have never even heard of such a case in Buckinghamshire. I fear I have hardly a labourer in my parish who, if he were sick or out of work, would not welcome the visit of the relieving officer. Failing the wages of work, the Bucks labourer learns to think of the wages of the parish as his of right. It is a standing grievance with him just now that the Board of Guardians should compel a man in full pay to contribute

towards the support of his aged parent. The fact is not surprising when one thinks of the physical conditions under which even such apparently elementary virtues as filial obedience and parental love must find their nourishment. We have fifty cottages in the village, but we have not one labourer's home with three bedrooms; we have 17 with only one. Our death-rate, which is generally so accurate an index of social condition, sounds satisfactory. It is only 18 per 1,000. But then one-third of our deaths are infants under the age of one.

I need not however multiply deplorable statistics of that kind. I merely mention these as an explanation of the kind of standpoint from which, as a country parson, one comes to the consideration of this question.

"What can I do to improve the social condition of my people? How shall I encourage habits of thrift? How discourage pauperism?"

Something, no doubt, may be done, as we have heard this afternoon, by a reformed administration of the Poor Law itself. The village pauper is the creature of the Poor Law, and to get a new creature you must possibly have a regenerated Poor Law.

But that will not be enough. Instead of paupers, we want to rear a race of thrifty labourers. But we can't make men thrifty, any more than we can make men sober, by Act of Parliament. Men can rise only by one means—the exercise of self-denial, and no Act of Parliament can enact that. Something also may doubtless be done by preaching Thrift as a religious obligation. And we shall succeed with individuals. But if we are to influence the class we must do something more than preach. I do not mean to imply that the labouring class are less likely to be influenced by the religious motive than any other class of the nation. Religion does not go by classes, or if it does, my sympathies go very much with Mr. Bright's decision in that respect.

Nor does the disposition to save go by classes either,—at least, not quite in the way that some people would have us suppose. It used to be rather a commonplace of speakers upon Thrift to talk of the improvidence of the lower classes, as if there were no spendthrifts elsewhere. Lord Derby did something to set matters right in that respect, when he pointed out at the Mansion House, last March, that it was the middle class who saved, the upper and the lower who did not.

It would perhaps have been a truer generalisation, or rather a completer expression of his generalisation, to say that those classes who are engaged in what the political economists technically call "productive" enterprises, save; those who are dependent on fixed wages, or salaries, or stipends, do not. The manufacturer, the banker, the tradesman,—the business man, in fact, whose effort it is to turn over his capital as many times a year as possible,—these are the people who have built up the saved capital of England, these are the people who save. The salaried or wage classes, on the other hand, amongst whom of course I would include the professional man as well as the manual worker, the barrister and the clergyman, the lawyer and the doctor, the artisan and the peasant, the men of fixed incomes, whether you call them stipends or salaries or fees or wages, these are the people who do not save.

Of course I am speaking of the class, not of the individual. But then we should remember it is the rule of the business man to invest his savings. It is in fact his business to do so. Whereas it is only the exception of the professional man or the labourer to "insure his life;" insurance is the special device of the thrifty non-capitalist. In a word, the people who can "turn over their money" save; the people who can only "lay by their money" do not.

Now here, it appears to me, is a principle which, as a country parson, I cannot afford to ignore in any attack that I may attempt upon the pauperism of my parishioners. There is a stronger motive to save created by the desire of investment in the present, than by the desire of insurance against the future.

In other words, I shall be more sure of success in my attempt to encourage thrift and frugality among my people if I can show them any means of lucrative investment open to those of them who will exercise self-denial and economy, than if I were merely to point out to them the advantages of insuring against the probable misfortunes of the future. It is not I, I need hardly say, that would discourage such efforts at insurance.

Penny banks, medical and sick clubs, provident dispensaries, clothing clubs, life insurance societies, all these of course are to be encouraged; they are indeed the "working plant," so to speak, of any well-ordered parish. But I still maintain that we do not do well to neglect that incentive to saving which is created by the opportunity of the direct, present investment of savings.

And that opportunity may, I think, best be found for the rural labourer in the occupation and cultivation of land.

Mr. Blackley's scheme of national insurance is admirable. It seems possible that some day it may even be carried out, for it has evidently succeeded in firing the imagination of the Poor Law Reformer. But one thing I am afraid it does not succeed in doing. It does not fire the imagination of the agricultural labourer.

The opportunity of occupying land does. And therefore as it seems to me it is in providing that opportunity that we find the natural starting point in any successful scheme for the depauperization of the labouring population.

After all, land is the most natural Savings Bank of the rural labourer. It is a Bank which he understands. He is familiar with its working. He knows something of its system of deposits, its method of exchange, the nature of its reserve fund, of its risks, of the rates of interest which it offers, the value of its securities.

In these days of land agitation it may perhaps be well to guard myself against any misapprehension. I have no sympathy with revolutionary methods of land reform. Glad as I should be to see the agricultural labourers of England in possession of that incentive to thrift which is created in the bosom of the French or Belgian peasant by the sense of landed possession, anxious as I am to see such a reform of our land laws as may very largely widen the circle in which the responsibilities of landed property may be exercised, firmly as I believe in the valuable conservative forces which result to any State from a wide extension of property in the soil, still I have no belief in the success of any scheme for the compulsory establishment of peasant proprietorship.

At the same time it does seem to me little less than absurd, that, when we are seeking for means of developing the virtue of thrift in our labouring population, we should shut our eyes to the means by which that virtue has been created in the most thrifty race in Europe.

I think we country clergy have a special responsibility in this respect. In the first place, by our position, the majority of us are, if not landlords, at least land holders. We form in fact, I believe, about a fourth of the resident landed proprietors of the country. Like Tennyson's "Northern Farmer," therefore, "we owe a duty to the land."

In the second place, by our office as servants of a Society which seeks to convert the world, we seem pledged to apply the principles of that Society to the management of our earthly possessions.

It would seem natural, therefore, under these circumstances, to expect social experiments in the management of land to be made by the clergy of the Church of England. Their philanthropic zeal one would imagine would not be restrained from attempting such experiments by considerations of purely secular economy.

I would offer, therefore, in conclusion this suggestion to those of the clergy who are holders of glebe land.

Would it not be possible for us so to manage the property of which we

are trustees that we might give to the rural labourer once more that responsibility of property from which he has gradually been divorced by the combined action of our land customs and our Poor Law?

There are two practical directions, it appears to me, in which this attempt may be usefully carried out.

First, in the extension of the allotment system.

Second, in the application of the principles of co-operation to agriculture.

The first is a very old fashioned remedy indeed. As far back as the first year of the present century the Board of Agriculture declared the extension of the allotment system to be "a great national object." Its merits and demerits have been a constant subject of discussion from that time to the Report of the Royal Commission on agricultural employment a few years ago. The whole subject in fact may seem to be exhausted. But though, perhaps, everything possible has been *said*, I very much doubt whether everything possible has been done.

At a Conference, which was held at Oxford at the beginning of this year, jointly promoted by a Committee of Clergy and of the Amalgamated Labour League, there was a very generally expressed opinion on the part of the labourers that the country clergy should meet somewhat more cordially their very marked desire at the present time to occupy and cultivate land on their own account by accepting them as tenants, either as individual holders of glebe allotments, or as associated members of societies prepared to rent and work glebe farms on co-operative principles.

As my time is nearly exhausted, I cannot now enter into the practical working of such schemes. I may, however, perhaps be allowed to refer you to the Report of that Conference*, where those of you who are interested in following out the question will find various practical suggestions, both as to possible means of extending the allotment system, and also as to experiments in the application of the co-operative principle to market-gardening and dairy-farming.

One word only would I ask to be allowed to say finally. No scheme for the abolition of pauperism amongst the rural poor can be successful which does not commence by setting before them an "attainable point of hope."

The root-virtues of a manly character, self-reliance, self-help, independence, ambition, will never grow in the hard soil of a day-labourer's life, unless they be first watered from the perennial spring of Hope. To transpose the old proverb—"While there is Hope there is Life." Let us find a means of implanting this principle in the bosom of the agricultural labourer, and we may succeed in changing even the dull grey monotony of his existence, into one of

"Life, full life,
Full-flowered, full-fruited, reared from homely earth,
Rooted in duty, and, through long calm years,
Bearing its load of healthful energies,
Stretching its arms on all sides: fed with dews
Of cheerful sacrifice, and clouds of care.

DISCUSSION.

Earl NELSON.

I wish first to congratulate you on the very high character of the papers which we have heard read, and of the speeches to which we have listened from the selected speakers. I have sent in my card for the purpose, first, of expressing my hearty agreement with all that was stated by those speakers, and especially by

* "Glebe Allotments and Co-operative Small Farming": LEWIS POULTON, Aylesbury. Price One Shilling.

Mr. Blackley, until he came to his compulsory remedy. As one of many who would gladly join him in his association for the promotion of thrift, and are working with him in other ways for the encouragement of thrift, I would venture to make an appeal to him that he would not be quite so certain of the feasibility of that his one great panacea. Of course, in fear of the little book to which Mr. Blackley has referred, which I have read, and which we are told is a final answer to every possible objection to his scheme, it is impossible for me within the ten minutes that are at my disposal, to point out my objections to his plan; but I may just mention one or two points which, to my mind, make it clear that his scheme is at least in a very raw state; and I am afraid he will damage the cause by insisting upon it, at all events at present, as the greatest panacea for what we all wish to remedy. Now, in the first place, let us take the money. He says, I believe, that a man ought to have saved £10 by the time he is twenty; but I maintain that in the non-wage-earning classes, where a poor man has a large number of children and there is nothing coming in from them, even £10 by the time they were twenty would be a tax which they could hardly bear. But taking it at that figure, what is the £10 to do? It is proposed that the pay during sickness should be 6s. a week, and the pension from the age of sixty-five* 4s. a week. With the desire to see how far this scheme was practicable, I went to the Post Office for the official rates of insurance, and I found that a man of twenty, who wished to have a pension of 4s. a week from the age of 65 to death would have to pay, not £10 only, but £30—that for pension alone, without any sick pay at all. In the next place, I have had a great deal to do with friendly societies, and I know that with all the energy and precaution that are exercised, and all the influence we bring to bear on the local committees of these friendly societies, there is immense difficulty in keeping down “shamming,” and with a gigantic friendly society managed by Government, to which every man was compelled to subscribe, it would be impossible to keep down sickness even to the limit within which it is kept down now. There is one other point in Mr. Blackley’s plan which I do not quite understand, although I have read the little book, and that is with regard to the payments made by women. No arrangements are made to meet this case, although it is well known that the risks of sickness are far greater in the case of women than they are in the case of men; so much so, that many benefit societies will not take their contributions at all. At all events we have no arrangement about these, but on the other hand, it is said that the richer classes would be included in the obligation to pay the £10 for each child, although it is not at all likely that they would derive any of the benefit of the payments. How do you know they will not? Do not the rich also, to a great extent, insure their lives against accidents? And if I had insured my life by the payment of a sum, why should I not ask for my pound a week, a day, or whatever it was I had insured for? So all the sons of clergymen and professional men would, under a system of compulsory assurance, ask for the sick pay when they were sick. I might go on to other points, but I only wish to ventilate these, and to express my opinion that it would be a very difficult thing for any Legislature to pass a bill embodying such a scheme as that which Mr. Blackley proposes. I believe that many of the people who are now provident, who belong to the Foresters or Oddfellows, and other societies, and to Trades’ Unions, would view it with suspicion, for there would be the fear, at all events, that, if by one swoop all the young men were taken from the clubs, they would be left as clubs having only old men as members,

* This was stated roughly from memory—For a pension from 65, money returnable, would require £21. For 4s. a week from 70, money unreturnable, all that is required is £5 os. 10d., but not 13s. Sick pay is 8s. a week, not 6s.

and these must come to grief in their old age. I think it is a pity that a plan like this should be attempted to be put forward as the only panacea, and I wish to point out that there are really many ways in which this great evil affecting the people and affecting the Church, who ought to look after the people's welfare, might be met. In the first place, as a Christian, every one of us, in giving alms, should consider that he is performing a real duty to God. Let no one give carelessly, and merely to gratify a passing feeling, but let every one give in a way that shall encourage thrift and self-reliance. My own estate furnishes a suggestion in point. It used to be the fashion, when certain old labourers became too old for work, to allow them a shilling a week. Of course, that obliged them to go the Poor Law for relief. But what I say is, if a labourer is worthy of a pension, give him three shillings a week, or six shillings a week at once, if necessary, and show that you do not wish him to go to the Poor Law, and so teach him a lesson at once in the way of thrift. There is one other thing which might be done, and which for the last three or four years I have done in the neighbourhood of my own villages. In certain places I have let small pieces of land, because I do not think that, in consequence of the habits of unthrift into which our agricultural people have fallen, they are yet ripe to have land of their own; and the experience of old freeholders, all dying out, being eaten up with mortgages, and with cottages and buildings falling into disrepair, is proof of this; but I do think that good encouragement would be given to thrift by letting small pieces of land in the neighbourhood of the villages. I have done this. I let what are called cow lands, for the purpose of keeping cows, three acres or more to a tenant. I cannot go thoroughly into that point now; but with reference to what has been said by one of the previous speakers, that a widow having a piece of land could not use a spade, I will just mention that, when one of my cow tenants died, the widow asked to be allowed to keep on the cow land. I warned her that if she did she would be precluded from poor-law relief. "Yes," she replied, "I am quite aware of that, but with the help of some of my children, I can keep on the cow land and keep off the parish;" and she has. She kept the cow land, and afterwards came for another plot of land to keep a second cow.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of WINCHESTER.

I HAVE asked to be allowed to speak, because I think that everybody who has spoken already has acknowledged that the Poor Law, in its present state, at all events, has done a great deal of mischief. Certain remedies have been suggested, but I cannot help thinking that, generally speaking, the remedies suggested have been such as will act only by driblets, and not in the way of extensive reform. Mr. Blackley has proposed a great scheme for dealing with this subject, not by driblets, but as a whole. One thing we must all be agreed upon, and that is that no abolition of the Poor Law can take place unless something else be substituted for it. If you have poverty you must do something to relieve it. You can, of course, teach thrift, but as a mere lesson that will take a long course of teaching. Then it is said, in answer to Mr. Blackley's scheme, "You cannot make a man thrifty by compulsion." But in the first place, you have made people paupers by compulsion. I listened with the greatest possible interest to the speech, the last but one, by a Buckinghamshire clergyman. It brought me back to the days of my childhood, because I was born in Buckinghamshire, and know a great deal of the state of things in those days, and could, speaking from experience, tell how the agricultural labourers came to be paupers. The farmers used to agree together to take a certain number of men; they bid for these men, I may say without any exaggeration, actually putting them up to auction; and an able-bodied man would

be paid 4s. a-week, whilst the remainder, to enable him to subsist, would be made up by the parish. So that, supposing it was necessary a man should have 10s. a-week, if the farmers gave 4s., the parish would give 6s. He could not get anything else; and so these men were made paupers by compulsion. Who, then, could be surprised that the peasants did not care to provide for themselves? That is what was going on at the beginning of the present century—what was going on in Buckinghamshire within the last 70 years or so. I can remember it well; I have known thoroughly good workmen, strong, able-bodied, efficient men, who, in that way, were paid their 4s. a-week by the farmers, and their 6s. by the parish, and were thus being compelled to become paupers. Now, in the same way that you forced pauperism, you may force thrift to a certain extent. I am perfectly well aware of the difficulties of Mr. Blackley's scheme; I have pointed them out before now, and I do not say that he altogether gets rid of them; but, supposing it is a scheme that could be worked, I do not see that it is any objection to say that you are forcing people to be thrifty. If you by past practices forced people to become paupers, so you can by other practices force upon them habits of thrift. If you take a drunken man and put him in prison, or in a straight waistcoat, or keep him in confinement of some kind for three years, you will very likely make him sober. That is making a man sober by compulsion, and so also a man may be forced into habits of thrift by compulsion, if you take him for three years at the time when he is most tempted to extravagance—between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one—and treat him in the way proposed. At that age his passions are strong; his health is good; he has no fear of consequences; he is his own master; and if you compel him for three years to lay by a certain sum, then you compel a habit of thrift which will probably adhere to him in after life. To a certain extent, therefore, thrift may be cultivated more or less by compulsion. Certain difficulties have been suggested which perhaps ought to be spoken of on this occasion. For example, it is said that the non-wage-earning class will grumble very much at the enforced insurance. Of course they will, and I perfectly agree in all that was said about the difficulty that would be experienced by a poor widow who had to educate her son for holy orders, or for any profession, and was called upon to pay £10 for her son during the three years when he was most expensive to her. Farmers, tradesmen, and others would, of course, grumble very much at having to pay £10 for each of their children, but in looking at this difficulty, it must be remembered that they would then have no poor rates to pay. If a man paid, say £30 for his three boys, that would be his contribution to the POOR LAW for life, and it would, generally speaking, be a very good bargain. It is true there must be a difficulty at first, because the payment will come on at once, whilst exemption from the poor rates will not come at once. There must be a transition period during which the poor rate must go on; and that is one of the difficulties out of which I confess that I do not clearly see my way. Another difficulty has been touched upon by Lord Nelson—viz: the great danger of shamming sickness. Clubs are already very much alive to this danger, and take measures to provide against it; but it would be much more difficult for the Government to have the same safeguards, and the change would involve, on the part of the Government, a much more extensive machinery. That, then, is another difficulty which would have to be faced. But as to the objection that £10 would be insufficient, I am inclined to the opposite opinion, and think it would be enough. You must bear in mind that between the ages of twenty and seventy there is a very large proportion of deaths, so that a very large proportion of those who pay their £10 would never come for their 4s. a-week after seventy. Then a great number would not claim the allowances—I mean those who do not actually require to take advantage of them. They would merely pay the £10 as a substitution for the poor rates. Besides, it would cost a wealthy man a guinea at least to obtain the certificate from his physician, and it would be scarcely worth his while to do that in order to receive eighteen shillings for three

weeks' sick pay. If everyone paid at the age of twenty-one, and the payments were invested at four per cent., I believe the fund would provide over 4s. a-week for all claimants over seventy. Altogether, it appears to me that Mr. Blackley's scheme, though not without considerable difficulties, is a very ably devised scheme, and one which promises a certain amount of success. No scheme of the kind can be expected to float all at once. It must require a good deal of consideration. It was brought forward by Lord Carnarvon last year in the House of Lords, when I supported it, suggesting then, as I do now, the desirability of some enquiry being instituted—by Committee of the House of Lords or by Royal Commission—in order that the matter may be sifted in a thorough and business-like manner, and not to leave it to one man, however able, like Mr. Blackley, to say whether the proposal will hold water or not, and whether the difficulties suggested cannot be explained away.

The Rev. W. BARKER, Vicar of West Cowes.

I SHOULD not to-day have ventured to speak upon a question of this kind had not my friend Mr. Blackley asked me as a special favour to say one or two words; and my remarks must be few, as I have only five minutes allotted to me. Now, it seems to me that a question like this must be looked at as an Imperial one. It is no use approaching it according to our individual observations of what takes place in any small parish in country or in town. We have to look at this great patent fact, that pauperism exists in this country in a way and in a degree not to be found in any other country; and it is legitimate to conclude that this pauperism, in as much as it exists in the richest country in the world, must be the result of false legislation. The next point I wish to insist upon is that a very large proportion of the poorer people are thriftless, not because they do not wish to be thrifty, but because they can see no advantage in putting by their money in small amounts. But if it can be shown to them that by saving £10 between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one they can secure an allowance of 8s. a week during illness and 4s. a week of pension from the age of seventy, I feel quite sure that the great majority of the working classes would be only too glad to avail themselves of the boon. It was my privilege a few months ago to address something like 2,000 working men, and I then took it upon myself to expound pretty fully Mr. Blackley's scheme. The men listened attentively, and at the close came round me and offered at once to begin insurance on a small scale if I would inaugurate it. They were picked men of the Midland Railway—men who assemble every morning for prayer, discussion, and reading—not ignorant and thoughtless, but the better sort of the working classes. One point which has been insisted on is that the paupers of the present day are to a large extent irreclaimable. When a man once becomes a pauper, he is so degraded, so demoralised, it is almost impossible to breathe into him anything like a feeling of self-reliance and self-respect. Mr. Blackley's scheme will not touch these people at all. It looks into the future, and it says "Let these young persons who are now between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one—let these young persons, before they have known the wretchedness of pauperism, the misery of workhouse relief, and the degradation of the weekly dole—let them, by saving a sixpence or a shilling a week, feel that after twenty they are the owners of a little property, that they have a stake in the country, and are dependent on no one," and you will make a pauper class almost impossible. Mr. Blackley does not propose to abolish the Poor Law; it will abolish itself. Let this scheme be put in working order. Let it be worked out as suggested by the Bishop of my diocese. Let there be a commission or committee of inquiry, and I feel sure that some such scheme will form the outlines of a future measure

of legislation. One word about compulsion. None of us like to be compelled to do a thing we are not disposed to do; but compulsion enters into our system of civilisation and social life, and I hold it would be a blessed thing to make a man do that which must be for his good, and must raise him morally, intellectually, and spiritually. The Bishop of Peterborough has, in his Presidential Address to-day, struck a note at this Congress which will resound throughout England. The great question of the future for the Church to grapple with is the state of the seething populations of our large towns—how to deal with the pauperism, squalor, and wretchedness which exist amongst a large class of the people. I hope this scheme of Mr. Blackley's, although at a Congress like this it cannot be thoroughly worked out in detail, will, however, be like a seed in the minds of this thoughtful audience, and if it only germinates, I feel sure that a rich crop of sound public opinion will be reaped, and that when the question is revived again in Parliament it will be received with greater attention, and find a larger and more intelligent support. The two great reforms of the future are first the removal of the Public Houses, and then almost as a consequence the shutting up of the Poor Houses.

CONGRESS HALL, TUESDAY EVENING,
SEPTEMBER 28TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 7 o'clock.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE NATION:

- (a) THE UPPER CLASSES.
- (b) THE MIDDLE CLASSES.
- (c) THE INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE first paper this evening was to have been read by the Rev. Canon Barry. I deeply regret to state—and I am sure the Congress will share my regret—that he has been prevented from coming here by a deep family affliction. The Congress, I feel certain, will join with me in an expression of our great sympathy with Canon Barry. The Rev. Canon Vaughan, one of the Secretaries, will read the paper.

PAPERS.

The Rev. Canon BARRY, D.D.

I AM bidden to touch in a short paper on a large and complicated subject—"The Religious Condition of the Upper Classes." Before attempting to fulfil this task, I desire to limit my attempt by two introductory remarks.

First that, for the sake of clearness and coherency, I shall try to look at that religious condition under only one main aspect, which has strongly impressed my own mind; without presuming, however, to claim for this view any exhaustive completeness of idea, or even a necessary predominance among the characteristics of our present religious condition.

Next that, in determining what are "the upper classes," I look chiefly not to rank or wealth, but to the possession of higher culture and education; and that, in endeavouring to judge of their religious condition, I am guided, not so much by vague impressions of the customs and tone of what is called "society," as by the more definite exhibitions of thought and principle, which come out in the literature, permanent or ephemeral, in the political and social action, and in the distinctly religious or irreligious movements, of the day.

(I.) Proceeding on these lines of thought, I would submit that there are three spiritual conditions of society—manifesting themselves alike under intellectual, moral, and religious phases—which, through all individual peculiarities, work out a certain characteristic tone in an age or generation.

The first and highest is the condition in which men are, on the whole, led freely by the Spirit—to see Truth, to reverence Right and Purity, to love God in Jesus Christ—all, so to speak, for their own sakes, without predominant influence of hope and fear, and without any absolute dependence on institutions or laws, conventions or traditions, of the past or present.

The lowest condition is the condition in which liberty has passed into license—the *negative* license (if I may so call it) of carelessness and indifference, or of a contented and unlimited scepticism on subjects which by the nature of the case call for some decision, because they involve high moral duty and responsibility—or the *positive* license of a conscious godlessness, a resolute self-trust and self-will, an avowed acceptance of pleasure or interest, whether of the individual or of society, as the only law of life.

Between these two extremes is that condition, which, in the Scriptural sense of the word, is mainly "under the law." It is a condition largely of dependence, partly guided and partly coerced by deference to customs and institutions, to law and public opinion, to tradition and ecclesiastical authority—these being perhaps accepted intelligently, and not unwillingly, but yet in great degree made the substitutes for independent thought, free adhesion of conscience, and enthusiastic devotion.

I need hardly stop to argue that the "Law is good, if a man use it lawfully"—that is, in its true function, which is to guard liberty and restrain license; but that this function, however valuable, is yet a secondary function, and that idolatry of law is apt to crush, instead of guarding, liberty, and, by re-action, to give occasion to wild license. For it is as easy to see this in theory, as it is difficult to apply it in practice. The state "under law" is far better than the worst, but worse than the best. It is neither the highest nor the lowest condition of humanity.

Now, looking to the present religious condition of the upper classes in England, I should be inclined to characterise it emphatically as a condition in which respect for, and dependence upon, law have lost much of their ancient power—sometimes being unconsciously neglected, sometimes deliberately put aside. It is, therefore, a condition in which, by the removal of all barriers, the two extreme powers of free religious principle, and of irreligious license, are brought into direct contrast and into deadly conflict.

(II.) I can hardly suppose that anyone, who compares our own generation with those which preceded it, will contest the assertion, that in it the power of law is seriously discredited. There is certainly abroad a contempt for old traditions of sobriety and order; a diminution of respect for authority in all its forms; a strong, and perhaps exaggerated, fear of dullness, formalism, conventionality; a disinclination to allow strict regulation by law of any energy which can claim the credit of vigour and earnestness; a passion for activity and heartiness, for strong excitement and for unlimited development of human faculties by culture and experience of every kind; a demand that on all questions we shall go down to first principles, and at once sacrifice any institution which cannot prove that it is based thereon.

This tendency has many exemplifications of a political and social type. But I will content myself with noticing a few, distinctly touching religious observance and action. Among these I would adduce (for example) the growing neglect of the old traditional sobrieties of Lent, coincident (very characteristically) with increased attention to Lenten religious services. Like this, but far more serious, is the tendency to disregard the observances, negative and positive, which have guarded the sacredness of the Lord's Day; and, by a re-action from Sabbatarianism, to divide the day between fervid religious services and merely secular amusements. The same spirit in a different form is shown by the deliberate disregard, in the writings and speeches of those who claim to be disciples of scientific and philosophical progress, of the old conventions of decency and reverence on religious subjects; as though it were a mark of weakness and insincerity to show respect or tenderness for time-honoured beliefs which they themselves do not hold. Such again, in a very opposite quarter, is the impatience of the limitations of law and fixed order, whether in ritual of worship, or in spiritual life and work, or in ecclesiastical development—an excessive faith in the spiritual value of religious excitements and of vehement religious beliefs, however fanatical they may be, and an unlimited confidence that they will somehow find their place and do their work, if they are only let alone—and a certain depreciation of the temper of sobriety, order, moderation, always held (and, I suppose, not untruly held) to be characteristic of the English Church as of the English people.

These—a few out of many which might be adduced—are all unmistakable signs of a tendency in the religious life of our educated classes to break down, in the name of Truth and Freedom, the old barriers of law, which served in quieter times as at once restraints and protections to the power of the Spirit.

What is the effect of this tendency on the religious condition of Society? It appears to be—what it might be expected to be—a freer development and a more deadly conflict of the two antagonistic powers. The field is clear for the battle of irreligious unbelief and license, against free religious energy of faith.

(III.) Thus, to look first at the darker side, it is only too obvious that among the educated classes, especially in the chief centres of thought, Metropolitan or Academical, there never was a time when opinions formally antagonistic to Christianity, and indeed to all vital religion, were more ruthlessly and more arrogantly advanced. They may not be new in themselves; generally, I believe, they are the old enemies, which have, from the first ages, menaced the unchangeable positions of Christianity. But certainly they come against us in new form and power. In the name of Science, we have pressed upon us, as the only enlightened theory of Being, a Materialism, which, when hard pressed, melts into some phase of Pantheism. From the chairs of historical research, and what is called "the higher criticism," we are bidden to look upon Christianity, either as one expression—perhaps as yet the highest—of human thought, searching after a God unknown or at least dimly seen; or as "the last and noblest of the Mythologies," projecting over the universe the gigantic shadow of our own moral and intellectual nature. In either case, with possibly the bare acknowledgment of a God, we must come practically to that which is offered to us as the only "Positive philosophy," a worship of Humanity, out of which all these religious ideas are being constantly developed, and which is naturally looked upon as greater than its past creation, and rich in capacity of higher things in the future. But if neither of these worships—the worship of the Universe, or the worship of Humanity—can win our allegiance, then a vague Agnosticism, neither denying nor confessing any higher power, but going on, as best may be, without any theory of the Divine, in a world which a dark Pessimism then naturally represents as blind and miserable, offers itself as a chill anodyne for the pain of thought.

These forms of opinions are not content to express themselves in the serious utterances of Science or Philosophy. They are "in the air," emerging in all quarters even of our lighter and more popular literature, delighting, it would seem, not so much in attacking, as in flouting Christian faith, and holding it a mark of freedom and sincerity to cast off all the reserve of decency and respect which once would have been enforced upon Infidelity by public opinion.

Side by side with these forms of abstract irreligious opinion there appears, in a more practical form, what I may call a "Paganism" of tone—allying itself with the growing luxury of modern times and the delight in all that makes the beauty and brightness of the present life—worshiping civilisation in its various forms, all of which are directly concerned with this world, as the one thing needful—at times seeking lower but more tangible objects of worship, by idolatry of passionate love and purer family affection, or in an enthusiasm for the glory and prosperity of our country, as superior to all other moral considerations—at times rising into a vague though nobler worship of Humanity at large, and making love of

human progress almost a religion. This tone of thought is sometimes merely unchristian, but more often anti-christian—fierce against Christian morality and Christian faith—especially fierce, under the guise of disdain, against anything like the doctrine of the Cross.

Nor, I fear, can we disguise from ourselves that, in close connection with these forms of opinion and feeling, there is in the upper classes at this moment a certain disregard of the old soberness and decencies of Society—a condonation, at least, of vices and follies in high places, which once would have been scouted—and a fashionable acceptance in Society of whatever seems to be brilliant and exciting, or even novel and amusing, with all the greater zest, in proportion as it shocks the old-world sense of propriety. Need I add that such a temper as this tells at once on our religious belief? To use St. Paul's words, it "does not like to retain God in its knowledge," and must either idly ignore or passionately deny Him.

These are some of the forces of evil, to which the modern carelessness of law gives freer scope than in days gone by in the upper classes of Society; and those who look only at these—knowing how few really think things out for themselves, and how many are guided by the tone and custom of Society—may be excused, if they fall into some despondency, or launch out into wild denunciations of our times.

(IV.) But the same freedom (thank God!) seems to be giving new scope also to strong religious energies, braced to a greater intensity by the loss of secondary supports, and resolutely seeking a completer thoroughness both of action and of thought.

We cannot but be struck with the strong religious interest, and spirit of religious inquiry, which are abroad. It must be noticed, even by the most casual observation, that all questions, social and political, have at this moment a tendency to assume ultimately a theological form. Who can deny this, if he has followed, for example, the great controversies of Continental Politics, has examined the various forms of the Socialistic movement, or studied thoroughly that Eastern Question, which still vexes the mind of Europe? Now, it is surely something to understand that the basis of human life cannot be found without searching after God, and that the nature of man cannot be fully developed without something which can at least call itself a religion. Even if the inquiry be unsparing of old forms of belief, wild in license of novel speculation, prejudiced against what it deems prejudices, and intolerant beyond all other intolerance of anything like fixed belief, yet still those who have faith in the victorious power of truth, will infinitely prefer it to the stagnation of indifference to all religious questions, and to that contentment with merely secondary principles, which avoids, as dangerous, all examination of the foundation of life.

But, besides this—in which we trace rather the seed than the full growth of religion—it is impossible not to recognise, in the educated classes of the present day, very clear and positive effects of the great threefold revival which has passed over the Church of England

in this century,—the revival of strong personal religion, the restoration of a fuller belief in the absolute truth of the Gospel and the continual presence of Christ in His Church, the larger conception of the harmony of the natural and supernatural in all the dispensations of God to man. These effects are, as might be expected, most clearly visible among the clergy, but they are real and powerful among the laity also.

I trace them in relation to thought. No doubt there is abroad much shallow depreciation of theology, for which the over-subtlety and dogmatism of theologians are partly responsible. But there is a keen interest in all inquiries into the true essential principles of Christianity, as distinct from secondary accretions which have gathered round them. Whenever a man has really something to say on religious truth and life, whether as a preacher or as a writer, whether in theology or in Biblical exegesis and criticism, I see that his teaching is readily and intelligently welcomed. Never probably did more theological works issue from the Press, to be received with appreciation at least equal to their deserts. Never did theological discussion on the chief points of God's Revelation in Christ—to say nothing of less vital questions concerning the Church—attract a more general interest.

I trace these effects still more in action—in the large and munificent support on which every religious work can reckon—in the co-operation, which all who are earnest in the service of God receive abundantly—in the willingness and resolution of lay members of the Church to claim their place of influence and duty—even in the formation of vigorous religious associations, though they may be at times narrowed by party spirit, and insufficiently subordinated to authority.

I trace these effects also in devotion, in the crowded churches, in the glad appreciation of frequent services, in the large increase of communicants, wherever the Gospel and the Grace of Christ have free scope. I know that it is not uncommon to ascribe much of this to “mere fashion;” but after all, whatever fashion may be in the individual, it is surely an evidence of public opinion and feeling in the community. Nor do I believe that, on the whole, it is “mere fashion,” if that phrase is meant to deny the existence of sincere feeling and conviction.

Accordingly, in thought, in action, and in devotion, I believe that in the present condition of the upper classes in England, there is a strong element of religious life, brought out more distinctly by the very presence of irreligious antagonism. Even the tendency towards Rome, which is traceable in the upper classes, and in these almost alone, is simply a mark of re-action towards unhesitating dogmatism from the vagueness of scepticism and the blank of infidelity.

Nor can we doubt that this religious vitality can show itself from time to time with striking and with irresistible power. Much as I deplore many points in the late controversy as to Mr. Bradlaugh, yet I rejoice in the strong testimony which it bore—with all allowance for political and party considerations, with all drawbacks of conventionality and inconsistency—to the repudiation by the educated lay opinion of the country of a hard Atheism

having, as was believed, very questionable bearings on decency and morality. Whatever again may be thought of the Burials' Act as a whole, there is something remarkable in the utter collapse of the threatened attack upon its restriction of Funeral Rites in the Churchyard to "Christian Services." Nor can we well exaggerate the significance of the fact—the more striking by contrast with Continental experience—that of the chief political leaders of our day there are few, very few, who do not openly avow some distinct religious profession.

(V.) The conclusion, therefore, which I would submit to the Congress is this—that the religious condition of the upper classes marks out this time as especially an "era of conflict," in the ceaseless and truceless war between faith and unbelief; and that this conflict is intensified by the weakening or destruction of many old barriers of Law, Convention, and Tradition among us. On such a conflict we must look with deep anxiety; but, if we have faith in the Truth and Grace of Christ, out of that anxiety should rise the light of ardour and of hope. What the Church and those who speak in her name have to supply for the needs of their brethren of the upper classes in this critical struggle may be, I think, comprised mainly under three heads. She must give larger and more unfettered opportunities, both in devotion and in action, for the religious energy of the individual Christian. She must bear a bolder witness—which must be purged from all the Church abuses that discredit it—against luxury and selfishness, whether of persons or of classes, and against immorality, whether it show itself in individual action or in National Policy. But, above all, she must draw forth out of her treasury a theology at once deep and wide, which shall keep, not only abreast, but ahead of modern thought, and bring out boldly the right predominance, above all lesser notes in the harmony of Truth, of the Eternal Gospel of God in the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Rev. CANON W. LEFROY.

IF one were asked to form an estimate of the religious condition of an individual taken from the middle classes of this great nation, the possibility of making it would depend very largely upon the nature of the tests to be applied. Difference of opinion with regard to these would render the process extremely difficult; and the conclusion, if reached at all, would be far from satisfactory, because it would, from the nature of the case, be open to as much debate as the differences respecting the tests involved and invited. If, however, there be agreement respecting the criteria, the case is rendered comparatively easy. Nor is there any violence in assuming that such agreement widely prevails in a Congress of Churchmen. Indeed, I am not without a reasonable hope that if any lay or reverend brother, claiming, if you will, distinctive ecclesiastical denomination, were informed that a certain individual was in a religious condition, he would probably inquire, What is this man's attitude towards God in

Christ? How is this attitude manifested in the Church and towards the world? True, these tests might be increased, but scarcely to the advantage of inquiry. Let us rest content with them, especially as we find each occupying its present place in the New Testament. No man can be called religious whose spiritual position is independent of Christ's doctrine, "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me." Having accepted Christ as his Saviour, by simple reliance upon His all-sufficient sacrifice, that is, through faith in His blood, his ear will be quick to hear the voice, which summons faith and love to obedience and toil: "If ye love me, keep my commandments."

Nor will this obedience be only of a subjective kind, however keen may be the conflict in which even thought is to be led captive to Christ. It must be manifested in the Church for the glory of God, for the sake of His dear Son, in displaying the believer's right to be ranked among those whose spiritual category is "a peculiar people, zealous of good works." The adopted child ripens into the obedient servant. His faith is to work by love. And this love is not to be limited in its yearning. "The world of sinners lost and ruined by the fall" is to call out the compassion, to share the affection, and to claim the substance of the Christian. "To do good and to distribute forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased." And if, in the imaginary case now submitted, I apply these three tests—acceptance of Christ with loving obedience, consecration of service, and communication of substance; and if, as they are applied, the individual is found thrice blessed in that charity which, in ages gone by, was the most influential factor of the Christian religion; if, again, he is "fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God," then I should unhesitatingly conclude that, on the whole, such an one's religious condition was sound.

And here I pass at once from imagination to reality. But I bring my three scriptural tests with me. And availing myself of Napoleon's sneer "that England was a nation of shopkeepers," I apply them in order to all in the great conqueror's mind—the commercial community of the country, including merchants, brokers, manufacturers, and traders. True, the representatives of the learned professions, together with the commissioned officers in the naval and military forces, and bankers, have never desired to be excluded from the middle class. But such is the tendency of rank and aristocracy towards professional occupation, and such is the influence of intellect, trained amid the severities of professional life, upon the highest classes in the realm, that the upper middle class is practically merged in a sphere on the margin of which they are cheerfully content to hover.

Of this upper middle class I do not feel called upon to treat; I rather deal with those I know better—the vaster mercantile community. In doing so, we must remember the conditions of modern commercial life. They are straining to the last degree. They demand on each one's part unfailing punctuality, the exactest computations, a large and accurate acquaintance with public affairs, unhesitating readiness in dealing with crises, almost electric in their alternations, stolid equability in success, and calm courage in failure. The pace at which the commercial chariot careers in England at

present is unparalleled, for speed tends to oscillation, and is fraught with disaster. Yet these very conditions are in a sense helpful. The merchant and the trader speed right on. They have no time to spare for excursions into curious and labyrinthian by-paths to which some are attracted.

In a word, the commercial class of this country are unharmed by the intellectual evolutions represented by Deism, Pantheism, Positivism, Spiritualism, Materialism, and, least of all, by Agnosticism. Least of all, I say, and for a simple reason. The sorrows and severities of life, the agonies of a fray so fierce that every capacity is summoned into action—these have made men who live busy lives feel their need of God; God would not be God if the need were left unsupplied. And who is he that would comprise their creed in the paralysing perhaps of the Agnostic, when experience authorises them to say, "We know in whom we have believed." Nor is it any disparagement to assert that the want of the leisure indispensable if intellectual speculation is to be entertained, and the absence of an excessive critical subtlety, so prevalent in another class, render metaphysical or even philosophical disquisitions distasteful, and the fine analyses of conditions, categories, effluences, forces, systems, ethics, and moral data,—perplexities for the solution of which toil has denied them the time, and life has denied them the taste. They will not have their souls unsettled. As a class, they accept the Bible as the revelation of the Will of God, although their knowledge of its contents is inaccurate and inadequate; partly because of the defective character of middle-class education, and partly because of the absorbing conditions of middle-class employment. They are baptized into the name of the blessed Trinity. They acknowledge Christ as their Saviour. They are righteously jealous of any sacerdotal impediment. Rationalism is not further from their minds than Romanism from their hearts. Romeward—England's middle-class will never go. Romish—England's mercantile community will never be. Thus loyal to divine truth, their religious condition is exhibited in open acknowledgment of God. They fill the great majority of our churches, and totalise all Nonconformist congregations. They swell the roll of our communicants, and, so far, respect the words of the Saviour—"If ye love Me, keep My commandments."

Look, again, at any town in England where a mission is being held—and in my soul I believe that missions have saved and will save the Church. Go into the churches; let them represent the upper, middle, and industrial classes. I venture to say, and not discouraged by experience, that the work of God as done in a mission tells more powerfully on the middle than on the upper classes, and as powerfully as on the industrial classes. Here, then, we have three symptoms, each indicating the religious condition of those in whom they are found:—The acceptance of Christianity as revealed in the Word of God, the outward and evidential acknowledgment thereof in the eucharistic rite, and sympathy with parochial evangelistic enterprise. If these influences existed in an individual, we should expect the manifestation of their vitality in the parish to which he belonged; and with regard to a class the same principle holds good. Nor are we disappointed when we observe the social

status of those who, for the most part, form the bone and sinew of the corporate life of our parishes. In this respect, no one possessing accurate knowledge of the growth of voluntary effort in the Church within the last few years will deny that the whole-hearted consecration of time, strength, and power to the cause of Christ is as generous as it is helpful, and as welcome to the clergy as it is bracing to the laity. And if parochial missions be continued in wisdom and in watchfulness, I fail to see an end to the wealth of service at the disposal of the Church.

Meanwhile, limiting my view to the present, there is no exaggeration in the statement that never was the Church as rich in the good works of her children as in the present generation. Voluntary service for Christ has filled our choirs with the voices of those who in a bygone generation would have been salaried officers. It has enabled us to subdivide unwieldy parishes, and to send a visitor into every district, to become acquainted with the sorrows and sufferings and strugglings of the squalid, the miserable, and the depraved. It has provided daily messengers to look out the absentees from our church schools, by whose vigilance parents are not seldom influenced in the highest direction, and by whose promptitude the roll of our scholars compares advantageously with that of our greedy competitor, the board school. And what shall I say of our noble phalanx of Sunday-school teachers, the numerical strength of which has been so recently demonstrated, and the realisation of which is among the benefits of the great Sunday-school centenary? If those who thus labour in our Sunday-schools, our districts, and our choirs were set down at a million, the estimate would probably err by defect. But we do not err in recognising in each department the sons and daughters of England's middle-class, and we cannot forget that the same fact is distinctly characteristic of Nonconforming Sunday-schools. In both nothing is more patent than the extraordinary and conspicuous absence of the upper class, as a class, from the ranks of the teachers. To these branches of Christian work might be added those of thrift and temperance. These, too, are mainly sustained by toilers from the middle-class.

Nor is the application of the third test less satisfactory. The missionary enterprise of the Church, by which she seeks to win the world to her Lord, or to take out of the Gentiles a people for His name, as well as her more abundant labours among the millions of our home heathen,—each sphere of Christian love is largely endowed by the liberality of the middle class. It is notorious that the revenues of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts as well as of the Church Missionary Society are substantially sustained by parochial auxiliaries, in which large results are produced by the aggregation of small sums. Annual subscriptions and weekly contributions, gathered by boxes, cards, or bags, are, in their totality, the only reliable source of income. The same may be said of the Church Pastoral Aid Society, as well as of the Additional Curates Society. And as we have to do with the national middle class, we must, in all candour, recognise the rich generosity of those beyond the Church of England.

The Sustentation Fund of the Church of Scotland; the recent splendid thank-offering of the Wesleyans, by which over a quarter of a million of money was raised for religious purposes; the gatherings of other denominations for the spread of the Gospel of Christ in the regions beyond; these—all from the middle class of England—exhibit an array of benevolence, a reality in religion, and a fidelity to high principle—operative, too, where political acerbity has no place—which, when united with the vaster voluntarism of England's Church, seem at least to assure us that the religious might of the nation is in the middle class.

At the same time, it is in this very quarter that we discern deplorable moral weakness. Here we find one cause of much reproach, indicating either that the persons now referred to are not all in a religious condition, or that, if they are, the religion, such as it is, has no voice in the regulation of individual conduct where the acquisition of wealth is concerned. We hear of merchants and others forming cotton rings, stock and share rings, preying, vulture-like, on the necessities of others, buying and selling crops the seed for which has not yet begun to peep over ground, speculating with, unhappily, little to lose, much to gain, depreciating property in order to buy, and inflating it in order to sell, and, unfortunately, transactions are occasionally laid bare in our law courts which add many a miserable chapter to our already shady annals of commercial integrity.

Manufacturers are looked upon as not entirely unaware of the operation of the laws of gravity, as indicated by a preparation of size, dust, and other foul hypocrisies to give surreptitious weight, stiffness, and strength to what is purchased in the belief that these qualities are, in all good faith, substantially present.

Traders have called the public analyst into legal and civic existence; they dole out shortened weight, attenuated measure, and each at an extortionate tariff. Thus truth, honesty, rectitude, character, time, and, let us hope, peace of mind, are sacrificed in the absorbing adoration of opulence. Such persons in the middle classes pay the penalty of making haste to be rich. But lest the incrimination of some should be supposed to be so sweeping as to involve all, let me remind you that if the commercial annals of England record deeds of darkness, dishonesty, and, if you will, the basest perfidy, because some of them have skulked under the garments of religious office, they also record the righteous and vehement indignation of honourable men. Sharp practice is scouted by the great body certainly of Liverpool merchants; than whom, let me assure you, a more generous and high-minded class is not within the shores of England.

But leaving this with the mere mention I have made of it, I confess that the greatest danger I see to the piety of the trading community of this country is the ceaseless occupation of every power in the keen competition of our age, to which there are no signs of abatement. Little or no time is left for meditation, introspection, prayer. With this, there are relative perils, and among them I most reluctantly reckon wanton extravagance, unchecked by the restraints of education or culture. It flaunts itself before the observant eye, sometimes in the coarse vulgarity expressed in cumbrous personal adornment, and not unfrequently in the gross plenty of competitive

social entertainment. In the higher level of life, it would be unwise to forget the utter intolerance of the middle classes of religious change. They have singular independence of mind and much independence of means. Each of these gravitates towards isolation.

The practical questions before the mind of the reader are—What have we done in the interests of definite, dogmatic, religious education, in which the middle class of England is deplorably defective—so defective that if a lad of eighteen, destined for the office or the counting-house, were examined in Holy Scripture by the side of a boy of thirteen drawn from our Church schools, and living in a cottage, the latter would put his middle-class competitor to flight? Has the pulpit of England's Church been as incisive, affectionate, and outspoken with regard to the moral and religious perils of the great middle class of the nation as these perils require, as true patriotism demands, and as ordination vows enjoin? May we be led to give the right answer to these questions, for I venture to believe that those whom they concern form the most powerful factor in the nation, as, so far, they are the most laborious and hopeful class in the Church!

The Right Rev. the BISHOP of BEDFORD.

I honestly confess that I take up my task with a somewhat heavy heart. I cannot look without great anxiety upon the present religious condition of the industrial classes. I presume it is to my connection with East London, and its mystery of seething life, that I owe my invitation to take part in the present discussion, and, although I have had the experience of only one year in this vast sphere of work, I shall say what I can upon the state of the working classes in East London, having drawn upon the experience of others for the supply of my own deficiency. But my own lot has been cast for many years in the pleasant places of a large agricultural parish, and, as our subject is by no means limited to town populations, I wish to say a few words first of all as to the agricultural labourer, and the working classes generally, in country parishes. Of course, one can only get at any true idea of the state of a class (just as of that of an individual) by watching the symptoms. One of the most obvious of these is, alas! the increasing alienation of the labouring classes, and especially of the *men*, from the Church of England, and this notwithstanding the vast increase of efficiency in the Church itself. I do not say that this is universal, but it is remarked in many different quarters. In some counties this alienation is distinctly traceable to the influence of the Agricultural Labourers' Union, the moving spirits of which lose no opportunity of crying down the Church and the parsons. Individually, the country clergy are by no means unpopular with the labourers, in whom and in whose families they take a friendly interest, and to whom they are constantly doing kindly acts in temporal matters—not to speak of their ministrations in sickness or sorrow. But class feeling is terribly strong, and let that be enlisted on one side, and personal liking will have very little chance on the other. It is pretty much as with landlords and tenants in Ireland. The

landlord does many acts of kindness for his tenant and is very indulgent to him, and the tenant likes him well enough ; but he reads the *Nation*, and believes that landlords in the abstract are an evil and a wrong, and the concrete love has very little chance against the abstract hate, when the two meet in conflict. But my own district in North-west Shropshire was one in which agricultural unionism had scarcely any direct influence. The speakers came and fired away week by week on the village green, but very few listened—only half-a-dozen idle young fellows joined. So it all fell through. Yet the alienation was none the less at work. I attribute it to two main causes :—

1. To the subtle permeating influence of democratic ideas, which spread and will spread, whether helped on lustily by trades' unions or left alone. The working classes read more, think more, know more, move about more, than they used to do. They are scarcely prepared now-a-days to subscribe to the once popular creed that what is is best, and that as they were born to labour it were tempting Providence to look beyond or above labour as their lot. They are learning independence and becoming ambitious. Do you blame them ? I do not. There are, no doubt, some untrue deductions from what they have learnt very popular among them, and one of these is the prevalent notion that the upper classes are their natural antagonists. But, through whatever mistakes and confusions, I would hail all advances among my fellow-creatures in education and enlargement of ideas. I don't want labourers to be kept in ignorance or degradation, because then you can get more work out of them, and they are not always seeking to better themselves. I am glad they do want to better themselves. But the price we have to pay just at present for this is a strong class feeling, which makes the labourer cling to his fellows (which is right), and suspect and dislike his superiors (which is wrong). He is wrong in thinking they do not care for him—wrong in thinking they are not wishful to help him. I think *they*, on their side, must learn their lesson of brotherly sympathy and fellowship better than they have done. Meanwhile, the Church is, in the poor man's eyes, the Church of the rich, and he does not care for it. He is not at home in the midst of the carriage-folk with their smart dresses, and so he not unnaturally stays away.

2. I think another cause for the alienation of the labouring classes from the Church lies in the fact that, while her services (and I am afraid her sermons, too, very often) are far above their intelligent appreciation, the numerous chapels of Dissenting bodies provide very much simpler services, with preaching which is at least in familiar language and not above their comprehension. Here I cannot but think that the Church has still much to learn, whether in rural districts or in our large towns.

So far I have touched on one feature which cannot fail to stand out prominently in any attempt to regard the religious condition of the people from a Churchman's point of view. But alienation from the Church (however disheartening and deplorable) need not mean alienation from religion. And here I confess myself at fault. I endeavoured, before leaving my country parish, to obtain from all

the chapels (and on the borders of Wales these are numerous) statistics as to their members. One thing was striking. The proportion of men to women was far better in the chapels than in the church. But the number of *male* communicants, in church and chapel together, from the labouring classes, was sadly small, and I fear it must be owned that religion has no very firm hold in any shape upon the labourers in our country parishes.

I must now turn to my newsphere of work and interest. One could scarcely have a better opportunity of studying the state of the industrial classes than one has in East London, because there one has them unmixed with any other class, a vast mass, to a great extent homogeneous, rough enough, no doubt, but honestly what they are and what they make one another, with no veils of decent hypocrisy, and with no contaminations of the vices of luxury. Well, here is the battle-field where the battle of religion and of the Church against vice, unbelief, and indifference, must be fought out, to the bitter or the glorious end. Yet, when I stand face to face with the impending issue—when I mark the opposing forces and reckon their relative strength and prowess—I am aghast. If it were not that I know that they that be for us are more than they that be against us, I should despair. It is no use blinking the matter, no use trying to wash over the picture with rosy tints. The picture is a dark one. There are points and streaks of light here and there, but the picture is, on the whole, a dark one.

Of course we clergy are tempted to look upon the symptom most obvious to the eye, and to attach, it may be, an exaggerated importance to attendance upon public worship; yet no one can deny that this is a rough-and-ready test of the religious condition of the people. And tried by this test, our industrial classes in East London cannot be held to give much evidence of attachment to religion. I do not think in this respect they are at all worse than the same class in the more fashionable quarters of the West. Only there their absence is not so apparent to the eye. But fashion and custom in the East are against outward religious observance. Perhaps it is worth while just to stop and ask ourselves how far the very self-same motives which in the East keep people *from* Church, in the West bring them *to* Church. I hardly like passing on without a caution lest we pride ourselves upon a habit in one class of life, the real ground of which may be no higher than that which produces the opposite habit in another class. But there the fact stands, and, as I said, it is no use blinking it: an exceedingly small proportion of the working classes in East London attend public worship. I cannot discover that there is any great difference between the Churches and the Chapels of the various sects; nor, again, that the style of service makes any very great difference. *Preaching does.* Where there is a man whose preaching is really attractive a congregation will gather, but it will be composed almost always of a class above that of the actual labourer. Superior artisans and small shopkeepers contribute a very considerable proportion of such congregations. A good many of various classes will listen to vociferous or racy street preachers, and a good many will follow

the "Salvation Army" here and there; but these eccentric and irregular agencies do not appear to produce much solid or permanent effect.

As to the general relation of the industrial classes to religion in East London (apart from the question of attendance at public worship), I am afraid I cannot say much that is very satisfactory. Religion has but a feeble hold upon them. I am assured by those who know them well that there is not much speculative unbelief amongst them. Indeed in some parts of East London well-known Secularist lecturers cannot get an audience. Nor does there appear to be much open hostility to religion. The prevailing tone and temper in regard to it is one of simple indifference. The vast mass of the lower stratum of East London life moves in a different plane. Religion does not touch it. If thought of at all, it is thought of as a habit belonging to a wholly different class from themselves, and to a class looked upon with no very kindly regard. They know that the well-to-do, the rich and prosperous, go to church or chapel, but they look upon these as having got hold of the good things of this life, while they themselves are forced to toil and slave, and often to want. Thus they associate religion (of the true power and beauty of which they have alas! no conception, and too little opportunity of forming a conception,) with a prosperity which they envy, and a luxury which they resent. Again class feeling comes in, and stands as a barrier to their making the attempt to understand what approaches them (so they deem) from an unwelcome quarter. "You go your way, and we'll go ours" is pretty much the spirit in which they regard any who make a profession of religion.

I might deal, if I chose, with still darker parts of the picture. Drink is only one of the frightful curses of the people, the ravages of which it is impossible to paint too darkly. Where religion has so little sway it need hardly be said that vice, in manifold shapes, is rampant.

But you will think I am forgetting the points and streaks of light I spoke of. I must not pause to dwell upon the respectable class, hardly to be excluded from the epithet "industrial," who form the bulk of the congregations, whether in Church or Chapel. There is a great deal of religious feeling among these. I suppose this is a class peculiarly susceptible of Nonconformist influences, for reasons upon which I need not now dwell. But I have been greatly struck by the heartiness and earnestness with which members of this class, invariably busily occupied all the week, throw themselves into the work and services of the Church on Sundays. There is, undoubtedly, a great deal more heartiness of lay-help in this class in East London than one usually finds in country parishes. But I want to speak about the really poor. The brightest gleam that cheers me in regarding these is the reality and thoroughness of those who are once brought under the influence of religion. They have had to take a difficult and decided step. It has been with them very much like the act of the first converts to Christianity. It has involved very often much persecution. They have separated themselves from the world. And so they *mean it*. The very fact that the world—*i.e., their world*, the world as it presents itself to them—makes no

pretence to religion, but openly disregards it, is a help to them, binding them together in closer union, and drawing the line of demarcation more broadly. Few things have struck me more than the eager earnestness of bodies of religious working men whom I have had the privilege of addressing in several parishes.

Well, this, too, has brightness in it. Wherever a man (clergyman or layman) will go among the people as a brother, in the spirit and the power of simple humble sympathy, not lording or lecturing, but loving and leading, speaking in *their* language, entering into *their* thoughts, dealing with *their* difficulties and trials and temptations, there he will not fail of a response. Even where I have spoken to men making no profession of religion, as in lodging-houses or men's clubs, I have always obtained an attentive and appreciative hearing. One is, at least, delivered from the sleepiness and vacuity of the bucolic mind.

It will be long, I fear, before we teach the people the blessedness of Churchgoing, long before they learn to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness. It need not be so long before we teach them the blessedness of religion, and the peace of a heart given to Christ. But we must have simpler services in our Mission-rooms—services which may train up the ignorant to the fuller and more glorious worship of the Church; we must have plain, earnest, faithful, loving, and unwritten, sermons, preached anywhere, everywhere, wherever we can get a hearing; we must have self-denying lives, teaching, even more than eloquent lips, of the love of God and the grandeur of the Cross; we must have an army of workers, each ministering the gift given by the Holy Spirit, bettering, raising, beautifying, sanctifying, the lives that are now so often sordid, hopeless, loveless, and unlovely; we must have all this, and more, and then perchance the points of light will brighten, and the streaks of light lengthen and broaden, till the picture becomes less dark, and glimmers with the dawning of a new and better day.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. BERDMORE COMPTON, Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street, London.

ONE great subdivision of the upper classes deserves our separate attention for a quarter of an hour—viz., that composed of people who, to use the common expression, "had a grandfather," who belong to a family of some territorial importance, and who are separated from the founder of the family by at least two generations in the direct male line. Or, to take another definition of equivalent extent—a definition involuntarily suggested by a typical example of this class—the late Sir Hamilton Seymour, who, when asked on a memorable occasion to account for his own success in the world, innocently replied that "he let himself alone."

The man who can afford to let himself alone, who does better by waiting for opportunities than by seeking them, probably had a grandfather. This class is extremely different in material of natural character from the rest of the nation. It is not a superficial difference of polish. It is the natural difference between the freeborn Roman, St. Paul, and the captain

who had purchased his citizenship. There are many exceptions: there are people of ancient family, and even of high rank, who seem not fitted to get beyond the servants' hall; as there are men of signal refinement who had not a grandfather. But, generally speaking, the delicacy of feeling which is born in these men and women; the reserve which conceals any expression of superiority; the comparative diminution of the hunger for money, in proportion as they have much of the produce of money without purchase; the self-reliance which can allow them to let themselves alone in the security of a hereditary *status*; the freedom from the fear of lowering themselves by occupations however humble; all these characteristics of people who had a grandfather cannot but deeply affect their religious condition. Nor must we forget their peculiar ignorance of religion—in comparison, that is, with their information on other subjects of knowledge. Of course there are signal exceptions. Dr. Pusey certainly had a grandfather! But the public school system under which these men are mostly trained does not do much in the department of religious instruction, hardly equals in this respect the good old Church school for the poor. The governesses who bring up these women have had but scanty instruction in religious knowledge, and, with every desire to do their duty, cannot give what they have not got. Confirmation is a girl's only chance, and that all too short.

Again, look at the temptation to sloth in the dangerous ease of an assured position in the world; the great peril of "letting themselves alone" in the spiritual life, in which no one has a grandfather, where vigorous pushing is essential to obtaining the prize of their high calling. Look at their multiplied opportunities of unprofitable, if not frivolous, amusement—the men with field sports, the women with all the gilded circumstance of the marriage market. Look at their facile introduction to political life, with all its terrible inducements to postpone the interests of God and His Church to political exigencies. Look at the common privation of authoritative pastoral care, when the incumbent of the family living is a brother or a son, too often supposed to have no pastoral charge but of the poor. Look at the woeful and dangerous impediments to marriage, which beset the inner life of the younger branches of the house, surrounded as they are with the luxury of richer relations. Look at the armour of suspicion, which their contact with pushing and scheming people renders almost habitual, which clings all the closer to them because it is hid under an easy manner, the more effectually to repel the familiarity which they silently decline to admit. Verily these are special difficulties in their spiritual life, and the spiritual condition resulting from them (of course admitting many exceptions of high saintliness on one side, of utter frivolity and profligacy on the other) is an outward decency of religious observance in the profession of Churchmanship, a noble independence of many worldly shackles, a special modesty in confessing ignorance; and, on the other hand, an involuntary, almost unconscious, tendency to recognise and maintain a formidable gulf between their sympathies and those of the mass of mankind. And so they are seldom (with glorious exceptions) thorough Churchmen, seldom thorough Puritans. For the ingrained individuality of Puritanism, or, rather, its perpetual assertion of individuality, is abhorrent to the man who never talks of "I" and "my," when he can possibly say "we" and "our." The women, indeed, of this class are fairly well disposed to the Holy Catholic Church; but the great majority of the men, who have inherited from their grandfathers the bald Puritanism of sixty years since, and cannot abide its unpleasant peculiarities, drift on the wave of so-called free thought, which is the modern development of Puritanism, pushing its liberty of individual doubt far beyond the lines of our grandfathers. Nor is the fashionable religion complete without a deep taint of Erastianism, which utterly resents "extremes" of saintliness, of really high spiritual life, which impels them to "keep the Church in order" (as they say) by a hierarchy of their own selection, though not of their own body, and

thereby to tie it down to the custom of "good society." The strength of the Church is not in this class. We can learn this in the action of the House of Lords, who are persuaded to choose their concessions to the popular will from measures which are injurious to the Church.

But how is this religious condition to be dealt with? Our only resource is instruction. I wot that through ignorance they go wrong. They have not hitherto had a fair chance. The Gospel has not been preached to them as St. Paul would have preached it. And instruction of this class is exceptionally hopeful. For they are frequently more capable of receiving it, generally abler than they appear to be, as the demagogues who despise and insult them sometimes find out, in the form of an unexpected and stinging rap on the knuckles.

Again, they are teachable because they accept a plain statement. Except, perhaps, in matters connected with the stable, they are accustomed to people saying what they mean. Tell them A is B, and they will not suppose, as others are very apt to suppose, that you mean A is B *plus* or *minus* C. Wherefore your words, your demeanour (for demeanour is full of instruction for good or for harm) must be very careful. An exaggerated, foolish, or unworthy sentiment is not overlooked, and does much harm with people who, being at ease, and not thinking of themselves, have eyes and ears open to what is said and done. And this care is specially necessary in social intercourse, with its relaxation of self-restraint. Social intercourse with this class is a very delicate business. Familiarity is apt to breed contempt. And if the ecclesiastic had not a grandfather himself, he can only avoid by watchfulness the lapses which his company are avoiding by instinct. He is apt to be overcome by the easy fascination of manner, to forget how he came there, to be mistaken in the motive of the kindly attention he receives. He becomes secularised—is brought down to the level he should seek to raise. The fisherman is caught by the fish. Bishop Wilberforce will be quoted as an example of spiritual success in social intercourse; but Bishop Wilberforce, besides having had a grandfather himself, was a dangerous man to imitate, as has been lamentably demonstrated by his imitators. And it may be doubted whether he would not have done better with less social success. But in professional intercourse with their spiritual superior, the men and women who have had a grandfather are seldom unwilling to accept spiritual instruction, and even rebuke, from him, provided he believes in his own position, and keeps to it. Possibly they would prefer that he should not have had a grandfather himself. His position then comes out clearly. He will have enough to stand on in standing upon his spiritual commission, and will stand firmer than if he tries two stools.

Lastly, the chief requisite is brave straightforwardness. With all their many faults of caste, these men and women unfailingly respect those who are honest and fearless, unfailingly detect and despise those who are not so. Ignorant they are, but seldom conceited; and they are readily taught by a teacher who is not afraid of them, but of God; who is not trying to please them, but to serve his Master; who can magnify his office, content to be charged with sacerdotalism. Downright dogmatic teaching in doctrinal sermons, courses of systematic instruction in Holy Scripture and in the Prayer Book—these they will for the most part gratefully profit by provided you "keep back nothing which is profitable to them," from human respect, from the odious fear lest the declaration of unpopular truth should stand in the way of preferment, as it probably will. If you hope to be "heard gladly and observed," you must "constantly speak the truth, and be ready to suffer patiently for the truth's sake." They must have the whole truth, "in public and from house to house." The servant of Christ must not shrink from beating down their secret reliance on a gentlemanlike or ladylike life, by insisting on the new birth of water and of the Spirit as the primary title to the kingdom of heaven. He must not flinch from the Catholic doctrine of Baptism when his hearers ask him,

"How can a man be born again?" nor from the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist when they say, "What mean ye by this Real Presence?" He must not flinch from the plain assertion of Apostolical succession, when they inquire for his commission; nor from the doctrine of absolution, when asked for his powers. He must not be mealy-mouthed in denouncing the falsehoods of Romanism, the equivocations of Puritanism. He must not palter with his duty in bringing them to confess their sins to God. He must be a true man to the very end of the truth of the Catholic Church, in which the Holy Ghost sanctifieth all the elect people of God, refining them all—upper, middle, and lower classes—into that supreme refinement of the Christlike life, which comes not of carnal descent, which knoweth no man after the flesh, which is nothing else but the life of Christ Himself living in His members.

The Rev. F. F. GOE, Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury.

I heartily concur with all that has fallen from Mr. Lefroy touching the condition of the middle classes of this country, and I thank God that my lot has been cast among this class during the greater portion of my ministration. As I listened to the remarks which have been made, I was reminded of the prayer of Agur as illustrating the advantages the middle classes enjoy, "Give me neither poverty nor riches, but feed me with food convenient for me." *A priori*, the condition of the middle classes would be considered more favourable to the cultivation of religious life than that of the higher or lower classes; and I believe that this is the case. In considering the religious life of a class it would not be a bad test to consider it in reference to the tables of the law; and, taking the first four Commandments as man's duty to God, I will proceed to examine the conduct of the middle classes in regard to them. The trading and mercantile classes do not as a rule trouble themselves about the speculative points of religion. They have neither time nor inclination for it. Granted that from time to time seeds of doubt are sown among them by publications in some of our reviews and periodicals, yet as a rule they are content to follow the religion in which they were bred. But there is one form in which the First Commandment is too often broken by the middle classes. There is a danger of their making a god of their money. They do not sufficiently regard the spirit of the words, "The covetous man is an idolater." Some of the most influential persons among the middle classes are those who have pushed their way up from below. With force of will and energy of character they have risen, and they find they receive the homage of the world. It is hard for these to realise the responsibility of their stewardship. They find it difficult to listen to the words—"Occupy, till I come." Noble examples there have been, however, of men who set an example by their conduct to their class; such as George Moore, who with the growth of his riches recognised the growth of his responsibilities, who never stopped at the stereotyped guinea, but grew more liberal as his wealth increased. Dr. Littledale, in his little book, "Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome," points out how that Church dislikes the Second Commandment, and he mentions that in twenty-seven Roman Catholic catechisms that Commandment is omitted; but it is a matter for rejoicing that our great middle class respect and believe the Commandment, and shrink from all worship of pictures and likenesses of heavenly things. There is a sturdy vein of Protestantism on this point among our middle class, and God grant that it may long continue. Taking next the Third Commandment, which forbids all irreverence with respect to holy places and things, I will compare the state of the country now with what it was in the middle ages and the last century. In the middle ages it was the usual thing for persons to walk about the naves of the churches with their hats on, with hound at heel

or falcon on the wrist; and at the little village of Codrington we may read how cards were played on the communion table, and how pipes were smoked during the election of churchwardens, an aged clerk taking his pipe from his mouth to explain to a stranger that it had been the custom for sixty years. In the *Spectator* we may read how the "starrer" at church could stand on a hassock and stare until he put ladies to the blush. From the same source we learn that a Dissenter who went to church at the same period said he was very ill satisfied with the little ceremony paid to the Almighty, but much worse with the ceremony paid by the worshippers to each other, and despaired of ever qualifying himself to be a convert to the prevailing fashion. How different now is that earnest, devout attention manifested in our churches—that real devout spirit which would go so far to convince the stranger that the supernatural presence of God is felt to be there. So also in the use of profane oaths and language. What a contrast now from the time when it was thought the proper thing for a gentleman to be drunk after dinner and to swear! In all these changes there is the spirit of true Christianity evident. Then, taking the Fourth Commandment, I contrast the now acknowledged obligation to set a day apart to the service of God with the condition of feeling at the beginning of the century. Though there is much in the middle class to cause anxiety, there is much to thank God for, and there is no class of the community in which the efforts of a thoroughly earnest, active clergyman will find more encouragement than in the middle class.

The Rev. HARRY JONES, Rector of St. George's-in-the-East.

I SUPPOSE that we are now trying to realise the present religious condition of the nation. If we judged the industrial classes by their attendance at public worship, we should probably say that their interest in Christianity was very faint. To form our estimate, we must not look at those comparatively undisturbed reservoirs of agricultural tradition, where the remnants of unquestioning acquiescence in religious procedure may be seen to linger, and where the unsophisticated labourer inherits a sleepy tendency to repair to his Church on a Sunday afternoon. We must not examine these mossy nooks, but rather the chief centres of industry, where most of the classes in question are found, and whence the influences which are determining their mental condition principally flow. If there we analyse congregations in church or chapel, the industrial constituent is discovered to be minutely small. I do not think that this fractional contribution of theirs can be set down to the lack of accommodation. Divers churches, surrounded by industrial populations and served by earnest clergy, are not filled. Nor do I lay their absence altogether to the door of the pew system, as some imagine. The working man would not refuse a free pass for the pit of a theatre because he could not afford a box or a stall, nor does he disdain a remote or uncomfortable session in its gallery. Some may think that if the industrial classes valued public worship, their will would find a way. It might not be exactly the present way of the church or chapel; but, judging by their vigorous corporate creative action in matters which really interest them, it might be urged that if they cared for public worship in any shape they would have it. Nevertheless, this is a matter not to be finally decided by the ordinary method of supply and demand. Possibly the present forms and liturgical language of the Church, fitted to a religious mood 300 years old, may be too stiff and antique for a generation which of late has passed through an incalculable change in its mental attitude, and the traditionally devout prayers of Non-conformists may hardly suit its quickened estimation of current life. Anyhow, judged by the public worship test, the religious condition of the

industrial classes might meet with a severe and sweeping sentence. They present nothing comparable to the general outward respect which is or was paid to religion in divers Roman Catholic countries by those occupying the same social condition as themselves. Of course there are conspicuous exceptions; but these are isolated. I think that a congregation of working people generally represents more personal regard for a devoted man than appreciation of his distinctive teaching. There are men of all views and sects who draw others around them by their sheer holiness, eloquence, and ministerial kindness. But this may come to pass without an appetite for public worship in itself, which is conspicuously feeble in the classes whose religious condition we are now considering. I do not mean that they take an attitude of antagonism towards the National Church. Indeed, they may possibly retain a traditional belief in its protest for the claims of private judgment which still moves their sympathy, and thus recognise and accept the liberty it has helped to win, while they have but faint regard for the distinctive teaching it has retained, and decline to submit themselves to the shreds of its mixed ecclesiastical and civil discipline which survive. With all this disinclination to public worship among the industrial classes, there is yet among them a widely diffused atmosphere of Christianity, and a keen perception of such conduct as marks the Christian life. This arises from various causes. We must not forget that divers channels of religious influence are open beside those provided by the Church. In times past, services, individual direction, and sermons were the chief vehicles of instructive communication between the learned and the ignorant. Now, every eye is becoming an ear, the printed page has been erected into a popular pulpit, and the whole community forms an enormous congregation. People help themselves in the formation of their opinions, the conduct of their lives, and in the getting of comfort to their souls, out of the manifold streams and rivulets of truth which, as education increases, penetrate into and flow through the veins of a generally civilised Christian community. These contributions to the religious condition of the people are more used than some ecclesiastics are apt to realise. In sooth, the parson is in much the same condition as the farmer. There is free trade in mental bread, and imported corn lowers the demand for home produce. The food grown in the old glebe or offered by established Nonconformists may be as good as ever, but half the samples in the market come from other fields and shops. This naturally dulls the appetite for public worship, and should check a tendency to determine the worth of a class by their attendance at church or chapel. It is easy to throw religious stones at them because they fail in such attendance, but history and observation should teach us that "godliness" and "going to church" are by no means convertible terms. As I have said, people now hear with the eye, and the largest congregations sit, not in the pews of the place of worship, but in the seats of the world. With all this it must be admitted that the character of the diffused Christianity I have mentioned as operative is doctrinally vague. The people at large believe in fairness, toleration, and philanthropy rather than in formulated creeds. They care more for the words of Christ than for theological fabrics. The religious creed, if I may here use the word, of the industrial classes is sentimental, not dogmatic. Judged, however, by some essential tests of righteousness, they are not found wanting. In the first place, the industrial classes are industrious. That is a small statement of a great fact in their favour. Nor are they without signs of what St. James calls "pure religion." There is a fine and continuous exercise of kindness among them. We may, indeed, see failure to show it where family feeling has been so poisoned by established pauperism that an opportunity for the descent of a father or a mother into the workhouse obliterates the Fifth Commandment in the minds of some children; but much kindness of those who are called poor to their friends and neighbours is radically Christian. Much of the charity shown by other classes, at second-hand, or through

the convenient medium of money, is exercised by them with personal help and hospitality. The bulk of the real aid given to the poor does not come from the rich, but from the poor themselves. They share, too, that deep-rooted regard for truth which penetrates every stratum of society in this nation of ours. And, as a class, they are honest. It is not merely that the biggest national frauds are found in greedily speculative commercial circles, but, though his property is valuable to *him*, the working man living among the industrial classes makes comparatively little use of lock and key. Moreover, they unquestionably exhibit toleration. I do not mean that phase of contentment which involves submission to their lot in life, for that may be anything but admirable. There can be no rise in the social condition of a nation if they are always content, since it is possible that they may be willing to put up with avoidable degradation. If some expounders of St. Paul's sentence had been obeyed, we might still be clothed in skins and living on acorns. The Spirit of the Lord ever points to a more excellent way. The toleration I refer to is that of opinions. I cannot help thinking that whether they agree with him or not, the persecution of any man for especially his religious opinions is keenly resented by the industrial classes. And in this they set a wholesome example to some who give great prominence to their professions of piety. No doubt they have their faults. They often need to cultivate thrift. Many working men are now as intemperate in drink as those of another class were one hundred years ago. Like some upper sections of society, they frequently show too easy a toleration of domestic and social faults, and, with questionable readiness, overlook offences which are not repented of by the offender; but they have a shrewd perception of what is fair; and are quick to condemn what they believe to be intolerance and oppression. The soundness and vitality of much popular conduct and judgment, not peculiar to, but notably exhibited by the industrial classes, must not be overlooked when we consider their religious condition. And it sounds to me radically un-Christian and unjust to hear them called, as they sometimes are, "godless" or "heathen," because they have not, as a class, an appetite for those forms of public worship which many of the upper and middle classes are pleased to observe. Indeed, if the lives of any crowded fashionable congregation were severely compared, in respect to their industry, usefulness, and neighbourly friendliness with those of an ordinary sample out of the genuine industrial class, we might get some fresh wholesome hints whereby to judge of the religious character of a people. Nevertheless we believe that no class in a Christian nation, however creditable their lives may be in many respects, can safely afford to disregard common prayer, and that hearing of the Gospel of Christ which should accompany it. No precise equivalent can be found for these in private reading, meditation, or devotion. And the question comes to ministers, and many others, how can this unquestionable imperfection in the social state of the industrial class be supplied? I said, in respect to their attendance at public worship, that the examples of it were isolated and exceptional. And my reply to the question I have put is, "Multiply the exceptions." Every sentiment of Christianity was once exceptional. Let ministers and their fellow-workers add to their zeal. Let them cultivate a larger sympathy with the class of whom we are now thinking. Let them not fear a greater elasticity and warmth in the fabric and conduct of their services and sermons. The souls of all are more accessible by hearty worship and words than some may think, if we only take the right mode of approach. They are reached, and can be more reached, by genuine holiness and devotion on the part of those who are called to minister among them. Thus, by God's help, it seems to me that the isolated examples of regard for divine service can alone be multiplied. Let none lose heart, but go on in the belief that every fresh instance of corporate worship among those who now mostly disregard it, is a step towards the filling up of a gap which we perceive and deplore in the religious condition of the nation.

DISCUSSION.

**H. C. RICHARDS, ESQ., Chairman of the City of London Branch
of the Church Defence Society.**

THIS is a subject on which I should like to address a few words to the Congress, as one of the middle class. Fourteen years ago, I, the son of a Nonconformist, was sent out into the world and placed in a large warehouse in London. The only thing to keep a young man straight is religion, and I can affirm that you can have no religion without morality, and morality without religion is a thing I don't believe exists. In those years gone by I was put into a bedroom with other young men who frequently were the worse for liquor and who made drinking a practice. That sort of thing has now greatly changed; drunkenness in city warehouses amongst the young men living there now is decidedly the exception, and any young man coming home the worse for liquor is now made to feel his position. Again the observance of the Commandment not to take God's name in vain has become more general amongst the middle classes. I do not say that their conversation is always free from objection, but there is no doubt that blasphemy and profane oaths are much less common in conversation now than formerly; and the reason is that the Church of England has of late years been making herself felt among the young men of the middle classes. The influences of religion will, it is now found out by young men, make them noble, honest, and manly men, and there are many such now in the City of London who are "in the world, yet not of the world." I am very pleased to see on this platform the once Vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry, my old pastor, Dean Cowie. When the Dean was in the City, it was from him that the young men at that church became impressed with the dignity of Christianity, and it was from him that I learnt the first lessons of the Gospel in the Parish Church of St. Lawrence Jewry. I am the last person who would do anything to detract from the dignity of the Church, or the rank of the clergy; but I feel sure that the time has come when the Church must be prepared to draw from the young men of the middle class those who by natural gifts and by divine graces are fitted for the service of the Lord. Such men could do a great work, for they know the difficulties and trials of their fellows. In doing the work of the Church we must consider the prejudices of the people; and in large towns and parishes we want the best workers we can find to win the people from nonconformity, from infidelity, and from indifference, so that they may become faithful servants of our Church and of Jesus Christ. I pray that God will send more labourers into His harvest; and we may feel sure that, if the clergy do their duty, the laity will do their duty also, and there will never be wanting true Christians and true Churchmen to serve God in Church and State.

The Rev. W. R. COSENS, D.D., Vicar of Dudley.

As one who has been for many years engaged in work in what is called commonly the "black country," I am anxious to say what we are doing in that country. I will venture to say that we ought to take very great courage, and be very thankful for the large measure of success that God has given to His Church, not only in the black country but in other parts of England. If we ask from whence come the lay members of our choirs, our Sunday school teachers, and other lay helpers who are found at work on Sunday, many will say that they come from the middle classes, but my answer is that they come, for the most part, from those who toil all the

week. It is a matter of thankfulness that we have so many people who are lay helpers and communicants. But we have a dark side to the picture. We have to complain of the large numbers of men to whom the Lord's Day is a day for gambling, pigeon flying, dog racing, and other things which disgrace the people and the day. I will suggest some of the remedies which we have tried to meet that state of things. A friend of mine has started an early Bible class on Sunday mornings at seven o'clock, which has been very successful; and in a neighbouring town such classes are attended by 400 or 500 men every week. If that can be done in one town, why not in others? Another thing is to have classes for, and opportunities of, private interviews with, young men. I have myself tried enquiry classes, and, if properly carried out, the people bring questions on paper to which they expect an answer the next week. This is one of the means by which we may lay hold of the people and open out the way of truth to them. We have had to-night some allusion to the work of parochial missions; and, with regard to them, I believe that they have, by God's grace, been most beneficial to the working classes. I remember one in which I was engaged, when troops of men with lanterns came up from all directions each night to the Church; men, coming there, weighed down with grief and sorrow in consequence of their past lives, seeking to have reconciliation with Christ. We cannot close our eyes to the many difficulties of the industrial classes, and we may well ask why the owners of property do not make the homes of the lower classes far better than they are. If we are to strike at the root of the evil, we must make their homes what they ought to be, and help to brighten them. And then there is another great reason which has kept the industrial classes from the Church of God, and that is the pew system. Until we have free Churches in our large towns, our people will not go to Church; and we are not fulfilling the command of St. James, nor are we giving them a place in the House, to which they have a right—the House of their Father in Heaven.

C. H. BURBIDGE-HAMBLY, Esq., The Leys,
Barrow-on-Soar.

I HAVE been asked to say a few words on the religious condition of the working classes, but the subject is too large to permit me to do more than touch upon one or two points. That the working-classes are as a rule not a Church-going people is generally acknowledged, though I do not believe they are really further from God than any other class in the country. They are like every other class, largely influenced by the materialistic tendencies of our age, and are too apt to forget the future life, in the sensuous enjoyment of the present time. We are apt to think that the class is more irreligious, because, when immoral, their immorality is more flagrant and open; but, at the same time, we forget to observe their many great virtues, and especially their self-denial. To induce the working classes to become a more Church-going people, something has been done in Leicester, and that with considerable success. Many of the Churches have been thrown open, and the people have been invited to come on a footing of perfect equality, whether poor or rich. But something more than this is needed, for numbers of the working men will not go to Church, because no one directly invites them; and it is obvious that our town clergy are quite unable to cope with the difficulties which surround them, so as to bring any direct influence to bear on the vast numbers under their care. If only we could have an order of Lay Deacons, to help in our large towns and even in our big villages, I think much might be done. We want them taken from all classes, so that the Church might be able to appeal to the sympathies of

all. These men need not have the education of our clergy—they should represent the sergeants and corporals of the army. It is the enlisting of such men as workers which has rendered the Wesleyans so powerful for good amongst the working men, and we Churchmen should not refuse to learn a lesson from them. There remains, however, over and above these things, the crying need of our day, the greater realization of the living daily power of God's Spirit in our midst, not as a mere grace but as a personal presence in the soul.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of LICHFIELD.

I THINK I shall best employ the few minutes at my disposal by stating briefly the impression left upon my mind by my experience in two parishes in London; one of them inhabited almost entirely by the industrial classes, and the other having a considerable proportion of the rich and independent. First of all, I believe that there is everywhere a growing sense of the needs and capacities of the human soul, and along with this a conscious or unconscious thirsting after God. It is true that some miss their aim and stop short at the laws or works of God in creation without finding rest in Himself, while others, who do not at once satisfy their longing, settle down in a desponding conviction that it is impossible to say whether there is a God or not. But there are many in all classes of society who are not only earnestly seeking after God, but are rejoicing in a higher and more spiritual life from day to day. Again, I believe that there is an increasing distinction and separation between those who are living for the world and those who are living for God, and this is no more than the Word of God would lead us to expect as a mark of the latter days. I am bound to admit the truth of what has been frequently stated this evening, that there is a lamentable absence from the House of God of the industrial classes, and I grieve to say that I believe this is also to be observed in a considerable degree in the upper ranks of society, not only among young men, but also, more than is generally supposed, among young women. Where, then, can we look for the remedy? For the upper classes, I believe that what is really needed is more definite instruction in Christian truth. Nothing will suffice to satisfy the educated or to keep them true to the Church but a knowledge of the distinctive doctrines of the Catholic Faith; and my experience is, that there is a remarkable readiness to receive such instruction, whenever it is offered to them. As regards the labouring men and women, I believe that they must be won by those of their own class. I do not mean that the ranks of the ministry should be recruited, as has been suggested to-night, from this stratum of society. I believe that this should only be done in very rare instances, and under very exceptional circumstances. But I look rather to the influence of godly lay-men of the humbler class leavening the society in which they move. And, lastly, let me say, that this may be the plan and purpose of God for the recovery of the multitudes who are still alienated from the Church, and indeed from all religion. I mean that the special work for our generation may possibly be, not the direct gathering in by purely missionary effort of those that are without, but rather the deepening of the spiritual life of those that are within, that each of these may be a centre of religious influence, and a power for God to attract and to win their fellow-men. We must, of course, do all we can by more direct efforts, but it may not be God's purpose that any great or immediate result should be granted to us, or, at least, not in the way that we might expect or desire. In conclusion, as regards the whole subject now before us, namely, the religious condition of these various classes of society, I should say for myself, that I am both fearful and hopeful, but, upon the whole, more hopeful than fearful.

TEMPERANCE HALL, TUESDAY EVENING,**SEPTEMBER 28TH.**

The Lord BISHOP of WINCHESTER took the Chair at 7 p.m.

**THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO THE
ORGANIZATION OF LABOUR.**

- (a) **TRADE AND LABOURERS' UNIONS AND MASTERS' ASSOCIATIONS.**
 (b) **SANITARY CONDITIONS OF LABOUR.**

PAPERS.

The Rev. V. H. STANTON, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College,
 Cambridge.

I THINK it is probable that there are many persons who take an intelligent interest in the work and office of the Church who would confess that they have rather vague ideas as to the subject of this evening. Nor are there wanting those who would say very definitely that the only duty of the Church in regard to the relations of capital and labour is the duty of letting them alone. When some clergymen, chiefly resident in London, a few years ago formed a committee and held conferences on labour questions, to which they invited trade-unionists and others, they had monitors, chiefly from among capitalists, who told them plainly, and not without sneers, that the opinion of the clergy was not asked for, and that they had better not meddle. Similar advice has also been given, albeit in kinder and graver language, by clergymen of influence and position. The clergy, they have said, should endeavour to keep on friendly terms both with employers and employed, and should exhort both to entertain charitable feelings towards one another; but should not go further. This was the line taken by the present Bishop of Liverpool, at a session of the Church Congress at Croydon, when a subject nearly the same as ours of this evening was discussed.

These recommendations of a policy of non-intervention to which I have referred were, it is true, addressed to the clergy, whereas our subject speaks of the duty of the Church. Nothing could be further from my wish than to speak as if the clergy made up the Church. Yet in any action of the Church, as the Church, that of the clergy must be inextricably bound up. It is inconceivable that the laity should, in virtue of their character as Churchmen, have a duty to perform, and the clergy not be called to take part in it, if only by endeavouring to stimulate the laity to its performance. But, indeed, I do not imagine that those who counsel silence to the

clergy on the questions at issue between capital and labour think that the laity have, as Churchmen, any duty to discharge in the matter. We shall then be justified in regarding the duty of the clergy and the Church at large as inseparably connected.

Now, in view of the fact that the opinions to which I have referred are beyond doubt very prevalent, and holding as I do a directly opposite opinion, it may be well for me to try to show that there is room in trade concerns for the Church's influence, and to indicate in a general way what must be its nature. And it may be especially suitable that I should attempt this task, as I have to open the discussion.

Now, first, be it observed, that even if we are only to aim at correcting the uncharitable feelings of the parties in trade conflicts, there is required something more than merely general exhortations to good feeling. If we are to do any real good we must have some true insight into the nature and causes of the antagonism between the different classes. It is always easy to utter general precepts; the real difficulty lies in showing how they apply to particular concrete cases. In the present instance we should be able to show each class wherein their judgment on the points in dispute is warped by want of generous feeling, while at the same time we recognize what is reasonable in their several demands. We must candidly and gladly admit anything that is just in the claims of the workmen. We must deal sympathetically with whatever is natural in their feelings, as they look at the questions from their point of view, even if they may need to be shown that they are mistaken or that their aims are unattainable. We must not suffer ourselves to be blinded by any narrow prejudice of the classes of society to which we ourselves belong—such, for example, as the dislike which so often shows itself, though generally in a more or less disguised form, to any notion of a general rise in the social position of the labourers.

But, further, I am persuaded that moral considerations may fitly and ought to influence not only the feelings towards one another of employers and employed, but also their conduct in their business relations; that moral considerations may actually contribute elements towards the solution of present industrial difficulties.

Now, here we are met by a theory which leaves no place for any motive in the production or exchange of wealth except the desire of individual gain. It is said that the interests of all are best secured by every man pursuing his own. The hold which this theory has obtained upon the minds of Englishmen of the middle and upper classes is probably in part to be traced to the great benefit which resulted, in the early days of the influence of economic science, from removing all kinds of unwise restrictions upon trade. Hence arose a suspicion, not unwarranted, but too unreasoning and excessive, of all interference by the State with the course of trade or the conditions under which it is carried on. In its dogmatic shape this became the doctrine of *Laissez-faire*. Closely allied to, and no doubt fostered by, this doctrine, there sprang up a disposition to think that every interference with perfect liberty of individual action was bad. Hence notably all combinations of workmen were condemned, on the ground of the restraint put by them upon the

actions both of the capitalists and of their own members. And political economy seemed to support this view, with its theory that the whole capital available for wages must distribute itself among the working classes in fair proportions, according to the nature of different employments.

From all this it seemed natural to deduce that employers were exonerated from all responsibility as regards the effects of their industrial operations upon their workpeople. Things would best right themselves. The employer, by increasing his own wealth as much as possible, conferred the greatest benefit possible on the working classes, provided only he employed that wealth as capital.

Such views as these are very congenial both to the natural human readiness to say, "Am I my brother's keeper?" and to the devotion to the pursuit of wealth which has been developed to such a degree in the English middle classes during the period of which I am speaking, and also to some of their special virtues, their spirit of independence and self-help. We all of us have had opportunities of observing the influence of these views in the language and actions of business men, in newspaper leaders, in the speeches of members of Parliament. And, moreover, there is no inconsiderable amount of truth in the economic doctrines which formed the theoretical basis of these beliefs, and to which I have alluded. But the economic history of the past hundred years, which has seen the birth of these doctrines, has also shown that they must be taken with important qualifications. And thinkers on economic science have in recent years come more and more to recognize this. Perhaps the employing class generally would have been more ready to admit it, if there had been more intercourse and sympathy between them and the employed. But these have been wanting; owing chiefly to the great social separation between the two classes, which has been greater during the modern period in England than probably anywhere else at any other time. The whole series of laws affecting mines and factories, approved by the nation at large, directly contravenes *Laissez-faire* doctrines. And the state of things which led to their adoption proves incontestably that the well-being of the workpeople of the most vital kind, both for their own happiness and for that of the country, cannot be left to unguided, unimpeded self-interest. Other facts, not so patent, but well known to all who have studied the history of the working classes of England, prove that whole classes of labourers, weak through want of union among themselves and their individual poverty, may sink into and long remain in a state of misery, out of which they might have been lifted to the permanent benefit of the community at large. Again, it has been seen how the introduction of machinery and of other improvements conducive to larger production, however inevitable and even beneficial in the end possibly to the working classes themselves, have often at first caused cruel suffering.

Now, the position of the working classes has no doubt been greatly altered. The nation is thoroughly desirous of doing anything that appears feasible, through the Legislature, for improving the sanitary conditions of labour, and for protecting the safety of the labourer; while more general education, facilities for travelling, and

Unionism, have gone far to enable the labourer to make a good bargain for his labour and skill. It may, therefore, be thought that, whatever may have been the case at a somewhat earlier period, the strength of the parties in trade disputes is now fairly equal, so that each may be left to take care of itself. But a little further reflection will show that grave mischiefs still attend the mode in which industry is carried on. The want of stability in the amount of employment, the inflations which lead to the aggregations of large masses of workpeople in particular localities and industries, followed by the gluts which leave them scarcely any work to do, are most injurious, both materially and morally. And, again, there are still instances of misery caused through the adoption of new methods and through trade altering its channels, although this no longer happens on the gigantic scale of the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. Once more, it will not be questioned that there are still injuries to the morality or health of workpeople to be remedied, with which the State cannot deal.

Seeing, then, that there are evils which the existing forces demonstrably do not succeed in overcoming, it is not superfluous to urge men on grounds of moral duty to grapple with them more strenuously. In saying this I do not mean to counsel any attempts to act counter to any of the normal laws of production and exchange as at present existing. Many of the chief mischiefs arise from what in the view of economic science are departures from the normal state of things, or impediments to a return to it, and from individuals or classes turning exceptional circumstances to their own advantage, which they are able to do for a time, though to the injury of society.

The nature of the moral responsibilities of the capitalist may be gathered from what has been already said. We may, I think, lay it down as a principle that no man ought to be satisfied to increase his own wealth without striving to remove any mischiefs which the process, however accidentally, may entail upon others.

Sometimes it may be impossible for a man to do this effectually by himself, because his own action is so much determined by general currents which he is powerless to resist. It would, indeed, be a noble purpose to which to put federations of employers, if by joint action they could put an end to evils which their members could not cope with singly; if, for instance, their union implied that they had renounced the privilege, in a period of unsound inflation, of gambling against one another. Or, again, if these federations became organs to spread a high and generous sentiment in regard to the employer's duties, and to enforce it by the public opinion of the class upon less worthy members.

There are, no doubt, many noble examples of employers who feel the responsibilities of which I have spoken. But it is surely unquestionable that the general standard among employers might with advantage be very greatly raised. Yet further there is work for characters of a still more heroic mould. It may be possible to raise whole classes of labourers, to the general benefit of the community, by increasing what has been called their "personal capital"—that is to say, by improving their *morale* and *physique* and

skill. And yet those who take measures to do this may never themselves be pecuniarily repaid. Or, again, attempts may be made to organise industry after new patterns; and though there may be good reason to believe that the schemes have in them the elements of ultimate success, the special risks of failure attending first experiments cannot be avoided by those who lead the way in endeavouring to realise them. To make the first essays needs the bold venturesomeness of a disinterested spirit. An account of a conspicuous example of such an industrial hero, the Parisian house-decorator, Leclair, one who was singularly successful, and who does not seem in the result to have lost by what he did for others, has been given us by Mr. Sedley Taylor, in the *Nineteenth Century* review of the present month. Few aims more truly philanthropic can be set before men of the employing class than that they should use their business experience and capacity in ways such as these.

I have spoken of the moral ideal to be set before employers. I am not unmindful of the corresponding duties which need to be inculcated upon workpeople. They need to be urged to keep clear of sourness and bitterness of spirit towards their employers, to be careful to do thorough and faithful work, to be always alive to the interests of other classes of workpeople besides their own. If I do not dwell on these points at greater length it is because I think the English upper and middle class public, a portion of which I am addressing in this paper, has its eyes much more open, as regards the moral qualities to be desiderated in workpeople than it has as regards those which ought to be exhibited by persons belonging to its own class. It is further necessary to give the warning, that we must not and cannot expect to have any influence with trade unionists, unless we do justice to the good in unionism as well as noticing its mischiefs and dangers; and unless we recognise what it may effect, and probably has effected, for the benefit of the working classes, when wisely managed.

Lastly, when those differences of opinion arise as to what ought to be the rate of wages in the actual condition of trade, which must almost inevitably from time to time occur, it is clearly the duty of each party to submit the case to arbitration, even though they may have to forego the probability of a more complete triumph for their own side, which they anticipate would be the result of a trial of strength. And public opinion may rightly enforce this by all the pressure which it is able to exert. It is entitled to do so for the sake of the general well-being of the community.

I have pointed to the evidence that the operation of mere self-interest does not ensure that industry will be carried on in a manner as happy as might be for the working classes and for the general welfare. And I have indicated the moral considerations and sentiments which ought to have place in the business relations of employers and employed. Now, surely it is not out of place if, in order to enforce these, we seek to bring to bear the powerful motives of the Christian religion. To do so is but to adapt precepts of the New Testament in such a way as to make them apply to modern circumstances. The mediæval Church was one of the chief agencies in the extinction of the older and harsher form of slavery, and it also

contributed not a little to the gradual abolition of that milder form of slavery which we call serfdom. Is it wrong to be ambitious that the Christian Church at the present day should likewise help in setting at rest the feud between capital and labour, and in remedying the evils which attach to the position of the working classes? On behalf of those clergy who have more especially interested themselves in such questions, I feel sure I may say, that the ground of their interest is not that they feel more at home in these earthly matters than in dwelling on the great facts and articles of the Christian Creed. On the contrary, it is that they feel deeply the wide significance of the Incarnation, that they feel the reign of Christ should be universal over every part of human life, and that they would fain assist in the great work of casting down everything that exalteth itself against Him, and of bringing every thought into His obedience.

As Christian men, we are bound to take such a view of the duties of those engaged in trade and industry as I have endeavoured to set forth; and, as members of the Church of England, this particular application of Christian principle should be peculiarly natural to us. For the noble ideal of a National Church, with national duties, with the call to be the guardian of national religion and morals, and to cultivate the most profound interest in the welfare of the masses of the people, is in the constitution and history of the Church of England set before us in a manner altogether unexampled. It is so by her existing connection with the State. It is so, again, and ever must remain to be, by the great historical fact that she is the branch of the Catholic Apostolic Church in England. It is, once more, by the fact that she is that branch which, by her struggles almost continuously from the first against the usurpations of the see of Rome, has most strongly maintained the rights of National Churches within the pale of the Catholic Church. If institutions have the power, as we know they have, of producing an "ethos," or moral tone, in those who live under them, we, as clergy and laity of the Church of England, ought to be foremost in recognising and practising such duties as those of which I have been speaking this evening.

W. F. Fox, Esq., of Sherwood Rise, Nottingham.

In considering the question of the organizations of Labour as represented by Trades' Unions and Masters' Associations, I will state as briefly as possible:

I. What in my opinion the Church should *not* do.

II. What she can and ought to do.

In the first place, then, the Church and her Ministers should not be *partizans*, either, on the one hand, denouncing Trades' Unions as an unmitigated evil, or, on the other hand, following the example of those who at the present time appear to encourage and promote them.

My reason for this statement will perhaps be better understood if we consider for a few moments the causes which have produced

such combinations, and the difference of opinion which prevails among our most thoughtful writers as to the ultimate benefit or otherwise which they may or may not have produced.

It is generally admitted that combinations of masters and work-people are not in themselves unlawful or wrong. They are the almost inevitable outcome of the vast commercial enterprizes and complicated interests of our large towns, and in many places, especially where the class of work and price of labour are subject to frequent variations, some such organisation seems to be almost a necessity; and under such circumstances, when used merely as a representative authority to give effect to the decisions mutually agreed upon between the employers and employed on a Board of Arbitration or to carry out the decision of a Referee, they produce most happy results; but the conditions you will observe are widely different when applied to country places or agricultural districts, to which I hope other speakers may more especially refer, whilst I confine my observations to the working of 'Trades' Unions in large towns.

We are accustomed to speak of the interests of Capital and Labour as *identical*, and rightly so. But the question in dispute is as to the division of profits accruing from this industrial partnership; for the workmen are anxious to obtain as large a share as they can for themselves, but if they press too hardly on the rights or necessities of Capital, it shrinks away from their touch and flies away to some more favoured town or distant land leaving often desolation and misery behind. Thus we find that nearly all the disputes that arise (too often involving strikes and lock-outs) proceed from the claims of the workmen to a larger share of the employers' profit, or else from an attempt by artificial means to hasten or retard the development of the Law of Supply and Demand, a law which is subject to so many side issues and conflicting currents that it is difficult to trace out its course and unseen operation; and therefore it is exceedingly unwise for those who cannot possibly understand all the circumstances of the case to pass a hasty judgment on these complex questions. Theoretically, there is nothing absolutely wrong in a *Strike* or *Lock-out*, and if it merely affected the two parties interested, the capitalist and the labourer, it might be compared to the mode of bargaining frequently adopted in other business matters; but these extreme measures are to be deprecated and avoided, because of the suffering they entail upon an ever-widening circle of innocent victims who are thereby deprived of employment, because of the privation they bring to the wives and children of the workmen, because of the injurious moral effect they often have on the characters of those on strike, and, lastly, because they embitter the relations between the workmen and their employers and in the heat of the contest the judgment becomes blinded and angry passions are aroused.

With regard to the moral effects of 'Trades' Unions, their leaders maintain that they have been the means of materially raising the wages of the workmen; whilst many of the most eminent political economists assert that such advance is due to the operation of natural laws, and others state that the effect of trade agitation has

been merely to accelerate, often at a fearful cost to the workmen and injury to trade, those changes which are inevitable. It is not necessary for us to attempt to pass an opinion on this question which those who have made it a careful study find to be so complicated, but we can all rejoice that the working classes generally are in a better position, are better clothed, and have more comfortable homes than they had twenty years ago, and are also advancing in intelligence; for the effect of the association of workmen is in some respects a means of intellectual advancement, and however crude and erroneous some of their ideas may be and narrow in their objects, they stimulate their mental powers, and mere union, quite irrespective of any special object, is of itself a wholesome discipline. The mere act of association is of itself a wholesome subordination of the individual to the general, and we cannot help admiring the self-sacrifices cheerfully and willingly made for what is supposed to be the good of others, even though we may believe this unselfish devotion to have been misguided and mistaken.

Whilst thus speaking of the benefits of Trade-Unionism we must not be blind to its evils, and these are twofold.

1. Those which seem to be inherent in its nature.
2. Those which we trust are mere excrescences, and may be cured by time and ripening intelligence.

Of those evils which seem to be inherent in its nature, I will very briefly touch upon four of the most prominent.

(a) Combinations of workmen and employers, like standing armies, are provocative of war, and the Trades Union official annually elected is anxious to show his activity and zeal. Hence arises constant agitation and unsettlement, harrassing to employers and most injurious to commerce.

(b) A fixed rate of wages by which practically good and bad workmen have to be paid alike is a manifest discouragement and injury to the superior workman, who has no inducement to excel and in many cases is not even allowed to do so, and it is also a great injury to the employer.

(c) The combination of trade with benefit funds is delusive to the public and to the workmen themselves, who are led to place their reliance on their Union, which as a Benefit Society is financially unsound.

(d) Trades Unions seem to create and stereotype the very evils which produced them; aimed at the tyranny of a few masters they dishearten the kind and drive away the gentle, whilst that happy personal regard and interest which was unfortunately weakened by the establishment of joint-stock companies and other gigantic works is now almost completely destroyed, so that many employers who have the welfare of their workpeople really at heart would rather close their factories than work under such estrangement.

A still more grievous charge against the members of Trades Unions, but one which we trust may be cured by time, is that of denying to others the liberty they claim for themselves, making one wonder whether the name of a free born Englishman is not a sham. Workmen have a perfect right to combine together if they think fit for trade purposes, but they have no right to attempt to force others

to join them. They have a perfect right to refuse to work for any employer, and any employer has an equal right to refuse to employ Trades Union workmen, but they have no right to prevent others from working for him.

I could fill my paper and make your blood boil with indignation at the accounts of cruelty, brutality, blackguardism, and tyranny practised in the name of Trade-Unionism, but these dark blots in the system are already repudiated with shame by the more intelligent Trade Societies and we may hope will soon pass away; also we trust that the absurd restrictions in the modes of working, and interference with the freedom of trade, which, as an advocate of Trades Unions says, "almost seem to be bent on establishing among English workmen the obsolete slavery of Hindoo or Egyptian caste," may soon be expunged from their rules.

Having thus endeavoured, so far as the limits of time will allow, to point out the benefits and also the great evils of Trades Unions as a reason why we should neither blindly denounce nor foolishly encourage them, I will now proceed to consider, in the second place, "What the Church can, and ought to do."

Let the clergy "Watch what main currents draw the years," and instead of striving to stem the tide or being borne along by the stream, seek to meet the changing needs and altered circumstances of our social state by those Eternal Truths which adapt themselves in their divine teaching to every circumstance of life and state of society. Let them then instil into the hearts of their people that royal law which was from the beginning, which our Saviour taught and His apostles proclaimed, which we learn with our catechism but too often practically ignore "My Duty to my neighbour is to love him as myself, and to do to others as I would that they should do to me." Let them preach and practise that Christ-like *unselfishness* which, so opposed to the spirit of the world and treated with ridicule, bids us "seek every man the things of others;" and thus the spirit of Christ in Christian men will bind together these opposing forces, and bring peace and concord over the troubled waters.

Where strife and conflict unhappily exist let the clergy be the messengers of conciliation, *peacemakers* and not *partizans*. Although Arbitration may be, in some respects, a clumsy and defective method of settling disputes and often leading to disappointment, nevertheless it is the best remedy we have, and from some experience I can say that it nips many a personal squabble in the bud, and settles nine out of ten more serious difficulties. It was remarked at a recent Church Congress that "the principle of arbitration was warmly welcomed by the men," but I have found a great reluctance on the part of the workmen to agree to arbitration. The Lace Manufacturers Association in Nottingham have for the last two years been endeavouring, with but partial success, to re-establish a Board of Arbitration; and even the Board of Arbitration in the hosiery trade at Nottingham, which has so often been referred to as the pioneer of this movement, has not been as successful as is commonly imagined. We must not, therefore, look upon arbitration as a panacea for all difficulties or as a universal remedy; for arbitration is only applicable in certain cases, such as when, owing to the fluctuations of trade,

some change in the rate of wages is admitted to be necessary or requires adjustment; and as arbitration is very apt to assume the form of a compromise, it will not be accepted by masters or workmen unless they are prepared to make some concession. No Board of Arbitration is complete without some mode of final appeal, and the post of arbitrator, umpire, or referee, is one for which I consider the clergy are not well fitted, as it needs special qualifications, commercial or technical knowledge and legal acumen, and it is often a thankless task.

Another suggestion I would make to the clergy is that they should introduce the teaching of Political Economy in their schools, and circulate in libraries and reading-rooms the valuable handbooks written on the subject, believing that much of the strife between capital and labour is caused by ignorance of its most elementary and fundamental laws.

The responsibilities of Christian employers towards their work-people have been often proclaimed by both bishops and clergy. But whatever special opportunities for doing good existed in former times, they are now neutralized by the existence of Trades Unions, as the master finds all his efforts for the moral or spiritual welfare of his work-people met with distrust or suspicion, and the more close the relation between them the more difficult it is to be on friendly terms, and to forget that the workmen are members of a society which is constantly interfering and harrassing him in the conduct of his business, and stepping in between him and his workmen on every possible occasion. Hard it is not to become embittered by this constant opposition, and to rise to the higher God-like standard "to do good to the unthankful." But whilst seeking to "give unto your servants that which is *just* and *equal*," there are also the sick and suffering amongst our workpeople who need tending with a personal care and ready sympathy; and we can devote the leisure which God has entrusted to us to the welfare of our working classes, who are keenly alive to any well considered scheme kindly and wisely made, if once satisfied that it is free from the *patronizing* spirit which they rightly resent, and will not much longer endure; for the age of patronage with all its kindnesses and all its faults is fast passing away.

The last point I would touch upon is "*The antagonism of Trade Unions and of working men generally to the Church.*"

The cause of this may be traced to the fact that besides the mere matter of wages there is a social question underlying Trade-Unionism, that it is a part of the social upheaving of the present day, a natural and inevitable endeavour on the part of the working classes to raise themselves in the social scale, and a protest against the feudal ideas which are so opposed not only to the spirit of the age but to the true spirit of Christianity, and which so pervade society that they are most difficult to eradicate. At the end of 1880 years of Christianity, some of the principal points of our Lord's teaching are practically ignored, and are only forcing themselves forward from natural progress; so that the Church, including both the laity and the clergy, has much to learn and to unlearn in her dealings with the poor. She must begin with the House of

God itself, where St. James' words about the man "in goodly apparel" and "the poor man in vile raiment" seem too often to be altogether forgotten. She must carry her lessons into the homes of the middle classes and of the rich, teaching masters, mistresses, and children, to treat their servants with more gentleness and courtesy. In philanthropy she must learn to be the true friend of the poor, helping them to help themselves, discarding all semblance of patronage and respecting their simple independence; this is a much higher phase of Christian love and needs far more thought and care than mere alms-giving. In all the relations of daily life the Church needs to inculcate true Christian courtesy, and respect for the honest man however poor and humble; also to avoid that condescension of manner which often we adopt insensibly, but which is gall to the independent workman, and above all to abandon the unchristian habit of looking upon and treating those in a different social position as *inferiors*.

Lastly let not the clergy widen the gulph and alienate the people by assuming a superiority in virtue of their office, but let the Gospel of Christ be the bridge over all class distinctions. Let them set forth by life and doctrine that true Christian *equality* which rises above whilst it does not ignore the differences of social position; that true Christian *liberty* which is free from the caprice of Masters or the tyranny of Trades Unions; and let them proclaim, in the name of God the Father, the universal *brotherhood* of mankind.

ADDRESSES.

F. S. POWELL, Esq., of Bradford.

I CONFESS that my task of addressing a few words to you has been rendered far more difficult by the extreme ability and the exhaustive character of the two papers to which we have just listened. There are times when, in speaking of the Church, you refer to both clergy and laymen; but I think it is convenient, for a moment at least, to confine our attention to the action and office of the clergy. I myself rejoice that some of the younger clergy met together in the Chapter House of St. Paul's to have those conferences to which reference has been made by Mr. Stanton. I believe their action will be productive of much good, and that a better understanding will be promoted between different classes of the community. If I were to venture upon one observation respecting what has there occurred, I would suggest to my brethren of the clergy that they should be careful, and deliberate, and calm in arriving at a conclusion. I fully concur with the rev. gentleman who has spoken, that we must be just in feeling towards the working man, but let us also be just in feeling towards the employer. With reference to the remark made as to a narrow prejudice against the elevation of workmen in the social scale, permit me to say that that prejudice is at once narrow and extinct. I am speaking from my own experience, which is neither short in time nor limited in range. The rev. gentleman made some allusion to the removal of all restriction. I certainly hope we shall never return to the time when Parliament attempted the minute regulation of labour. I heartily appreciate and value the Acts of Parliament relating to factories and to mines. It has been my great privilege to take part in that legislation; but

I do say, while adopting that principle of security for life and for property, let us be careful how we adopt it, and let us be certain that we do not produce more mischief than we cure. I do not think the end of that legislation has been reached; but I do exhort to the most extreme caution, to the most tender and delicate care. With reference to what was said as to improvements, let us not from kindly feelings and philanthropy stay the progress of improvement. I can remember the days of the old power loom; and those of the old wool combing in Yorkshire. I can remember, too, the difficulty, and misery, and sorrow which existed during the changes which have taken place. I was a witness of them, and endeavoured in some sense to relieve them. But who would now wish to go back to those days? Who would wish to see the struggling poverty, and that greatest curse of the working man, irregular hours of employment, or the absolute absence of employment? These changes are made sometimes with great difficulty, but often with considerable ease. A case was mentioned to me recently at a town which had been greatly depressed; but in this athletic age the young men took to bicycles, and bicycles have become a great industry in that town. And, strange as it may seem, it is a fact that bicycles have produced a great industry, and there is now an abundance of wealth in that city.

It has been said with great truth that an employer must not check the progress of the workman. Permit me to say that he does not check it. A skilful labourer is what the employer most desires. When we come to collective action, what are our schools, our parks, our museums, but endeavours made by the employers to improve the condition of the labourer. Taking class by class, in this country, the employers of labour are inferior to none as regards an enlarged philanthropy and active benevolence towards those who surround them. If I were to speak the fulness of my mind, I should say that they are superior to all other classes. I will not venture to make so sweeping a statement, but I do say that they are inferior to none.

One or two words with reference to the position of the clergyman. I say his position is that of the peacemaker, not that of an arbitrator in a matter which he does not understand, still less that of a partizan. There is no one in society more competent to mediate between the classes than the clergyman. The clergyman visits the sick workman. He proceeds from the cottage to the hall. He can tell in the hall the sufferings of the cottage; he can tell in the cottage the anxieties and the difficulties of the mansion. He sympathises with both classes, and being the friend of all, and having antagonism to none, he must exercise a great influence in uniting all ranks, in removing difficulties, and promoting concord. And if that is done by the clergyman in the parish visit, surely something may be done by the minister of the Holy Gospel in the sanctuary. Suppose there is an impending difficulty between capital and labour, to use a well-known phrase. The controversy threatens to become embittered; there is a danger of a strike and a lock-out, and hate and antagonism. They meet in the same church, they listen to the same Gospel, they utter the same sacred prayer for peace, and then they advance to the holy table and partake in the same divine mysteries. Do you believe that those who thus assemble on the Sunday will be engaged in a bitter conflict on the Monday? No, that is impossible. I believe that as the influence of the Church increases in the country, these struggles between capital and labour will be robbed of their heat and antagonism. Debates there will be, but debates between reasonable men, leaving behind them no sense of defeat, no humiliation, because the result will have been arrived at between reasonable men, each and all parties to the controversy being anxious only for that which is right, for that which is fair, and that which is just.

Now, one word only on a subject not yet alluded to, and that is the sanitary condition of workmen. I believe no class of men can do

more than the clergy in that question. The work of legislation has been well nigh accomplished. The rest must be done by public opinion. There is no man better calculated to stir that public opinion than the clergyman. He can make suggestions to the employer which no other dare venture to make ; and he can sometimes give hints to the labourer which will not be received with the same kindness from the employer or his agent.

I hope I have sketched out a noble work for the clergy, a work for which the rich and poor will alike bless them, a work which they may discharge well and wisely without going beyond their sphere or beyond the range of their information,—a work which will do much to heal the divisions which break up society, and to knit the English people, with all their difficulties, and all their anxieties, into one united and harmonious whole.

MARK KNOWLES, Esq.

I SPEAK as one who has tried both sides of this question. For 10 years I was a journeyman worker ; for 20 years a large employer of labour. I speak as one who has the bitter experience of a striker and as one struck against ; and I venture to make a remark by the way, that it is a great mistake to suppose that, either on the part of the masters or the men, those who transgress in this matter are numerous. The facts are just the reverse. In this country, it is true of the masters that we have probably the best body of employers that are to be found in the whole world ; it is equally true of the men, that there are no men in any nation their equals. I, myself, as an engineer, have had opportunities for judging men belonging to six distinct nationalities—and my opinion is, they cannot compete with the English-born working man ; and whilst the working men may well be proud of their masters, I can state from the bottom of my heart, an English master who is not equally proud of the great mass of the English working men is himself a defaulter, if the true state of affairs were known. But in this matter, as in most others, it is the few evil-affected masters and men who upset the smooth working of society, and make the management of our large concerns almost an impossibility. Recall to mind the events of 1851. At that time the commercial enterprise of this country suddenly shot up to a point exceeding that of all other countries put together. The result was a large addition of men to our mills and our manufactories, and a proportionate estrangement of the masters who did not know the new comers. In hundreds of cases before 1851, the master knew every workman who entered his service, you might almost say from the cradle to the time he had finished his apprenticeship. He spoke of him as "Our So-and-so," and the social relationship between employers and employed was almost as complete as that between the employer and his eldest son. But with the large increase of industrial manufacture, all this became practically impossible. What is more, up to 1851 the master was resident in the very yard of the factory, and I have no hesitation in saying that the bane of our manufacturing life has been that our manufacturers have removed to the West End of our towns. and have left the poor workmen to occupy the worst quarters of the East End. Then, too, the influence of the employer's wife and daughters was lost. The few disaffected stirred up strife and animosity, because the old feudal feeling did not exist with them. They see only the weak point in the master's character, and forget all the good things in the years past. If you take one step further you find not only has the large increase in the size of our manufactories done a great deal to create the difficulty that we now complain about, but in the opinion of most persons learned in the labour question, the modern system of Companies has probably done more.

I am quite convinced this need not necessarily be its issue, but, at the same time, I must admit most companies are rightly charged as being without souls, and whenever a trading corporation has no soul it has little morality. The system of making divvies, as they are called in the North, and dividends, as they call them in the South, has made employers forget that if a master would have a good workman he must pay some attention to the moral, religious, and social condition of his workman. This has been entirely ignored by the companies. At their annual meetings, the only consideration is the balance-sheet, and yet no one who has thought about the question can fail to see that companies make a great mistake in so acting. Take two companies by way of example. I would suggest the London Steamboat Company for one. Those of you who know it, know that, whilst it enjoys a monopoly of the Thames traffic, and, on the face of affairs, ought to be an excellent property, its dividends have been low. Its boats are admitted to be of an exceedingly dilapidated and inferior kind. If you travel much upon the river you also know that the workmen are in a constant state of eruption, just ready to burst the bounds at any time, and only waiting for the lighted match to do so; in fact, a state of civil war exists between employer and employed. What is the result? You find, as I have before stated, the Company does not pay large dividends; and, in spite of its manœuvres, in spite of working its men almost every day, Sunday and week day alike, it is quite impossible for it to do more than keep its head above water. Turn to a Company where there is some moral influence. Take, side by side with the London Steamboat Company, the South Metropolitan Gas Company; it has just held its annual meeting at the Cannon Street Hotel. Every shareholder is in a state of jubilation. They are satisfied with their dividend and with the condition of their property; the workmen are satisfied with their treatment; and this is not an experiment of a year or two. It is not a modern company—it is one of the oldest companies in London. Its managers, for two generations at least, have been Christian men, and the predecessor and father of the present manager a most highly devoted and conscientious man; and I am now speaking of matters entirely within my own knowledge, for only to-day I have finished a very important report upon a Workmen's Fund for the directors of this Company. What do I find is the secret of its success; what do I find is the secret of the excellent relationship existing between employer and employed? The late manager suggested a scheme of superannuation among the workmen, and friendly aid from the employers was freely given. From the commencement of the fund to the last quarter, the Company have given a sum bordering upon £5,000, with interest, although they have never employed more than 250 workmen. At the present moment no less than 16 of their old workmen are superannuated, receiving from 10s. to 15s. per week. Nor did it stop there. Side by side with that, there has been a quiet religious influence steadily at work. The great social question which concerns the workman more than all other social questions, the temperance question, has not been lost sight of. In fact, in a sentence, thrift, temperance, and religion have gone hand-in-hand; and, whilst the workmen have had first-rate wages, the Company excellent dividends, the men the friendly aid of a Superannuation Fund in times of affliction and old age, the Company supplies its customers with gas at a cheaper rate than almost any other Gas Company in England, and yet pays a good dividend upon its capital, whilst the general character of the property is admitted to be unequalled. Look, now, from these London Companies to a parish where we have exactly the same principles, thrift, temperance, and religion, put forward. I want you, in imagination, to travel from London to Low Moor, near Clitheroe. Here we find a population of 1,435 people, small it is true, but enough to try this question. For over 50 years they have never had a strike—I do not say they have no unpleasantness, because you know we have been told that even a married life of 50 years without any quarrel

would be an exceedingly monotonous and dull one. But at Low Moor they are able to settle their own disputes, and from time to time, without a strike, their differences, as they have arisen, have been carefully adjusted; and, as a matter of fact, very little has been lost in wages in now upwards of 57 years by any dispute which has occurred. But take one step farther. They have not had, during the last fifty years, one single crime of any sort in that village; they have not had one single pauper, and to-day I have a letter from the clergyman, telling me that, of the population, 570 are regular attendants at his Church, over 200 are regular communicants, and, exclusive of the sum given for religious and charitable purposes by the Garnetts, the working people voluntarily subscribed a sum total of £617 last year for various branches of religious and philanthropic work outside their own parish. Now, I venture to say that the result of all this is, masters and men alike are true to the principles of our Church; they do their duty in the station of life to which it has pleased God to call them, realising the fact that "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." Now, just one word of personal explanation—I am often charged with talking too much about myself in these meetings. My life has been a somewhat peculiar one. Beginning life the child of poor parents, a cripple on the entire of my left side, first, a workman, and then an employer, and now having gone to the bar, I have been the subject of a course of events that seldom happen in the life of one man, and, therefore, perhaps, I may speak once more upon the subject of my personal views as to the true solution of trading difficulties. My opinion is, if our commerce is to go right in the future, if we are once again to become the producers for the world, if once again the boundless wealth of iron and coal, with which the Great Father of us all has formed the very foundation of our sea girt homes, is to become a blessing alike to the employer and employed at home and to the foreign consumers abroad, the Church must boldly proclaim the duty of both master and man. She is nobly doing much of this work through the Church of England Temperance Society—but much more requires to be done, and if this is done completely, I have no hesitation in saying that, despite the croakers who are constantly putting before us the wonderful things that are done abroad, and how they do everything better there than we do them at home, good old England, founded upon the basis of righteousness and justice, and carrying the same to good effect in her every-day life, commercial, trading, and social, will maintain its position in the commercial race of the world against all comers, and, whether it be master speaking about man or man about master, both may be proud of their own countrymen, feeling that they have no equals in any other country on the face of the globe, and with temperance and religion working hand-in-hand, both will soon rejoice that they have no equals—"their enemies themselves being judges."

W. M. MOORSOM, Esq.

THERE are just two points which I think I may bring before you. We hear a good deal about Trades Unions as organisations "absurd, useless, and impotent." This view is economically unsound, and is recognised as such by the economists of the present day. Trades Unions are not useless or impotent to effect the main end for which they are instituted, that is, the raising of the wages of labour. Trades Unions have compelled economists to turn their attention to a class of facts previously almost entirely ignored. They have established their position. Economists do not now put forward the general principles of economic science in precisely the same form as they used to; and you will not as a rule even in the past find the condemnation of Trades Unions half as strongly put in the treatises of economists

as in the columns of middle-class newspapers. As an illustration of how a principle, true in itself, may, when too roughly expressed, convey an idea to a great extent fallacious, take the common expression—"water finds its own level." That expresses so clear and obvious a truth that one is not always awake to the extreme falseness of its application. Water does not find its own level, otherwise you could not make use of it as a motive power. It tries to do so, but is often prevented by man. Similarly the saying "the laws of supply and demand fix wages" contains a great truth, but that is no reason why the workman should not have a voice in the question. The general laws of supply and demand are occasionally perfectly satisfied by several rates of wages—perhaps two or three or more. The question is sometimes one of a high order, which has many solutions. The laws of supply and demand are most complicated; and in estimating their ultimate effect in real life, we must take into consideration individual circumstances. The question of whether the workmen are organised and the employers are organised is one of the most important of these circumstances. We must drop the supposition that the principles of Trade Unionism are absurd. It is not that the workmen do not understand what they are doing—on the contrary, it is we, the middle class, who have had to go to school to them. If then they are right in their principles of association they claim our warmest sympathy; of course I do not mean in all their methods of carrying out their objects, but in their principles. If you want to influence the best of the working classes you will get their ear in the best way by approaching them through their chosen leaders. I have worked shoulder to shoulder with working men and I have had some years' experience as a manager, and, speaking from that experience, my opinion is that the clergy are regarded by the most intelligent of the working men—by the leaders—as too far removed from the working classes, not only in social position, but in aspirations, in thoughts, in ideas and views of life, of what is right and ought to be. They are often regarded as among the workman's kindest friends in sickness and trouble, they are sometimes recognised as very generous administrators of doles, but they are not looked upon as companions and fellow-workers. They feel for the working classes, but they do not feel with them. There is an immense difference in the two feelings. The clergyman may be a very learned and useful man, but if his mind be utterly dissimilar from that of the workman, the two cannot come into contact. This is the first time in my life that I have had an opportunity of speaking to the clergy, although for more than fifty times a year I sit with exemplary patience and hear the clergy speak to me upon my duty. You must allow me for a moment to point out to you your duty. I think this is what is wanted from you by those who are interested in the division of the produce of the earth, by employers and by labourers. In the first place we do not want you to tell us what to do. You cannot tell us because you have not had the technical training. Nor do we want you to confine yourselves entirely to the abstract principles of your branch of knowledge. Abstract principles often repeated are apt to become vague generalities. What then do we want you to do? We want you to do very much what the scientific men do for us. They tell us what is the effect of taking this course or that course. When Robert Stephenson was about to make the bridge across the Menai Straits he got a mathematician to tell him the difference of strength between tubular and other bridges. He did not ask the mathematician to tell him what to do. He sucked the brains of the mathematician and drew conclusions for himself. Another thing that scientific men do for us is to tell us the order of events in the universe; they tell us the direction in which things are moving, and we draw conclusions for ourselves. The clergy might help the laity in a similar manner. Are there no general laws in your branch of human knowledge? Why do you present it to us piecemeal? Have you no general formulæ? That stream of events which makes for righteousness, has it no currents; no ebbs and flows? When you take the Sermon on

the Mount, are not you putting before us general principles which emanate from the very Mind from which the rest of the universe has emanated? And shall we not find the same kind of thought, the same order, and the same regularity there as we find in the solar system? Have you not then got hold of vast underlying principles? Is not here given for you and us the key to problems, which gunpowder and the bayonet have tried for centuries in vain to solve? Tell us then what is the effect of what we do. If we gain wealth, as we often do, by unrighteousness, shall we have to pay an equivalent price in moral and spiritual loss? Show us how, if a man violates the spiritual laws, spiritual retribution will overtake him. Why have you left it to John Stuart Mill to point out——? (*Stopped by the bell*).

A. BUCHANAN, Esq., of Derby.

THERE has been in all that has been said to-night a very great deal of unanimity as to what the mission of the Church must ever be in regard to the organisation of labour—that her mission must be a mission of peace and goodwill, and that she must be of no party. Thus much seems very clear, and I think we may add this, too, that the Church must take many social questions, not as she would like to have them, but as they are, and deal with them as she finds them. Then another principle which seems to have been dwelt upon by all the speakers is, that what ought to underlie all the relations between employers and employed should be that expressed in the golden rule that each should do to another as he would be done by. But then, going further, we come to the question as to how these disputes arise in matters affecting trade. What is the mainspring? It seems to me that here is the great difficulty which the Church must at all events, through its clergy, have to deal with, in dealing with questions of this sort. They are often of necessity outside the question. Perhaps it is well, because I think that being outside of it they are sometimes able to come in in a way they could not if they were more closely mingled with it. Therefore my own opinion is that the clergy will probably do more good by keeping to that position. By all means try to understand every question, but at the same time it is very difficult to prevent oneself from becoming a partisan in such matters, and that must certainly interfere very greatly with the usefulness of the clergy. I am of opinion a great many of the disputes might be very easily settled if thinking men on each side, and there are quite as many among working men as among employers, would meet together and talk out the matter. Unhappily a great deal of the mischief is done by exaggerated language and irritating expressions being used on both sides. I think it may be fairly admitted that this is one of the causes which have led to a great deal of the trouble. Of course we may sometimes have on the one side a greedy employer whose one notion is that he has got to make a lot of money, it does not very much matter how, and to make it very largely out of the employed. That is one type of character. Then on the other side possibly there is the workman who has exaggerated ideas, and who may think that because some one has more than he has there must be something wrong. Very often those sort of views are held by men of great force of character who have great influence over their fellow men. But we must not forget that these men are not the majority in either case. They are the exceptions rather than the rule. Of course both employers and employed alike must know the while there must be the head to direct all sorts of work, there must be something in the shape of capital already earned to enable you to earn more with it. At the same time there must be deft and willing hands to take out the material from the bosom of the earth or to fashion it into things of use and beauty.

The one is as needful as the other. Then again sometimes the workman may forget that in order to have continuous work for himself there must be some relation between the cost of production and the price of the article when produced, and he must contribute his share to that end and regulate his way of contributing to it a good deal by circumstances. There are times when he must put his shoulder to the wheel and work the hardest, and yet will get least reward. The employers have to do it. Then, after all, both might well consider whether some of the differences might not be forgotten for a time rather than issue in a quarrel which may be ruin to both. We all must feel that if we are ever to get back to better times it must be very much by frugality. We have departed from it very much of recent years. We have accustomed ourselves to a way of living which is totally unnecessary, which our fathers did well without, and which it will be well if we can try to do without too. Now, another thing that I should like to call attention to is, that while organisation on both sides no doubt has advantages, yet it is true that there are some things in which organisation positively may do harm if it is pushed too far. We must remember this above all things. Now I do believe that there is no quality amongst our people which has tended to lift the character of the English people as high as it is, more than the one characteristic of individuality. I do believe that unless that characteristic lives amongst us the men of this country will never be able to do the best for the country, that they never will be able as a nation to keep the position which they have occupied. I believe the individuality of the workmen is not on the increase as compared with fifty years ago. That is not altogether the fault of the workman. It is necessary to have such a number of subdivisions in work that a workman has not the same scope for his individuality that he had in former times. And depend upon it if trade-unionism goes the length of crushing out the individuality of the workingmen it will do a serious injury to the nation. There may be very diverse opinions upon trades unions and employers' unions; there may be a very great deal of bad and good in both. It is useless to think of going back to the days when the employers and employed were like the members of one family. We must face the thing as it is. But it seems to me that there is a way in which the Church can come in; if she can infuse the true spirit of Christianity into these organisations she will take all the evil out of them, and the rest that remains will be found working for the common good. Now, with regard to this, I was a good deal struck with what the gentleman who spoke last said. It has been passing through my own mind often that in our churches, I know that in speaking in the presence of clergymen one ought to be careful in these matters, but there is some fear in the present day of our forgetting the teaching of St. James, that we ought to show that our faith is a living faith by our works. I do believe that the practical duties of the Christian life want pressing very much home upon us. It is possible to listen to some of the highest truths of Christianity and to forget some others. I think sometimes clergymen hardly know the wear and tear of the laymen during the week, and that all of us have to be brought back to this great truth that Christ lived as our example as well as died for our redemption. I do not think we need be hopeless. I think in many directions you will find a marked improvement has taken place. And in the matter of temperance I should like to say a word or two. I believe that is one of the matters in which the Church can work, and work well. There is no evil which tends more to embitter the relations between employers and employed than intemperance, nothing hinders production more, or prevents work being turned out quickly and in a way which will give satisfaction, than intemperance. I do believe that here all of us, clergy, employers, trades unionists—all can work together to a common end, and that no better field can be pointed out to the trades unions themselves than to do their best to carry out temperance principles. I am sure they will promote good relations. In regard to another point I

think the Church may do something. How are we to get back the working classes to the Church? That seems to me the greatest question. If we are to deal with the organisation of labour we must get the workers inside the Church. I do not mean to say that we are to drag them out of the Nonconformist Chapels; but if we do get them inside the Church I believe we get them under the influence of a broader Christianity, and that if we got the workingmen to become members of the Church of England we should get them to take a larger and broader view of things altogether. This is what we want to do. They would then see the justice of many things they do not see the justice of now. I believe that in any great town where a clergyman seems to have the power of addressing himself to the working classes he gets them into his Church. We must do it, before all other things by exhibiting true Christian manliness.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. W. CUNNINGHAM, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

THE discussion seems to limit the attention of the clergy very much to the formation of public opinion. I believe that public opinion on Trades Unions is being formed without any expression of opinion on the part of the clergy or any other portion of the community. Trades Unions are great public institutions, and opinion is being formed about them through their own action by their conduct in the broad light of day. They have already succeeded in living down the prejudices which at one time amounted to almost a scandal; and I think they will, sooner or later, by their own conduct, show us which of the two different sets of opinions uttered about them is true, and which is false. For instance, we often hear that Trades Unions agitators stir up strife for their own gain. That may possibly be true; but it may also possibly be true, as stated at the last Dublin Conference, that agitation is good and prevents strikes. That cannot be proved by discussion, but only by the course of events. So with regard to wages. Whether it be true that Trades Unions desire that no skilled workman should accept other than a certain rate of wages, will also be shown by the course of events, and not by discussion. As things are at present, it seems to me that Trades Unions have now got a fair field. That was noticeable in the discussion between the Midland Company and its servants. With regard to the formation of public opinion, I do not think the duty of the clergy lies in the formation of public opinion. If there be a more direct influence, it behoves us to see what direction it may take. No one can feel more strongly than I do the danger of their being partisans. It seems to me that this subject requires so much discussion, that it is impossible to deal with it in the time which custom allows to the voluntary speaker at this Congress. If the clergy are not to be partisans, it seems to me still less possible for them to be arbitrators. The questions are so delicate, that no outsider can possibly decide, where differences arise between workmen and employers. If any of you have endeavoured to really understand what is the precise bearing of the questions in any great strike—what the result would be if the increase in wages were given, how far the effects would go—if you have tried to make out an independent judgment on any of these questions, I believe you will go with me in the opinion that it would be impossible for an outsider to attempt to arbitrate on these matters. At the same time, it seems to me that the clergyman may have a real relation to the Trades Unionists. In fact, it seems to me that he must have some relation to them. He is their parish priest, and it rests with him what sort of relation that shall be. He may hold aloof from them; very likely he does not like them. They may have opinions which he does not approve

of. They very possibly do not go to Church as much as he would wish them to do ; and in this way he may have many sound reasons for holding aloof from them. But, at the same time, the real question is not whether he likes them or not ; but whether he can succeed in making them like him, and, through him, love the Master whom he serves. And, therefore, it seems to me that it is the duty of the parish priest, where it is possible, to endeavour to find out as far as he can what is the precise nature of the Union that is active in his parish—to see the men who are Unionists and talk to them on the subject ; and I believe he will find them very much more communicative than he is at first inclined to suppose. We are often inclined to think that the meetings of Unionists are dark and mysterious, and that terrible things are resolved upon at them. But this is not my experience. I have often asked them to take me, and under no circumstances have they ever refused. One is in that way enabled to judge what goes on. One may have heard resolutions passed of which he did not approve ; but, on the other hand, he may have heard many sound and sensible resolutions passed. One was, at any rate, able to understand something of their wishes. If anyone would go to their meetings as a learner—to their weekly and monthly meetings and their annual conferences—he would in time come to be looked on as a friend. They will learn that he can have some sympathy with them ; and it seems to me not impossible that anyone who will thus strive to understand what Trades Unionists really are doing in his own parish or district, may come to be in a position, never to arbitrate, but to give them advice which they may be very glad to have, if they really knew, as they would under those circumstances, that he had made a study of the subject. And, while I thus speak of the parish priest being a learner from the Unionists in his parish, I cannot forget that he will in so doing be taking the first step to lead them to listen to his Master's message. There will be a new bond of sympathy between the priest and the people ; and they will the more gladly hear the great truths which he has to announce to them, the special message which he has to give, than they would otherwise do.

The Rev. D. WILMOT SITWELL, Vicar of Leamington-Hastings.

I AM sure I shall have the sympathy of the country clergy when I say that there is no subject of more difficulty than that which we have been discussing. To me it has been a very complicated one, and I am sure it has been so to most of us. Our town brethren have stumbled over it, but we have come across it in our daily walks and conversations. So far as our official position is concerned, I feel thankful to know that it is very simple indeed. We have the best authority, we have our Saviour's example in this and all kindred questions. When our Saviour was asked by the man, " Speak to my brother that he divide his inheritance with me," His answer was " Man, who made Me a judge or a divider over you ? " " Take heed and beware of covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of those things which he possesseth." There, I think, we have clearly laid down for us our official position with regard to this question. We have undoubtedly no right to set up ourselves as judges and dividers over our fellow-men. We have no right to tell the workman that he is a wicked man for striking, or the employer that he is a hard man because he locks out his workmen ; and what I would particularly say when some trade discussion is raging around us like a social war, is, let us be very careful not to prejudge the merits of the question, and say when we see all the misery which the dispute causes, " All this is caused by the miserable folly of the men," or, on the other side, " by the covetousness of the masters."

But let us say after the manner of our Saviour—we have our work, and surely a grand and noble work it is—let us say to both sides alike “Take heed and beware of covetousness, for a man’s life consisteth not in the abundance of those things which he possesseth.” For surely that goes to the very root of the matter. If it were not for covetousness, if masters and men could approach this question without prejudice, sure I am that they would find signs which every man could read, in the nature of their trade, and in the course of events connected with their trade, which would show whether a rise ought to be given or ought not. I think if there were no covetousness the question would be very much simplified. But, my brother clergy, we all feel that there is a more complicated question than this behind; and that is we feel—I know I felt something of what that speaker said from the other side of the question—that there was somehow or other a gulf between us and the men, that we could not enter into all their views, that they thought we were deficient in sympathy; and so there was a gulf springing up between us and them, which was a sad bar to our spiritual work and our spiritual ministrations. That is the question, as it appears to me. I will only give you my solution of it. Of course we have all been thinking of it in our country parsonages; but I would only remind you of a remark in a book which we have most of us read, which to me is very suggestive—I mean Blunt’s *History of the Reformation*. He speaks of those preaching Orders which were destroyed at the Reformation as the democratic element in the Church. He says that those Orders, recruited from the poorer classes, formed the democratic element in the ministry. If that be the case, the Church at the Reformation lost the democratic element. If that be so, and we find difficulties between ourselves and labouring folk, must not we regret the loss of that democratic element? It seems to me no fault of ours individually, but rather a fault inherent in the constitution of the ministry. Belonging ourselves to the wage-paying rather than the wage-receiving classes, we must naturally look at things from the wage-payer’s point of view. But does not this constitute—I feel it most strongly—a grave evil to the Church? I believe I am speaking the words of a great man—Dr. Arnold—who I think says “If the Church is to minister truly to all classes, her ministry must be drawn from all classes.” Of course I know it is a difficult thing to work out this problem; but do not let us shrink from a problem, because we do not see our way to working it out.

The Rev. W. H. JEMISON, LL.B., Stillington, Yorkshire.

I DESIRE, in the first place, to express my satisfaction that the relation of the Church to the social questions of the day has been given so prominent a place in the proceedings of this Congress; and I venture to express a hope that the course adopted in Leicester may be followed at future Congresses. I was also much gratified at the manner in which this question was introduced, and at the manner in which it has been treated by succeeding speakers. But there was one thing which I would rather not have observed, and that was, a little shyness on the part of some of the laymen, as if the clergy were very sensitive about being spoken to. I desire to make a few remarks, first as a clergyman, and next as a student of Economic Science; and in that double position I wish to state briefly, first, what I consider the duty of the Church is not; and secondly, what I think the duty of the Church is, with reference to Trades Unions and Masters’ Associations. I say, in the first place, that it is not the part of the Church to be partisans. It is not the part of the Church to take the side of the workmen against the employers, nor of the employers against the workmen. It is not the part

of the Church to ignore or to denounce Trades Unions, for they are now established facts. They are the natural outcome of our industrial development, and they may be expected to be found in our social system so long as one very obvious principle is true, viz., that when men act together, they are more likely to be successful in attaining their ends, than when they pursue those ends separately and individually. The adoption of this principle is not confined to the working classes, it is to be found in other classes as well. But in the working classes it has been carried to a great extent, for it is now true that employers have in a great measure to deal with workmen not individually, but in a body. We have now Trades Unions and Trades Union Congresses, and these, disguise it as we may, are exercising an influence on the course of legislation. Having said so much on what I think is not the part of the Church, I now briefly state what I think is the part of the Church. We heard to-night that it is not exactly the part of the clergy to tell the laity what to do; that the men of science may state what certain truths are, but leave people to follow them. I agree partly with that, and partly I do not. I think it is the duty of the clergy to put before master and unionists the principles of religious duty, and the principles of economic science; and then to tell both parties and warn them that they are to act up to the obligations thence arising, that they should be true to their religious, moral, and social duties, and not incur the enormous danger of running counter to the laws of economic science. We should warn them to do all in their power to prevent disputes arising, and, where they have arisen, to strive to their utmost to have those disputes brought to a speedy close. A very important means of doing this is by Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration, though I can conceive cases in which Arbitration is not applicable. I would now mention very briefly some of the duties which I think may well be enforced upon the heads of Trades Unions. First, with regard to their members, they do well to encourage among them a spirit of self-sacrifice and self-denial, but I do not agree that Trades Unions can raise wages. They may do it temporarily, but they cannot do it permanently, unless the labourers go on increasing in efficiency and productiveness. Therefore it is the duty of the heads of Trades Unions to impress upon their members that they should strive to be as efficient and productive as possible; and to take care that there is no rule amongst them calculated to discourage efficiency and productiveness, or to prevent the best man getting the highest pay and rising according to merit. Then as to non-unionists, it is perfectly fair and allowable for the unionists to do all they can to bring non-unionists round to their views; but they must do nothing approaching to violence or intimidation or social terrorism, or anything at variance with the natural liberties of their fellow-men. Then there is the duty towards their employers and the public. They should act fairly towards their employers, and should not only seek a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, but give a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. Employers, on the other hand, ought to be exhorted to be willing to remunerate highly those from whose labour they derive advantage; they ought to take care, when introducing machinery or making other changes in their business, to do so with all regard possible for the interests of those in their service, and to do all they can for the intellectual, the material, the moral, and the religious well-being of all persons in their employment. In order that the clergy may follow the course which I have indicated, they must not be partisans. They have to seek to enforce upon both parties the duties which rest upon them; and to do this with more weight, we ought to try to obtain a better acquaintance with the circumstances of trade; and also a better knowledge than many of us have of the principles of political economy.

The Rev. THEOPHILUS BENNETT, Vicar of Brownsea Island,
Dorset.

I QUITE endorse the sentiment uttered at a Trades Union Meeting in Ireland, where they advocated, first, good wages; secondly, good houses; and thirdly, good education. I, as a clergyman, thoroughly endorse these three good things. I say let the labouring classes have good wages. As somebody has said, "Eight hours for work, eight hours for play, eight hours for sleep, and eight shillings a day." I would give them eight shillings a day, if I could afford it. But I would ask for a good day's work in return. I think it was Mr. O'Connell who said, when the health was proposed of Mrs. O'Connell, and the roof tree of Derrynane, "Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have done Mrs. O'Connell; and rest assured, gentlemen, that no one can struggle bravely for the liberty of his country abroad, unless his nest is kept warm at home." Let us, then, give the workman a comfortable house; let there be good education for his children; and let them be instructed in every way, let them be taught what to eat, drink, and avoid; and, above all, let them be instructed in the knowledge which makes wise unto salvation. There was one point which was not touched upon, and that was the *sanitary* question. I think it was Lord Beaconsfield who said, "*Sanitas, sanitas*, all is *sanitas*." I think we should see that the workman has a healthy place to dwell in, and comfortable clothes to wear. And now I wish to say, that we clergy, if we want to show sympathy with a man, have simply to put ourselves in his place to feel for him in every way; and I say, no matter how highly educated we are, we can put ourselves in the poor man's place, and learn to sympathise with him. I was ordained by Dr. Sumner, and the passage he gave me to translate was this, "To the poor the Gospel is preached," and he said, "Recollect, your mission is chiefly to the poor." I trust we shall all remember that; and while we minister to the rich, we must bear in mind our chief mission is to the poor.

CONGRESS HALL, WEDNESDAY MORNING,

SEPTEMBER 29TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASS EDUCATION.

(a) ITS PRESENT CONDITION.

(b) HOW TO MAINTAIN AND PROMOTE ITS RELIGIOUS CHARACTER.

PAPERS.

The WARDEN of KEBLE COLLEGE, Oxford.

THE question of Religious Education is not one which in the present day we can afford to treat only in its detail. We have difficulties before us co-extensive with the whole work; broad questions as to

the kind or limits of the wholesome influence which we can hope to exercise.

In such a matter one's best contribution may well be a generality: or sound like a truism. Its value must depend on the number or importance of the inferences which it suggests.

Such a generality or truism I offer in this form, that our aim should be *to make Religion come natural to those under Education*.

Try this by its opposite. The worst danger to religion is to let it appear in education as an appendage or extra, or even as a single though honoured department. So far *e.g.* as the optional or unremunerative position of religious teaching in our Primary Schools has this effect, a piece of silent mis-education is being constantly given.

Again, what is the greatest of our own difficulties in Personal Faith? Does it not come to very many of us through the sense that we are against the tide, that it is almost an idiosyncrasy to rate oneself a child of God, or a member of His Church. There is a temptation to feel that *that* cannot be natural which so many are without.

And the reason why this pains us is that, as we instinctively feel, religion is natural. Its first principle is, "in Him we live and move and have our being." Sin or irreligion is essentially a breach of nature, *i.e.* of God's Order. The Revelation of Jesus Christ interrupts nature from above, only to fulfil or restore nature. We are adopted in Him to be what by nature, but for the Fall, we were—Sons of God.

Accordingly if we are to do religion justice in our education, our first object must be to let it come to those who are being educated as what it is,—that is, as natural.

What inferences does this suggest? I touch on three topics.

I. The all importance of the home education, and especially that of early childhood.

Mischief perhaps irreparable may be done, if a child has not known of God in his infancy, if the thought of God is an after-thought in his life, if Christ, who bade us suffer the little children to come unto Him, is first met as a stranger in later life. What an idea that these things should first be taught as school subjects! What a loss to approach as lessons that which should be present from the first, presiding and pervading, growing with the child's growth, giving and taking with all his thoughts and feelings as they spring or expand.

Yet what is the state of the case? We have to believe and face the fact that in countless homes religious teaching and influence are absent or at a minimum. We are familiar with this in the case of the poor. But do we not do them here, as elsewhere, a relative injustice? How many boys *e.g.* in our Middle and Upper Schools come from homes whose social rise is recent, and where there is as yet hardly any of the inner refinement for which their exterior makes us look. Risen from classes on which the Church had so grievously lost hold, they bring up with them very little tradition of religious habit or teaching. Formed, in the nature of the case, by a busy life, they are naturally lacking in

things which some of us owe to the traditions of quieter times, and more leisurely lives. And these are only examples. The defect of home religion is a widespread fact, and perhaps the greatest of all dangers to the religious education of the country. One friend of mine in a large and successful preparatory school recruited from the wealthier homes of our great towns, writes to me: "I cannot conceive that any of my boys have ever learned at their mother's knee. In almost every case I have met with, either parent or boy, the attitude towards religion of any kind seems to me absolute indifference." After this we are not surprised, that he finds "an astonishing ignorance of Scripture History," or "Scriptural language;"—that when his boys read the life of Christ he can hardly prevent it from being treated, "with the quite unintentional irreverence of ignorance, as that of an ordinary mortal," and "explained by mercenary and ignoble motives." Here is one side of the matter, the past home neglect. Now look at the other, viz., teaching religion first as a school lesson. "The Bible stands to them on the same footing as their Roman History." This is confirmed by another witness in a similar school, who says, it is almost a fruitless attempt for the schoolmaster to plant religion in the hearts of boys who have not received it at home. Our school differs, my friend adds, in no essential point from six or seven which I know. Another schoolmaster of great experience says of two of the largest classes of society, as a rule, there is very little religious influence or religious teaching in the homes of boys of these classes. Another, the Headmaster of a Public School, complains bitterly that very often indeed the Confirmation which he is trying his best to make a moral turning point or foundation to his boys, is a matter of no interest to their parents. In many cases the best that can be hoped is that home indifference should not neutralize in the holidays religious influence exercised at school.

I would urge then that there is no more important topic for general inculcation in sermons, for more detailed suggestion in instructions, communicant classes, tracts, &c., than this, of the responsibility of parents and the sacredness of early home years. We must teach them that they cannot depute to the schoolmaster what, in the first place, they cannot postpone till school-going age; and what, in the second, school and the schoolmaster cannot do as home and the parent can do it.

II. Let me speak boldly, though on delicate ground, about the bearing of my principle on the choice between two kinds of schools.

The first is that of which the old Public Schools are the type. They are attached to the Church of England by tradition and by preference as the Church of the country and of the bulk of their constituency; but they have widened their borders: they admit all comers, and they do not advertise a special religious aim. This the second class do: I mean the Church Schools of recent growth, Radley, Bradfield, Lancing and its group, Bloxham, S. Edward's, Oxford. They reproduce what the old schools were at their own beginning. They hope to leave a definite impress of religion as taught by the Church. To this latter kind, in the Academical region,

belong my own College, and, in now assured prospect, Selwyn College at Cambridge.

It is our happiness that there is here no alternative between secular and religious. Religion is a power in both systems. Restored Chapels, volumes of sermons such as that last one, whose author we hope to hear as our first speaker this morning, names and faces present of men honoured for Christian zeal in education, attest the real religious life which animates in many of its parts the general educational system of the country. Connected as I am with one of these two kinds I earnestly deprecate antagonism, I earnestly desire a friendly and wholesome rivalry, between the two. Nor should I have touched the topic, did I not think that both could claim some advantage from my principle.

At first sight, indeed, it tells most for the general schools. "One man may steal a horse when another may not look over the hedge." To those who work in Church Schools and Colleges it must be a very great trial that the Church's education, which they believe to be so profoundly natural, is presented, as the very word distinctive implies, in the guise of something arbitrary and peculiar. The religious teacher in the general system escapes this. What he does is taken for granted. It is not suspected of what the Germans I think call *Tendenz*. Accordingly with a boy or young man of independent or *contrary* temperament, or one who has had brothers or companions at some of the old schools, and whose own ambition looks that way, you may defeat your object by sending him to a distinctive school or college. You may set him against the things which he knows to have been your reason for sending him where he did not want to go. I dislike people coming to Keble against their will. And if you make up your mind, nevertheless, to take the risk, and prefer the Church School, you must not be surprised if for a time at least there is a development of antagonism to what it represents.

But while I attribute to the general system this advantage of greater naturalness, I shall offend no one by reminding you of the great varieties which that system includes, and by consequence of your responsibility so to choose a school, a house, a college, a tutor, that you shall get for your boy the *religion* of the general system and not the secularism which it abundantly includes. You must produce supply by demand; you must strengthen the master's hands by showing that you care for the religious education of your son; you must not leave it to chance how or by whom he is prepared for Confirmation; you must be doubly careful to supplement school influence at home; and, on their part, the general schools and colleges must feel a generous obligation to deserve the continuance of such confidence on the part of parents who are Churchmen.

The other side of the case you will readily perceive. The principle that religion should come natural may easily be perverted into an egregious sophism. And to have been a member of a Church school may stamp a boy for life with the impression that, in the matter of religion he must be in some sense "*contra mundum*,"—that he will have to be "distinctive" for the Faith of Christ.

And, further, I believe that, after all allowances made, a wholesome and natural impression may be permanently left on young

minds, simply by their living in a place where allegiance to the Christian Faith and the Christian Church is not so much taught (though that in due proportion it will be) as represented, and embodied in a corporate life. I spoke of reaction and rebellion. But we may easily make too much of those risks. Whatever your system with young men in their later teens, or early twenties, you will have a share of rebellion and reaction, and I am encouraged both by experience and testimony in the hope that Church Education on the whole leaves a good and permanent influence. Often what is unsuccessful at the time is afterwards gratefully recognised by the person himself to have deposited a latent result: or again, what has been received and for a time deserted is worked back in later life. Where home and school work together, I believe from what I can gather, that we may hopefully look for only a small percentage of real failure. And the good that is accomplished is of the right kind, woven in the life's texture: not afterwards sown upon it.

Lastly, the principle bears on the how and the what of all our teaching.

Consider the temper of our time. Never I think was any generation more disposed to reject what it is asked to approach from without: it must see the value of that which it accepts. To this temper inductive methods in logic, the business habit of testing everything by success, and a strong individualism contribute each their shares. There is much to criticise in it; it may easily lead to disloyalty to all objective truth and corporate life. But we have got it to work with; and it has this great value, that we have less danger of false results: we do real work or none. And we are compelled to a closer knowledge both of the thing we teach, and of them to whom we teach it. Nothing can help us more to get out the true essence of the Faith which we believe: nothing can bring out so well whatever unity in truth there is among us, nor test so effectually the respective value of different forms of teaching.

We must make our teaching come natural; it must therefore be simple, practical, self commending. May we not lay stress on the word Education? *i.e.* educe, or draw out, not the Truth of God, but the natural witness of the heart to it? May we not make *recognition* by the taught a test of the reality of our teaching. A mother tells me of the wide difference which she finds between teaching which only elicits "Yes, mother, of course if you say so," and that which elicits a look and smile as if a friend were recognised. "Yes, mother, I see it, it is true." May I quote, "Now we believe not because of thy saying—we have heard Him ourselves?"

But I forestall a misconception. You do not become simple by minimising, by coming down to a bare natural religion or Christian morality. The scepticism of the present day will be too much for you: you cannot undercut it: young minds get wonderfully soon aware that there are depths of Agnosticism and Materialism, into which they can get down below your most carefully minimized teaching.

Yet in a right sense we must come down to the simple elements of natural religion, and natural conscience. Appeal to them; draw them out; show them that they are fulfilled in the Gospel of the

Incarnation. The boy has his moral battles. Show him that the Faith of the Church is vitally relevant to it. He can feel the moral power of the Incarnation: the help of a perfect example: the encouragement of Christ's captaincy and sympathy; the attraction of God's Love manifested in Christ. He can appreciate too its vital and Sacramental power, its inward communication of strength. And as the sense of sin awakens, at very different stages and in very different degrees with different characters, you can open, in appeal and in comfort, the Atoning side of Christ's work.

We ought to have a perfect confidence that the Revelation of God in Christ is a simple thing. The concrete is simpler than the abstract: nothing is simpler than a personal influence. God in Christ, Christ in us: the work of the Spirit effecting this: you have given him here the essence of the Catholic Faith. You can make this natural in the right sense of the word. And if so, you have not only done well for the time, but you have fortified him against the future. You prepare him in advance against the popular notion that a Churchman is a man who wishes to teach strings of propositions and practices: for he will know, as we know ourselves, the intrinsic unity and simplicity of the Church's Creed. He should feel that everything which we say or do or profess in religion, is only guarding or explaining or fulfilling that single truth: God in Christ, Christ in us. Creeds and Sacraments and Seasons will not come to him as so many separate additional things, but as the one Thing, realising, expressing, and applying itself. In the matter of the Bible, too, he will begin from the centre, and therefore meet difficulties at the greatest advantage, because in true perspective.

If we try to make religion natural or self-commending, we shall soon make our own notes on the peculiar characteristics of present-day minds to which we have to adjust. Such to my own observation is a strong feeling, "*Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto*": an inclination to dwell on the mixture of motives and the complexity of character, and to dislike trenchant moral judgments; to judge action in its relation to the doer, rather than in itself: a preference of inward to outward evidence: a preference for dwelling on what Revealed Truth sanctifies, includes and completes, rather than on what it excludes, interrupts, rejects. In such tendencies true instinct and wrong shrinking mix; we must try to discriminate them, that by consulting the one we may correct the other.

But, be it remembered, to relate what we teach to the minds taught is a different thing from lowering it to their standard. We must train them to feel that they belong to something greater than themselves. And surely nothing is more truly natural than this. It is in this sense that we want to make people Churchmen from their youth. It is thought that we mean to make them little partisans or controversialists. What we do mean is that the child should grow up from the first in the sense that he belongs to a great Society, with a great History, the subject and the vehicle of a great working of God through the ages: that he is associated to a great truth which his own heart does not create but only recognises, as it is

gradually opened to him; to a great corporate life and a great corporate worship. I do venture to say that I think there is a great want of this in our Public Schools. It is a thing not to be expressed in so many words; it should be *there* about a boy; then as his intelligence develops you may explain it and develop it; your Old Testament lessons and your Church History, your tales of Christian Biography, may all come in to educate this feeling and to get reality and connection through this one thread running through them all. And those so trained may grow up with a religious life which has not merely its own single stick of strength, but is bound in the faggot of a life greater than its own. You will get too out of such Churchmanship just the virtues which you want, first at school and college and then in public life, a *φιλαδελφία* and *φιλανθρωπία*, a sense of responsibility of each for the whole, and of all for each other. You will get a Churchmanship which is essentially a large moral spiritual thing, giving effect to some of our deepest instincts, meeting some of our most characteristic needs.

The Venerable F. H. THICKNESSE, D.D., Archdeacon of Northampton, Canon Residentiary of Peterborough.

THE present condition of education in the upper and middle classes witnesses to vast changes within a few years. A wonderful stimulus, indeed, has been given to mental and intellectual education in those classes in our own day. Under the Public Schools Commission the old public schools of England have almost all become (what they could hardly be called before) "Working Schools." Working schools *par excellence* upon the general system of the older schools, with many modern features, have been added to the number of those grand institutions which no other country in Christendom has ever produced. Under the Endowed Schools Acts almost all the old Grammar Schools have had a new impetus—a fresh vigour imparted to them. Under the new University Schemes and the extraordinary multiplication of Examinations, no man who really means to get a degree in the end (whatever vicissitudes he may experience on the road) can afford to be altogether idle. The Oxford and Cambridge Local and Certificate Examinations, and the system of High Schools for Girls, have vastly raised the general public standard of instruction in the middle class; and as to the highest class of young ladies, every private governess has been made to feel (even without the compulsory certificate required in Germany) that it is impossible to undertake a situation in an English family without knowing a good deal more than used to be thought sufficient for the purpose.

This is a rough and rapid sketch of very decided changes in what is termed the education of the upper and middle classes in this country.

Is not the present state of education then in those classes satisfactory? What more is wanted? To what purpose the present discussion?

I for one must frankly own to being ill at ease—ill at ease as an English father under the extraordinary stimulus given to Scholastic, Collegiate, Army and Navy, and other attainments, at the cost of overwork and overstrain to health in tender years, at the cost of undue excitement of the brain in too early competitive examination in the case of what are termed the clever boys and girls of society, among whom I have seen consequent illness and prostration for life—ill at ease, equally, with the hard indifference and unsympathising neglect in almost every school and college of the dull and backward boys and girls—ready to ask to-day, What of *real* education? What the present condition of *that*? Do men and women pursue more, or do they pursue less, study than they used to do when examinations are over and testamurs won? Has the “Cramming System” had no *uneducating* effects? Ill at ease I frankly confess myself, too, not only as an English father but as an English Churchman, with the present *religious* aspect of education, and ready therefore specially to ask to-day of my fellow Churchmen here, the question on this paper, “How shall we maintain the *religious* character of education in these upper and middle classes?”

Let us now mark some other changes that have taken place.

The lower middle class—*quâ* lower middle class—had until recently in the Universities the chance of being assisted in their education for the learned professions by Exhibitions and Scholarships founded expressly to meet their pecuniary needs. This class must now shift for itself. Those endowments have been wrested and can be used by the wealthiest, if intellectually competent to receive or rather to usurp the benefit of them.

For the education of the clergy, especially in the University of Oxford (rather an important class to educate, considering that England requires to find in every parish in its clergyman an “educated gentleman”)—for the education of the clergy out of the middle class there existed, and still exists, in my own College of Brasenose a valuable Exhibition, founded in 1692 by William Hulme, a Lancashire gentleman. It is now proposed, simply because this is for the education of a clergyman, to divert and alienate the whole endowment of Mr. Hulme’s Trust to other and secular educational purposes. As to other changes, it is said that at present no religious lessons are given in some of our great public schools on Sunday—no religious lectures in some of our colleges on that or any other day. It is said also that going to chapel in the Universities is now left optional—that is to say, it has become indifferent to the discipline of the college whether your son and mine begins his day by asking God’s blessing upon it in common with his tutors and governors or not. It is averred also that “Infidelity in the form of disbelief of Our Lord’s Resurrection now largely prevails in the Universities; that Christianity, in the sense of believing the facts of the New Testament, is either derided or quietly set aside by persons of great natural and acquired endowments, and possessing great influence with young men.”

Now these are grave changes which need weighing, and that in the balance of the sanctuary, and comparing with other important changes which may be admitted to be of the greatest value in many

educational respects. At any rate, what anomalies, what inconsistencies, do they seem to present to the mind! Is it credible that this England of ours, which once rose up as one man to open the Bible to the people, in the year 1870 passed an Act of Parliament which made it competent for any community that chose (as one of its greatest communities at once chose) to close the Bible in the public education of the young? Or, will it be believed that the same English nation, which by Act of Parliament had before advisedly and deliberately made it possible for an avowed infidel to be the fellow and tutor of a college founded by Bishops and laymen of the Church of England, in the very same generation stood shocked and aghast, or seemed to be so, at an avowed infidel being admitted to take his seat in the British Parliament? Such changes at any rate seem to me to give good and reasonable grounds for asking the members of this important Church Congress and all other Churchmen to watch the future course of events in education with the utmost anxiety and care—to watch it in elementary education; but, as I am not speaking to that point, to watch it specially in the course and progress of events which may affect the education of the upper and middle classes of society in this country. Will it not in any event be now thought necessary, more necessary than when in old days there was a chaplain in every great house, who read prayers morning and evening and had “cure of souls” of the household, for parents to see to it that home at least breathes the atmosphere of purity and of religion? If a nobleman or gentleman being a Churchman has not a chaplain, will he not now, in the face of all this, think it right to read parts of the Morning and Evening Prayer and the appointed Lessons himself, and be a “priest in his own house?” Will not English mothers of high birth be, as St. Paul exhorts all mothers to be, “stayers at home, minders of the house,” teaching their little boys lessons they can learn from no other, keeping their young girls by their side, instead of by the side of *servants* all day long? Will Churchmen be content that what has already happened in the Universities and Grammar Schools with respect to the heads and responsible teachers should happen again in the greater public schools? Would they keep the education of the higher classes religious? They must look to it that there be no leaving it undecided of what religious profession masters of schools which Churchmen have founded are to be, no leaving it to be determined (as in the case of some of the Grammar Schools already) by a local Board of Governors who may or may not be Christians. And would parents, again, of the higher ranks and wealthier classes in England really be in earnest in keeping their children religious and high-principled, and assist and not obstruct schoolmasters? Let them look to another thing—quite a different thing, but a thing over which they have the most absolute control, and yet are now showing the greatest *want of* control, the most unwarrantable indulgence of their children, which is of course really *self-indulgence*. Let them look to it that the amount of pocket-money which they furnish to their sons at Eton, Harrow, and other schools, and the allowances they remit to them at the University do not become, not only the

cause of their not "getting on" at school and college, but *the cause of their utter ruin for life!* "*Manners,*" not *money,* "*maketh man.*"

What strikes me, very forcibly too (to use only a single word which, however, will cover the whole ground of keeping education moral and religious)—what strikes me as the failure in our day is just this, failure to inspire and impress the sense of *duty* either on young men or young women of these classes as we ought.

The intellects of young ladies are still, I fear, being flattered without being respected, and that is not well for them. There is a falling off since the olden time in the solid character of the education of gentlewomen and women of rank (the great arbiters of the fate of society); and though I believe the most really cultivated women will ever perform common duties best, yet their eyes are now, I fear, being taken off from duty to strain after mere book-learning and star-gaze after art in a way which is too apt to lead to undue vanity and self-contemplation, and to a consequent distaste and disregard of those "*trivial rounds and common tasks.*" which most tend to make life cheerful and home happy. Surely, home life, not public life—to make happiness, not to make a name—should be the object of every woman's education of every rank. Even the highly-cultivated upper-class young man, who has taken prizes at school and a first-class at college, seems to lack, too often—I will not say, though I might say it—the best features of high breeding; but still more that grand sense of duty which in other days made the English nobleman or country gentleman willing to *do anything*, to *give anything*, and to *go anywhere*, if only he might by doing, giving and going, discharge his own conscience, show sympathy and kindness to his neighbours, uphold his Faith, and benefit his Country. But I come back again, and say: If you want great men in England in the future, as in the past, you must have *great educators*, and if you want good men, you must have good religious educators; and if others would remove such from their place, you must try to put them back again. From such educators, even the dull boys and girls of society (so much in loving, good, and tender Christian hearts just now) may learn both *greatness* and *goodness*, simply because they may learn from them a sense of duty, and in that both moral greatness and religious goodness are always to be found. If you cannot inspire genius at school or college, you ought to be able to instil those two grand characteristics of English high breeding—self respect and respect for others. You ought to be able to instil integrity, unselfishness, industry, chivalry, courtesy, and a keen hunger for all useful *work*, and *not* this eternal craving for *pleasure* and *amusement* only. If there be some lack of *intellectual*, that is no reason why there should be a deficiency of *moral* and religious perception and principle. "What a man or woman has *learnt* is of importance; what they *are*, what *they can do*, and what they will *become*, are more significant things to the happiness of families and the harmonious intercourse of the different ranks of society in the country."

"Ah! how skilful grows the hand
That obeyeth Love's command;
'Tis the heart and not the brain,
That the highest doth attain."

But perhaps the most pressing call upon the Church at this moment for educational help comes from the needy professional and business class in provincial towns, and from the large-farmer class in county and country communities. I shall not attempt, however, to define the exact social position of this grade by describing imaginary circles, our object being to make all we educate, if we can, "well-bred," without inquiring too curiously in what station they have been born.

And I at present refer more to the case of *girls* of this class than of boys, the latter having been of late years so prominently brought forward and so largely supplied by the truly magnificent and ever-widening scheme of Canon Woodard.

But in the matter of a thorough good English education, with French and other additions, I believe there is both a great opening and a great need for the consideration of *girls* at this moment.

Parents in provincial towns and country districts, parents who are Churchpeople, parents of the highest respectability and of some local importance, though themselves it may be of the most meagre intellectual cultivation, will never consent—partly from their abhorrence of having their daughters separated from them, partly from the idea that their girls do not need "professors," of whose greater shallowness than their own their mere good sense and sagacity have made them aware—they would never consent, I say, to send their children away to a high school or to an expensive and distant boarding school; but they do "think of sending them," and they *do* continually send them, to some local school a few doors or a few miles off, opened by some friend or connection in pecuniary difficulties for the purpose of a livelihood, or they send them even to a Roman Catholic Sisterhood or Nonconforming seminary. Talk to these mothers of sending their daughters away to a high school, if you are yourself perfectly satisfied in your own mind as to being able to find them a really good and religious home while they attend it (a most important matter), they will only reply, as the wife of a large farmer replied to a friend of my own, "Ah! rector, I know what you mean. Lady ——— has often talked to me of the *higher* education of women; but you know, rector, *we* wish to keep it as *low* as we can!"

Now has not the Church a duty to discharge to those of her own valuable members and allies who just miss a good education for their daughters, simply because it is not yet appreciated by themselves, or because it is not to be had close at hand—when, as a matter of fact, their own labourers or *employés'* daughters are already in advance of them by the good and thorough English education given either in an ordinary elementary school, or in the *ninepenny class* of an elementary school?

I know a town in which, until we lately established a church school there for this class of girls, the Roman Convent was educating such children, being all the while the daughters of Churchmen.

In that town, I say, we have lately established a girls' school on Church lines; and, although we have not yet realised all our wishes, I will endeavour to say what those wishes are, and what is the theory

of a Church education for girls of this grade, of which I hope one day to live to see the happy fulfilment.

Indeed, I propose to the Congress, not in my own name, but in the name of many more influential persons deeply interested in the matter, the establishment of a network of diocesan girls' schools throughout England, for the purpose of a thorough English education—the Bishop, visitor; the Archdeacon or rural Dean, president; the rector of the parish in which such a diocesan school happens to be situated, vice-president; one lady, superintendent; and a body of five trustees to report to a Central Diocesan Board at the Cathedral city—all persons connected with the management to be members of the Church of England; all appeal in difficulty to be to the Bishop; the school payment to range from £6 to £10 a year for a day scholar, from £25 to £30 a year for a boarder—all boarders to be *bona fide* baptised members of the Church of England; day scholars to be admissible to make up the divisions and classes, and if not of Church family, to be admissible with a conscience clause.

Will such a school be self-supporting? *In the end* it will. It needs only a helping hand at first.

The admirable Miss Sewell (that untiring friend of girls), with whom, all honour to her, this idea originated, has established such a school, which I have seen and visited more than once in the very moderate-sized town of Ventnor. About £200 I think was raised by her efforts among her friends in the first instance, a house taken, a mistress with full powers appointed at a salary of from £80 to £100 a year. There were soon as many boarders as were allowed to be received, and their number was sufficiently supplemented for the formation of classes by day scholars coming in (some with a conscience clause), and the school is now both flourishing and self-supporting. Miss Sewell (as those who have read her papers in *Macmillan* and the *Monthly Packet* know) lays much stress on *small* schools as boarding schools, because she believes girls can only be formed by the personal influence of a superior mind, and because she feels the dull and backward girls cannot be reached and influenced at all in too large a school.

Will influential Churchmen, with the Bishop and Diocesan Committee at the head, exert themselves to start such schools, making such grants as may be necessary to meet local efforts?

I hope there is room in schemes like these for the Church of England still to leaven this land with the spirit of true religion and virtue. The present condition of education is such as needs at once both caution and exertion on the part of Christians and Churchmen, not because there is a lack of mental and intellectual stimulus to instruction, but from some want peculiar to our day of the best features of true wisdom—the best characteristics of real education, from the risk of overlooking the great object of education, happiness, and the root and basis of that happiness, religious principle—the danger of feeding our children too much on the husks of mortal vanity, too little on the bread of life eternal!

The Rev. H. R. HUCKIN, D.D., Head Master of Repton School.

IN the endeavour to compress what I have to say on a very wide subject within a limited space, I have considered that the question of the higher education, as conducted at our Universities, lies beyond the sphere with which I have to deal. This ground will have been traversed by the Warden of Keble College, and I have presumed that many topics connected with education at large will have been handled by the Archdeacon of Northampton.

I shall address myself principally to the question of education as given at boarding schools. Whether I am right in distinguishing between Day schools and Boarding schools, may possibly be questioned. But there will be those present in every way more capable than I am, who may deal with the subject of the day schools in our great towns. These schools have an immense and noble work to do, and they present difficulties of a peculiar character. It is probable that, in the future, more and more of those, who will form the leaders of the great middle class in England, will be educated at Day schools. When we consider that in London alone there are or shortly will be schools consisting exclusively of day boys, in five of which upwards of 3,000 will be receiving the highest education; and when we remember that in half-a-dozen other great towns there are gigantic schools, giving a valuable education, at a very reasonable cost, it is quite clear that the question of Day schools must be capable of independent consideration, and there must be problems and difficulties peculiar to them, which may be fairly treated apart from those of Boarding schools.

Into the relative merits of the Day school and the Boarding school I shall not now enter. Much may be urged on behalf of both systems, and not a little, doubtless, in opposition to either. Suffice it to say that on questions of moral and religious training, the difficulties to be faced are not the same. I need only mention, for example, how differently difference of creed must be dealt with in the two cases. In a Day school a conscience clause is one of the simplest and most workable expedients; but in a Boarding school, which has its own chapel, and in which the boarding house is for the time the boys' home, and the house master, for the time, the boy's parent, the difficulty of dealing with variety of creeds is greatly enhanced. To a certain extent it can be satisfactorily met, but the question is surrounded with much greater perplexities than in the case of the day school. And this is only one of many points in which the one class of schools present problems different from the other, but it is, in itself, sufficient to warrant a distinct treatment for the two.

I do not, therefore, purpose to speak to you either on the subjects connected with the most advanced education, nor the dangers with which they are attended, and the safeguards with which they ought to be provided. But I propose to limit myself to the case of boarding schools as being the topic most likely to interest you, and the one on which I can give the greatest amount of information.

Consider, then, what it is that parents have a right to expect in this matter, when they send their child to a boarding school. They

have determined in their own mind, no doubt, after much anxiety, that it is good for their son, thus early, to learn to face some of the difficulties of life. They wish him to be able in some degree to stand alone, to learn to give and take as he will have to do when he faces the world at large. They are satisfied, or at least prepared, that he should run the risk of some temptation, of being exposed to some evil influences, of being submitted to some dangerous test, on the ground that his character will be strengthened, if he bears himself as they hope under the ordeal. Every parent, who determines on sending his son away from home, unquestionably faces these sources of anxiety. He faces them, and on the whole decides that he is acting for the best in submitting his boy to the trial; and I am bound to say that I think his decision right.

Now, let us ask ourselves the question what ought the parent to expect in the way of religious and moral influence at the school, to which, for a considerable portion of the year, he entrusts his boy. It is to do for him something that perhaps home may not do; it ought also, so far as is possible, not to leave undone all that could be effected by the influence of home. Now, if I used the word *hardening* as representing the object of school life, I should probably be misunderstood. I conceive that the purpose of the corporate life of schools, is to make boys feel that they must be prepared to rely upon themselves; they are to learn also that the habits and feelings of all the world are not exactly alike; if they are to be happy, they must be willing to concede something to different tastes and characters. They may take a special interest in certain things, and pursue them for their own pleasure; but they are not to suppose that every one will be animated by the same enthusiasm, nor that they will be allowed selfishly to follow their own inclinations to the annoyance or the detriment of others. They are to learn that mixed bodies can have common interests, and that success in the maintenance of these interests can only be attained by the surrender, on the part of each member, of something which he would like to make peculiarly his own, and by the projecting of himself into the channel of common sympathies.

Thus, one object of the boarding school is independence of spirit, tempered by the sentiment of community of interest. These objects all great schools attain with more or less of success. The boy, who isolates himself, who can attain no enthusiasm or *esprit de corps*, is unquestionably unhappy at school; he is out of place, and, as a general rule, soon learns his unfitness for the life, and passes away into a sphere where he is more at home. And when it is proved by experience that a boy's nature is incapable of fusion, when the nervous temperament is too acute, and a shrinking sensibility makes a boy isolated and solitary, I do not hesitate to say that in most cases it is better for him to be removed early from school.

But if this is what the school is calculated to give, let us remember that on the other hand it is not unlikely to withhold much that it is desirable to possess. The influences of home operate upon the more sensitive—the softer—the more emotional side of a boy's nature. It is there that he learns the great exercise of the affections, which play so essential a part not only in the formation of the best social

characteristics, but in the encouragement, and I had almost said, the education of the religious emotions. The softer and more delicate sympathies by which are awakened a more intense feeling of the unseen, and a keener appreciation of that which cannot be proved by argument, and is unrecognized by logic, are derived from home; the love of God unquestionably takes its rise, or, if this be thought too strong an expression, receives its strongest impulse from the reverent affection felt towards father and mother—the devoted tenderness which goes out towards sister and brother. The love of God and of Christ is often reached—however it may be sublimated and refined and unutterably exalted—through the earthly love to a parent and a brother. It is this ennobling and elevating side of a boy's affections which is truly supposed to be cultivated at home, and which it should be the aim of all schools to take advantage of and employ to the spiritual and moral welfare of the possessor.

Now, if I were asked to define in what the modern system in public schools differs from that formerly pursued, I should say that it is in this: that a supreme effort is made by the masters to get hold of the affections of the boys. If you ask a public schoolman of 50 years past, what were his relations to the masters, you will probably be told that they were relations of distant respect, sometimes of armed neutrality—sometimes of recognized hostility. Any way the dignity of the master forbade him to compromise himself by too great familiarity with the boys. "Familiarity breeds contempt" was written upon the border of his garment. He was afraid that discipline would suffer—that the proper relation between his pupil and himself would be lost, if he saw too much of the boy. I do not say that there were not noble and glorious exceptions to this, but they were sufficiently rare to be regarded as exceptions, and to be talked about accordingly.

Now I say, without fear of contradiction, that a great characteristic of the modern system is the breaking down of this barrier between boys and masters; I am not so sure that I shall keep free from controversy if I add my opinion that it is an almost unmixed benefit. If you go now to any great public school, you will find the masters familiarly mingling with the boys, playing in their games, taking part in their debating societies, botanising and geologising with them, and even accompanying them on expeditions during the holidays. The unquestionable effect of this is, that far greater sympathy exists between them, and far greater opportunities are afforded the master of exerting a direct influence upon the boy.

The result of this will be recognised by all who are acquainted with public schools. Between the elder boys and the younger masters no great difference of age exists; but the years by which the masters are in advance of the boys are the most important in man's life. The young man of 23 has already faced some of the great problems of life; in some cases he has formed very decided convictions with the enthusiasm, and also (may I be pardoned the expression) the inexperience of his age; he has arrived, by something like a leap, at views which he has not had the requisite opportunities of verifying. Yet he is convinced of their importance, and can only measure their influence upon others by the influence—

sometimes bracing and elevating, sometimes enervating and depressing, which his favourite opinions have exercised upon himself. He talks freely and ingenuously upon topics which interest him, forgetting, perhaps, that many of those to whom he speaks, are quite unable to grasp the bearings of his conversation and ready only to carry away inadequate and injurious impressions.

He forgets what is the nature of boyhood, and it may be as well to recall something of what boys really are. Many parents and most maiden aunts will define a boy as an animal, capable of infinite mischief and perpetual discomfort to others. But this, though true, is the result of a very incomplete analysis. It means really that the animal is gifted with extraordinary vivacity. And the mental counterpart of physical unquiet is extraordinary inquisitiveness. The craving for fresh information, for new facts, for something on which to exercise the growing faculties, is incalculable—yet with this intense inquisitiveness is combined an imperfect intelligence. Not one boy in a hundred is able to follow a detailed argument; not one in a thousand is capable of detecting a fallacy, which does not lie upon the surface of the language employed. Boys' notions are necessarily indefinite, and they are in the stage in which words very readily stand for things. I have met with very few boys to whom a statement proved by means of itself, expressed in different language, did not appear an argument.

No less characteristic of boyhood is its extreme affectionateness. To those whom they like—and they like all who are generous and disinterested—they will listen with almost implicit faith. To be led by love is the very essence of their being, and their enthusiasm for persons, is almost as remarkable as their inability to grasp abstract principles.

I am led to these remarks because I wish to point out how dangerous and unfair an influence may be exerted by a master over his pupil, not so much in the hours of study as in the hours of leisure. I shall not here dwell upon the *dangerous* side, because I suppose that those who exercise it would deny its danger. But I must emphasise its unfairness. Advantage is taken of the inexperience and the weakness of intelligence of a boy to impregnate him with opinions which, whether true or false, are calculated to disturb his whole mental equilibrium. He is confessedly the weaker vessel; he is probably incapable of seeing the safeguards by which the new notions are surrounded in the mind of his instructor. All that he sees is, that the grounds on which hitherto his notions of morality have been based, are held to be rotten; and it is by no means unlikely that the first use which he makes of the newly-acquired information is to repudiate the current notions as absurd, if not immoral, and, if he only gets as far as being what, in school parlance, is known as a prig, he is more happy than might be expected. It is a very serious question, on any ground, whether conversation upon subjects which require greater powers of concentration than boys possess, can be justified. I take my stand upon the unfairness of the proceeding. But it is obvious to all who reflect, that a much higher moral ground may also be adopted. These questions must be faced some day; to have to confront them, when the faculties are

sufficiently mature to grasp them adequately, is, I believe, to a good man advantageous and productive of good. But if the love of truth for truth's sake, is, as I believe it is, a high virtue, it is certainly not right to prejudice the question by bringing the mind of youth into the presence of topics on what it is confessedly unable to judge; and he is guilty of no light crime who, even in passing conversation, leads boys to think of things which can only be decided by mature intellect, and then perhaps painfully, and with the loss of much that makes life worth living—the sacrifice of dear friends, the perpetual disquiet of unsatisfied doubt, and the hopeless acknowledgment that the veil is drawn between us and the unseen, never to be removed.

I have spoken on this subject at such length, partly because I earnestly believe that the immense advantage of close intercourse between boys and masters may possibly be marred by this unreserved communication of ideas on subjects of extreme interest—but lying far beyond the sphere of one party to the intercourse; and partly because it leads by a rational transition to another and kindred topic—the direct teaching of subjects connected with religion.

And here we are brought into contact with a subject which exhibits at once the difficulties and the advantages of the class of schools which I am considering. It is clear, that each school must have something like a religious characteristic. It is difficult to imagine a boarding school in which the design of imparting religious instruction does not assume a prominent place. The existence of a common place of worship implies 'a community of religious sentiment: and it is a matter of comparatively little difficulty for a parent to ascertain what the characteristic religious tone is. But the difficulty to be decided is this: Is it necessary so to emphasise the special religious teaching of the place as practically to exclude all but a certain very definite class of boys? I hope to deal with this subject immediately, and therefore will ask to be permitted for a moment to address myself to the question of the class teaching of religion—how every teacher will alone recognize the special dilemma in which he is apt to find himself.

We may take for granted that the form which religious teaching assumes is for the most part instruction in the text of Scripture. What, then, is the part of that teaching which should be emphasised? Are we, for example, as loyal and affectionate members of the Church of England to select and dwell upon those parts of Scripture, in the interpretation of which that Church differs on the one hand from Roman Catholics, and on the other from Protestant Dissenters? Ought it to be our object constantly to enter upon an apology for the Church of England? Are we, whenever we meet with passages referring to baptism, to accentuate the doctrine of *infant* baptism? Are we, in reading the accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper, to discuss *transubstantiation* and *consubstantiation*? When the word *ἐπίσκοπος* occurs, are we to labour to prove that there must have been from the earliest times a distinct order, superior to the Presbyters? In other words, are we to teach the Bible so as to make it a peg to hang controversy upon? or are we to adopt any other method for our instruction? I need

not point out how difficult a question this is to solve. And certainly any opinion which I may express will be sure to raise questions. However, I will boldly aver that after many years of careful thought I have come to the conclusion that in teaching the Holy Scriptures to boys, the most satisfactory method is to avoid as much as possible controversial topics. And I do this on the ground, not that differences of doctrine are unimportant, but on the ground, above stated, that the unformed state of the intellectual powers of the student prevent him from following out the arguments, which in these cases are often more subtle and intricate than in any other subject.

I would emphatically urge that in teaching the Scriptures far greater results are to be expected from dwelling upon and drawing out those great moral and spiritual truths, to which all Christians render reverent obedience. I would teach boys to see that there is a vast body of Divine Truth in which all who call themselves by the name of Christians are united. And I would avoid, so far as possible, handling controverted subjects. I am aware that there is great difficulty in carrying out this practice. Every teacher knows that on subjects, in which he takes a deep interest, it is very hard to refrain from pouring out the knowledge and the opinions acquired by oneself with much painful labour. And all more or less err against the canon which I here lay down. But I feel assured that far higher and better results are to be expected from a reverent treatment of the Bible, as a book in which Salvation is to be found, set out before us in a few, broad, plain, and for the most part simple doctrines, than as a manual for controversy, and as a two-edged sword, dividing the son from the father, and the daughter from the mother.

So much for the class teaching of Scripture—on which I fear that I must refrain from drawing out any further reflections.

I pass on to the direct religious instruction to be given in chapel. It is needless to say that I regard the school chapel as incomparably the most important institution in connection with the school. Any one who has attended the service in a chapel devoted solely to the use of a school, will recognise this. It is there that the best resolutions and the highest principles in a boy's character are cemented and sanctified. The love for the old school chapel left by any boy who is worth anything is an influence extending far into after years. Many and many a man, returning to visit his old school after years of absence, has said to me, "Let me go and see the chapel first." And old boys, as a rule, love to come to stay from Saturday till Monday, on the ground that the chapel service is so refreshing.

Here again I would urge that the addresses should be kept clear of controversy. I do not of course mean that allusions to essential doctrines should be excluded. But what I would say is that while the sermons should be impregnated with Christian doctrine—should breathe an atmosphere of unquestioned truth—they should not be the vehicle of controversial teaching. Unquestionably a man cannot fail to speak with the lips what is in the heart: and some must be so constituted that the disproof of Romish or schismatic opinions

seems the most important work which the preacher has to perform. Whatever be the opinion held of such a preacher in the case of a general congregation, I would only say that in the case of a school congregation his influence will not be good. I believe that sermons may be preached and sound teaching conveyed to boys—and this, too, in the best way—without the slightest fear of wounding the feelings of boys brought up in homes widely differing in religious opinions—even where they range from the sons of the most advanced Churchmen to the sons of Nonconformists of various types. And this I say emphatically, affirming my loyalty to the Church of England, but being convinced that in the case of boys it is not well to give a premature bias so long as it can be avoided. Let them recognize the glory of a United Christendom, and perhaps they may learn unconsciously to work for it. But premature theologians (and I use the word without scorn and satire) are the very stuff out of which indifferentists, sceptics, and Romanists are formed. That which they have believed on too little evidence becomes afterwards the very scope and aim of all their scorn.

But it will be said, “Are you not hereby undermining the Church, which you profess to love?” To this I answer, “No.” There are abundant opportunities afforded for promoting Churchmanship and sustaining special Church doctrine. I shall mention only two—Confirmation and Communion.

The period of Confirmation I regard as the most important epoch in a boy's life, and, though it is impossible to lay down an absolute rule, I would advocate postponing it till a boy is over fifteen years of age. And the preparation for Confirmation should not be limited to a few weeks. It should, if possible, be extended over six or nine months. The Confirmation Class then takes the place of the Bible Class, which I hold to be an important element in religious training at schools. Every Sunday evening, for months before confirmation, the candidate should come to receive oral teaching on the meaning of the Catechism, and to obtain that exhortation and spiritual instruction which at such a time can hardly fail to influence. Any house master will observe how the tone of his house in the weeks and months preceding Confirmation is insensibly raised, and the religious spirit, in a manner and degree which cannot escape attention, promoted and developed; and in that time the distinctive principles of Church teaching must have been inculcated with an emphasis and solemnity, and received with an attentiveness, which impresses them upon the heart and mind of the candidate, with far greater permanence than if conveyed in the form of an occasional sermon—and at the same time they can be treated with a degree of precision impossible in the case of a mingled congregation of young and older boys.

And the work so begun is carried on in the Communicants' Lecture which precedes Communion Sunday. By assembling all those who have been confirmed on the Saturday before Communion Sunday you effect several objects. You remind the boys of the solemn ordinance; and thus prevent some from turning away from a conscientious motive, as having forgotten that it was to be administered; you have the opportunity of setting out distinctive

Christian doctrine and carrying on the teaching, which perhaps you have left incomplete, and which they are now better able to comprehend: and you are able to deal with the special dangers, intellectual and moral, with which boys growing towards manhood are surrounded. The Communicants' Lecture is one of the most valuable means of influencing boys towards religious and moral improvement.

And hardly less useful, only for the younger boys, is the House Bible Class. There instruction can be given in a familiar form on the moral and spiritual lessons of Scripture, and it will be found that boys regard these Scripture Bible lessons with considerable affection, as reminding them in some way of their home.

My time is now exhausted, and many other subjects remain untouched. I could wish to speak of house libraries, and the direction to be given to the light reading of boys, of lectures on Church work, of the moral value of sports and amusements, of the question whether schoolboys should be encouraged to teach in Sunday Schools, and other topics, but these I must leave.

For one moment only will I ask your forbearance, and it is that I may express my conviction of the importance of inculcating, by example as well as by precept, simplicity of life. I know of no duty higher or more absolutely imperative upon the masters of schools than to maintain in their own persons, their own families, as well as in their boarding houses, a rigid simplicity. The danger that this will not be the case is by no means small. The inroads of luxury, the growth of extravagant and spendthrift habits, are too wide not to have infected school, as well as society at large. The danger of truckling to the extravagant tastes of the day; the temptation to vie with one another in costly living; the likelihood that a man, hard worked during the day, wearied with teaching, and often, I am sorry to say, reduced below his proper physical powers by breathing vitiated air in close and ill-ventilated rooms, should feel that he may give himself up to thoughtless enjoyment and indulgence out of school, are too familiar to schoolmasters to need dwelling on. But nothing less than a rigid simplicity of life will suffice to give a master that influence for good which he ought to exert. Young men fresh from the Universities are too apt to import extravagant notions into schools. And parents, too, in mistaken kindness, are often ready to submit (with a tacit protest) to extravagant demands on the part of their sons. There is no greater source of moral mischief than the large sums of money with which boys are often provided. They are injurious to the boys themselves; they form a source of temptation to boys less well provided, to incur debt or to do worse. And there is no duty more incumbent on a master than to resist extravagance in every form. It may be the painful duty of a head master to expostulate with his assistants on the subject; for, from the nature of the case, they will not see they are fostering evil propensities in others by the exercise of what they consider their legitimate rights. At any rate I am convinced that it is the duty of all who have authority in schools, to watch carefully, either in themselves or others, the beginnings of luxury and extravagance, and in every way to repress them; for nothing is more ruinous to the

morality of boys than the unlimited command of money, and the unlicensed freedom of luxury, which are too often apparent in schools; and, where apparent, are attended with every manner of consequence likely to undermine that bracing influence which ought to be derived from school.

ADDRESSES.

The PRESIDENT of Trinity College, Oxford.

HAVING listened with great interest, as everybody must have done, to the suggestive addresses which have been read to you, I have felt tempted to offer a few remarks on various points with which they deal. Standing here, however, as a plain schoolmaster, I think it best to confine my observations to matters coming within my own experience, in the course of eighteen years of a schoolmaster's life, so far as they seem to me to bear most directly on the objects of this Congress. I will, therefore, address myself exclusively to what I have seen of the religious education of boys and young men. And the one thing I feel bound to say, first of all, is that, during the time I have been connected with school life, as a boy and as a man, there has been, speaking generally, an immense improvement in the matter of religious education, as in every other kind of education. And here I feel it a duty I owe to the parents with whom I have had to do, to say that I cannot quite concur with one portion of the remarks that were quoted by the Warden of Keble College, as representing the character of home education. I must say my experience has led me, without any shadow of doubt, to this conclusion, that, during the last generation, the religious education of children has been much better cared for in English homes than it was before. I venture also to say that it is much better cared for in English schools. I remember very well when I was a young man just beginning school work, I asked a friend of mine, who was a distinguished Greek scholar, and who had been brought up at one of the most distinguished of the English public schools under a well-known public school master of the old type, what sort of religious instruction he had. "Well," he said, "we used to read the Greek Testament." "And what kind of instruction did the Doctor give you?" I asked. "Well," my friend replied, "he was chiefly occupied in warning us not to put such and such pieces of Greek into our Greek Iambics." Well, I doubt if there is a single school of any eminence in the country in which there is any master now who would think he did his duty to his scholars if his Greek Testament lessons took anything of that shape. One of the causes which have led to this change is, undoubtedly, the great awakening that has taken place all through English society with regard to religious life. On that I need not attempt to dwell in an assembly like this; but, besides that, I as a schoolmaster, at any rate, can never forget how much of this great change in English schools is owing to the influence of some individuals, chief among whom I am bound to mention Dr. Arnold, of Rugby. I have often felt that, for any of the good work I may have been enabled to do, there is no influence to which I owed so much as to that of Dr. Arnold; and I believe there are few masters engaged in school life at the present time who would not be ready to stand up with me and confess how much they have owed to the example set by the spirit, earnestness, and devotion of that greatest of English schoolmasters. I suppose that most masters now-a-days acquaint themselves more or less with his work, as I imagine that most persons in this assembly have done; and you will agree with me, that it would be impossible that any schoolmaster should give any lesson

in the New Testament, such as I have alluded to, if he had read the account of the last lesson on the Greek Testament given by Dr. Arnold. But another factor has come up in English life, which has contributed to some extent to the great improvement in the religious education given at schools, and that factor is the much-abused one of the growth of the scientific spirit. Just as scientific men are often, when they do not dream of it, breathing a Christian atmosphere and uttering Christian sentiments, so we, on our part, have benefited much by this growth of the scientific spirit, which has taught us to think that there are new capacities we had not suspected in the children with whom we have to do; how we may apply remedies to their nature, so often bruised and bleeding and corrupted; and what is the kind of food we ought to supply for the benefit of their moral and spiritual life.

There is another observation I wish to make as to the result of my personal experience, and that is as to the great extent to which the education of boys in schools for the middle and upper classes has drifted into the hands of laymen. I make no comment upon it, but simply wish to record the fact. There is no doubt a good deal to be said on both sides in this matter; but there is one thing which this great change makes incumbent upon all who have to do with the conduct of our schools. Clerical schoolmasters must of course have constantly before them the sacred calling which they have entered; but it will not be so always with lay schoolmasters; and therefore it is the more incumbent on those who direct schools to lay more stress than hitherto on the sacred character of the work of educating the young. With regard to the courses that have contributed to this drifting of the work of higher education into the hands of laymen, I suppose every one of us will agree in the first place that it is largely due to the growing hesitation in our English Universities, amongst the majority of the abler, more thoughtful, and in some respects more earnest of the young men who are there—that growing hesitation which is so observable amongst some of the finest and most sensitive spirits there to take holy orders. Many of those who, in the last generation would have taken holy orders and gone to clerical work, are now engaged as lay schoolmasters; and many of them, I am bound to add, are amongst the best schoolmasters England has ever seen, and the most earnest, devoted, and religious men. There are one or two other causes that have contributed to this drifting of education into the hands of laymen. One that probably acts less than it did a few years ago—I do not say to what extent it acts, but it does, I imagine, still act to some extent—is the difficulty which used to be felt by some Bishops with respect to the law of title. It used to be a difficult thing in some dioceses for those who were devoting themselves to the education of boys to obtain a title as clergymen in virtue of that work. I do not profess to know what may be the real difficulties in regard to that matter, and whether they are difficulties of the past only; but I trust in the interests of the Church, as in the interests of higher education, all our Bishops may see their way to minimise those difficulties as far as may be, and not only offer facilities, but, as it were, invite young men to enter upon the work of real education and tuition in schools in the capacity of clergymen. There is another cause which I have often heard alluded to as having helped this tendency towards throwing education in our schools into the hands of laymen, and that is what I have heard some of my lay acquaintances from time to time describe as the growing ecclesiasticism of our younger clergy. That, no doubt, is a question on which there may be two opinions; but as the deliberate opinion of many well-informed English laymen who are well inclined to our Church, I think it is one that deserves to be considered. For my part, I believe that it only expresses half the truth. From my own experience I am bound to confess that I believe there is a considerable amount of truth in it. From whatever causes—causes on which I will not attempt to dwell—a good many of our younger clergy seem to have imbibed the idea that the work

of our English Schools is too secular for them, or not so directly spiritual as that in which they would desire to employ themselves. But the main thing, I imagine, which has diverted them is one with which I cannot but sympathise, and that is the enthusiasm, the noble enthusiasm that has taken possession of our younger men, for reclaiming the great and growing masses of our city population.

Turning now for a moment from school to University, I have a problem before me on which I will not now attempt to enter, seeing how imminent is the stroke of the President's bell. But it is a problem which may well occupy our thoughts. Here, too, almost all education has drifted into the hands of laymen, and here again I have to confess that, living as we do now-a-days in the most absolute freedom, with every breeze from every quarter blowing upon us, it is impossible, humanly speaking, to bring back the old methods of the University teaching of theology as it used to be taught. And yet, how are we to hope that religion will keep a hold on English life, unless, at the Universities, as elsewhere, we can make religious and theological teaching, not an extraneous part of the education given there, but an integral and universal element that pervades the education of all who go there. I do not see how that is ever to come to pass, without some great revival in regard to the teaching of theology; and I do not see how that either is to come, unless it is through the teaching of theology by laymen as well as by clergymen, and under new conditions.

Sir PERCIVAL HEYWOOD, Bart.

OUTSIDE this Congress Hall there are many ideas about religious training. Within these walls I think I may say we have only one idea—viz., that religious training must be founded on the definite teaching of our Church. That narrows very much the area of our discussion. I think, too, it would be vain to discuss the question as to how we may introduce and advance religious training in schools where we have no authority. We can only discuss the subject with reference to such schools as are under the influence of public opinion. Our views may have great influence on existing public schools, and may have great influence on the control of schools that may be hereafter established. It has always seemed strange to me in these discussions as to how religious training in schools should be carried on, that no reference is made to what I consider to be a matter of the first importance. How is it—why is it—that our public schools have not each their appointed chaplain? It seems to me just as hopeless to attempt to advance religious training in schools without a chaplain as it is to try to teach Latin and Greek without masters specially set apart for that purpose. Those of you who know Canon Woodard's schools know that he appoints a chaplain from the beginning, and I consider this to be an absolute necessity. The duties of the chaplain are very grave and serious duties. I hold that every school in which we have an interest must proclaim and avow that it proposes to train boys to become, not simply well-informed citizens, but loyal and faithful Churchmen. That is the main object—to make men faithful Christians and loyal Churchmen, and that object, I maintain, cannot be effected without a careful training given to boys by a well-chosen chaplain. Reference has been made to chapel services, and I conceive that when rightly directed they are of very great value; but I also think it is necessary that boys should be trained to make a proper use of them. In many schools the services are almost the only training the boys have. They attend these services, and the religious training for the day is over. But there is far more needed than that. There must be a careful preparation of boys for confirmation, and, after confirmation, then careful preparation for receiving the Holy Communion.

Many will come to even a professedly Church school who are the children of Dissenters. They can only be retained in those schools with the parents' consent to their being brought up as members of the Church of England. Many such there are—more perhaps than you would suppose. There is a very definite work, then, for the chaplain. But besides the more ordinary duties—those which come more prominently forward in a school—there are other very delicate duties that the chaplain has to perform. Besides the doctrine that our Church teaches, there is a discipline that it enjoins, and on this discipline, to my idea, does much of the true training of the child depend. It may be administered in many different ways. Some are afraid of it, and avoid it altogether. Some exalt it almost to a doctrine. Both are grievous mistakes; but we must not, in avoiding error on one side or another, put it aside as a difficult subject, and leave it alone. The Church is far wiser than we are, and it has not advised this discipline without reason. Every one of us, every earnest parent in his own house, teaches his children some little at least of this discipline. The chaplain must have due regard, in influencing the boy, to the prominence his parents have given, and desire should be given, to this teaching. Some, you know—call them High Churchmen if you will—require that at school their children should have the same advantage they have at home—that they should have the power, before they receive the Holy Communion, to go to the chaplain and tell their difficulties, asking his advice, and, if need be, receiving the graver offices the clergyman is allowed to exercise. Children there are who have been accustomed at their homes to keep certain days of abstinence, and it is most desirable that they should have opportunities of continuing the same at school. But here great difficulties present themselves. One general rule for all the boys at a school seems to be almost a necessity.

It is a wide and difficult question, and one that is more suited for private conversation than for discussion in a great hall like this; and in that admirable paper which the Warden of Keble has read to us he has said that he would be most willing to meet those interested in controlling schools and places of education, and parents, to discuss such grave matters of discipline. I think such a gathering would be most necessary and most desirable, and I can but trust that the suggestion may before long be carried into effect. To maintain this religious training amongst the middle classes there must be the means of their finding the places where they can receive it. Such schools have not existed in any number in our country. Reference has been made by the Archdeacon of Northampton to Canon Woodard's schools for middle-class education. It is a great and growing scheme. Its extension during the past few years has been marked, and there is good reason to hope that in the next few years it will be yet more marked. I probably was asked to speak at this Congress because I have been for many years associated with the society Canon Woodard has founded for promoting these schools. I have said that this system of schools is a growing one, and I have been the more convinced the longer I have been associated with them, that they are not only founded but are conducted on the true teaching of the Church of England. No deviation from that teaching can by any possibility occur. They are public schools, they are open to public opinion, and any deviation of the kind would be at once exposed; and I entreat you, if you desire the education of the middle classes, to give to that system your very careful consideration.

Mention has been made of the want of girls' schools, and it is suggested that there should be meetings to discuss the establishment of such schools. I must just say in passing that there are several such already at work, and those who are proposing to establish a new system must make great haste, otherwise I fear they will hear of our society being again in the field before them. A testy friend of mine, discussing our boys' schools, once said, "Woodard is eternally laying corner-stones." Yes, he has been laying corner-stones, very many, and has built great schools upon them

The one great difficulty in the way of their yet more rapid extension is to find the means for building them. They are costly—they must necessarily be costly. It is no use presenting to the middle classes schools not worthy of their acceptance. Good buildings will have a good influence, and it is the rule of our society that we shall raise none but what are really and thoroughly worthy of their great object. It is strange how formidable a matter we think it to raise the sums that are required in these Midland counties for such purposes. If you reflect, for instance, how the great hunting establishments are carried on, and think of the enormous sums of money that are spent on kennels and buildings, you will see that they are far in excess of the sums required for these schools, while at the same time the former are contributed by a comparatively limited number of men. The interest in providing education for the middle classes extends, or ought to extend, over a large area, and if we would each give of our means, these middle class schools would rise very rapidly. I believe that each, as it does rise and come into operation, will do much towards the amelioration of the condition of the middle classes, and the training up of a generation of men who will prove loyal subjects and faithful Churchmen.

DISCUSSION.

J. THEODORE DODD, Esq., Sheffield.

I WISH to say a few words in regard to the means of imparting religious education in large towns. I do not want to speak about religious instruction in the shape of Sunday-school teaching, or any thing of that kind. I speak of religious instruction in connection with what is known as our higher education. Within the last few years, in Sheffield and other large towns, immense strides have been made in the matter of secular education. We have our lecture halls; the lectures have been well attended, and a great amount of good has been done in that way. Men have come out of the Universities, and lectures have been given on scientific subjects which have afforded great enjoyment and instruction; but from those instruments for supplying secular education religion is excluded. So it is at Firth College, Sheffield. If the Church of England would do her duty she must take steps to supply that religious education which is necessary. When secular education progresses, it is at once the duty and the privilege of the Church to teach her own children religion. We ought to have some kind of institution for such teaching outside the College at Sheffield and similar places, and if the Church of England is to do her duty that teaching must come from herself. There might be some kind of central association established in London for sending out lecturers on religious topics; but there is already a central society existing, that is, the Church itself; and I maintain that we ought to receive assistance from the Cathedrals. Very great help might be afforded in that way. I cannot say more on this point at present, because, of course, it is rather a question for to-morrow, when the Cathedral system is to be discussed, than for to-day; but I hope that to-morrow some gentleman acquainted with the Cathedrals will take up in connection with them the subject of religious instruction. I am happy to say that at Sheffield we are starting a Church Lecture Society, for giving religious lectures. The Bishop of Manchester has been kind enough to promise us a lecture. Earl Nelson has been good enough to promise another. Now, as one of the rules at these meetings is that speakers should address the President, I ask your lordship (the Bishop of Peterborough) to allow me to apply the rule, not merely technically, but literally,

and to express a hope that your lordship will be kind enough also to come and give us a lecture. I promise you a hearty welcome, and, not only do I promise you that, but I can assure you also that you will do a great deal of good. You will help us in this work of religious instruction, which I need hardly say is a great work, involving a great deal of trouble, and requiring support from our higher ecclesiastical authorities. Although we who are starting the work are laymen, we are anxious to receive the support of the Bishops of the Church of England. I will only add that I hope your lordship will do what you can for us.

The Rev. H. C. OGLE, D.D., Magdalen College, Oxford.

THE question of religious instruction in our great day schools generally,—such as the great schools here, which are one of the glories of Leicester,—has been referred to by previous speakers. I will speak of higher education as it presents itself to a resident in one of our University cities. If all schools were like those of Canon Woodard, the question would be free from difficulty. But there are schools which, partly from their foundation and partly from recent changes, are not stamped with the exclusively Church of England type. The question is, what is to be done in that case. With regard to those schools which are presumably and primarily Church of England Schools—that is, where there is a clause requiring religious instruction to be given in accordance with the professions of the Church of England, and where there is also a Conscience Clause—I do not believe that the difficulty is a serious one. I think that the formula of the late Bishop Wilberforce—"Free liberty of instruction on the one side and free liberty of withdrawal on the other"—is a correct one; and if you adopt that principle, you will find that in practice the liberty of withdrawal will very rarely be acted upon. Though not nominally, the Church of England School is to all intents and purposes in that position. And let it be noted that the existence of these schools gives you an opportunity of making Dissenters understand the Church and Church principles better than they would otherwise do, and also to understand them in freedom. While I wish success to those schools which are exclusively Church Schools, still if it were not for such a door as is opened by this freedom, it would be impossible to draw others within your pale. With regard to those schools which have even less of a Church tone, I would say—"Go forward: teach until you are stopped, and you will find little interference indeed; only mind you teach according to the whole cycle of Divine truth." Sir Percival Heywood has spoken of Chaplains as an unmixed advantage. I am not so sure of that. I have heard the other side accentuate views about religion being somewhat detached, and you might find it rather awkward in this matter to have an *imperium in imperio*. You would find your Chaplain either an equal or a nonentity. With regard to the higher instruction, I cannot take so favourable a view of the subject in some respects as some speakers who have preceded me. Taking men as they actually come up from the large schools, I find that, while there is much about them that is lovely and of good report, there are some features on the other side to cause us to think seriously. In the first place, you will find there is a general consensus as to the great ignorance of the majority of the men who come up to the Universities, regarding even the elementary facts of the Bible. There is a general barrenness of religious view and also a considerable weakness of character; very often a want of independence of judgment, and a great disposition to be guided by the opinion of the particular sect to which a man has happened to

belong to at his old school. A living dignitary has said that when the present generation comes to be dug up, it will be found that they have no backbone; and that is the case with a great many young men who come up from our schools. There is a want of anything like independent thought and action about them. They look very much like bullets struck from the same mould, but without the weight and force of bullets. You must also remember that there are serious moral difficulties felt in regard to our schools and universities. Even some of the worst sins of heathendom are raising their heads again. I do not think that in frankness that is a matter to be passed over. It may suggest whether we are not presuming too much on the victories of the past, whether the religious revival to which reference has been made has not to some extent spent itself, and whether fresh forces ought not to be thrown into the contest. Taking for granted the Creeds of the Christian faith, and that no better lesson can be taught than our time-honoured Catechism, I will point out one thing which I think tends to the strengthening and solidifying of the minds of our young men, and that is the critical study of Holy Writ. If you have the Nicene Creed at your back, you can afford to be bold and candid. What I mean is this. I take it that in one sense the Bible is not to be read like any other book. Its contents and its origin are different, and, therefore, it is to be treated differently. But, in another sense, it is well to read it as another book, looking at it in a literary sense, and bringing your critical powers to bear upon its difficult passages as you would do in the case of any other work. If you fearlessly discuss questions of authorship and critical difficulties, you emerge from your studies all the stronger. One word more. "Man is a fighting animal." Our boys are sometimes fighting animals, and we should teach them to devote their high spirit and power to fight the proper enemy. If we would instruct our boys how to sustain the battle that is before them, we must bring before them some of the phenomena of the field—the troubles and distress of the poor, the horrors of heathenism. Let us teach them to fight the battle of the Lord, and our young soldiers will kindle and be eager for the fray. I can only say that this comes from one who owes very much to the boys—to the fact of teaching the young—for you know that one learns by teaching. With all the frivolities of boys, we see in them something of what our Lord meant when He said—"Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." These times, so full of danger, and yet of hope, call to us in the words of the Great Shepherd—"Feed my lambs;" "Feed my sheep."

The Rev. J. W. GEDGE, Diocesan Inspector for
Winchester.

I RISE to say a few words on a subject which has hardly been touched upon this morning, and that is the religious instruction of girls of the upper classes; and, seeing how large a number of ladies are here this morning, I think such a subject will not be uninteresting. These girls receive their instruction in one of three ways—either at home, or in private boarding schools, or at public day schools—what we now call the high schools. I want to say a word on these three points. In the first place, the larger number of our sisters and daughters receive their education at home. The Bishop of Winchester said the other day he did not think there was so much religious teaching at home now as there was thirty or forty years ago. There can be no doubt that there is more church-going. A larger number of our girls take part also in the work of the Church; there is more devotion to the service

of God ; but I rather doubt whether there is so much teaching of the Scriptures and teaching of the Prayer Book at home now as there was before. Mothers, it is to you we must look to wipe out this reproach. But we know that in thousands of cases the religious instruction of girls of the upper classes is delegated, alas, by mothers to that hard-worked and ill-paid class of ladies whom we call private governesses. There is a lady in this room who some years ago founded a Guild for these ladies engaged in tuition. The Guild already numbers several hundreds. The members meet twice a year at a large London School to hold what is commonly known as a Retreat, and receive addresses on the religious aspects of their work from clergymen. In connection with this Guild there is much wanted a training college for private governesses. We have for years been accustomed to admit no teachers into our schools but those who are certificated, but we have allowed other girls to come into our private houses with no other qualifications than that they have had the misfortune to be obliged to become governesses. With regard to private schools, it was with a great deal of astonishment I heard Mr. B. Compton say last night that the only chance girls have of obtaining religious instruction was at the time of their confirmation. Why, there is hardly a large private girls-school in London or elsewhere where the Clergyman of the Parish does not regularly visit and teach girls every week of his life. It is a great part of their clerical work ; and there is hardly a school where the visit of the clergyman will not be cordially welcomed, and where it will not have most beneficial results. I therefore ask my brethren to utilise these opportunities of teaching those who are hereafter, many of them, to be entrusted with the religious instruction of our little boys and girls in private families. Again, there is a great rage for girls of the upper classes going to High Schools ; and the Public School Company has spread its net-work over the whole country. There is hardly a large town in which there is not one of those Public Schools. I do not see why high schools for ladies, with public teachers, should not be established in many places. We have some of these already. There is the private college for ladies at Cheltenham. Why should not the Cheltenham College be repeated at Bath, in Bournemouth, and other places where ladies delight to congregate ? At present, although historical religious teaching is given, you cannot, in these public High Schools, have definite instruction in Church principles ; but that such instruction can be given by the formation of girls' public schools is shown by what has already been done. A Church High School which was started two years ago by Mr. Holland, of Quebec Chapel, is attended by hundreds, and is beginning to pay a dividend already. Surely the same might be done in other large towns. On the whole I view hopefully the religious instruction of girls of the upper classes. More attention is being paid to it now than was the case in past years. But I must venture to differ strongly from one of the appointed speakers, when he said that in these High Schools we should not have distinctive teaching as between Church of England and the Church of Rome ; for unless we give some definite Church teaching our girls and boys will be drifted away by every wind and wave of doctrine. In conclusion, I will only say that I think a great deal may be done for the religious instruction of girls of the upper classes, not only at Confirmation and in Bible classes, but also by giving more attention to religious instruction in the ladies' schools ; and let us at any rate take into consideration the possibility of forming those Church High Schools, by which we may do good work for the girls of the upper classes, for our Church and for our dear Lord.

The Rev. V. H. STANTON, Fellow of Trinity College,
Cambridge.

I HAD no intention of speaking when I came into this room, but I have thought that one or two of the remarks of the Archdeacon of Northampton with regard to the Universities might lead to misunderstanding. I understood him to say that Chapel attendance at the Universities was optional. There is only one college at Cambridge of which that can be said. The rule as to attendance has to a certain extent been relaxed of recent years, but it is far from being true to say that the rule does not exist. It is very difficult to work now, because of the large number of Nonconformists who come to the Universities, and also because of the unsettlement of belief; but the rule exists, and it is worked. I cannot but think that there are advantages in the present state of things, even though there may be certain disadvantages. We are more in the habit of relying upon moral persuasion than formerly. We keep penalties as much as possible in the background, and try to set before men their religious duty with regard to College worship. The Chapel services are made much more attractive and reverent than they used to be. There are also more College Chapel sermons, and more attempt is, I think, made in them to speak to the spiritual needs of Undergraduates. There are many difficulties in the way of those who have to attend to matters of religious education, but, notwithstanding, we have some things for which we may be thankful. It is a time when everything is being tested, and when there is much searching of heart. But this has led to greater earnestness on the part of those who are sincere Christian believers. There is more general earnestness amongst those Fellows of Colleges who are in holy orders than there was in old times, when it used to be the fashion and custom for all Fellows to be ordained; and also those lay Fellows who are believers feel the responsibility of their position. There is a great deal of earnest, practical religious work at Cambridge, both in connection with Sunday Schools, Missions to the Heathen, and other departments of Christian work. There is a closer union between the younger and the older members of the University in the carrying out of religious work than I should think there has ever been before. It is a special characteristic of our time. Our Theological Professors, and especially our Regius Professor of Divinity, came forward to take a leading part in such branches of work, encouraging the efforts of Undergraduates and younger Fellows. Again, the younger Fellows and Undergraduates are bound together in the practical religious work of the place. All these are advantages which we have at the present time; and, although we may regret the old state of things, as in theory placing religion more in its true position, I do not think it can be doubted that practically there is a better state of things now than there was thirty years ago. While I say this, I quite recognise the superiority of the ideal set before us by the Warden of Keble. I feel the great difficulty now is to make religious instruction "natural," *i.e.*, part of the regular system, as he said it ought to be, especially according to the idea of the older Schools and Universities. On the contrary, we have to rely on the voluntary efforts of those who are earnest in religion. We must all understand and accept this as a condition of the work of the time. I put this before the Congress, because we, who at the Universities are anxious for the cause of religious education, may receive great support from parents and the general Christian feeling of England. Before I sit down I should like, if I may, to say a word on quite a different matter, following out what was said by the last speaker. It has for a long time been very much on my mind that the Church of England has not tried to carry out the work of middle-class education as a regular part of her organization in every country and town parish as she ought to do. It seems to me that the instruction of the children of the lower middle-class especially, who are kept at home, ought to be as much set before him

as his work by every parish priest, as every high-minded parish priest with a high ideal of his duties does the religious instruction of the poor. There is a vast field here which is almost unworked. There ought to be definite provision in every place for the religious instruction of those who are in day schools, and by such means we should enormously increase the number of our intelligent Christian Church people, who would aid us in after life as Sunday-school teachers, and in other Christian work that we wish to see carried out.

Lieut.-Colonel BAGNALL.

WHEN I came into this Hall I did not at all expect I should have to address this meeting, but, having been requested to do so on this important subject I could not refuse, because I feel strongly the necessity of religious instruction being given to our young children. Having children of my own, I have had some experience of some of our public schools, and I must say I have been a good deal surprised that there is not more religious teaching in those schools than there is. There is a good deal of head-work; but what surprised me so much was the want of heart-work. It seemed to me that in many cases the hearts of the boys were never touched. I am speaking of a large school of ancient foundation, having many clergymen connected with it, and the services in a chapel, which were rendered with becoming solemnity. I found, however, when the boys came home that there was very little religious teaching such as one would wish boys to have. The sermons of the chapel were generally very dull; the boys did not therefore care much for chapel, and came home very little instructed, which was to me a matter of great regret. Afterwards, having to send other boys, I thought I would try another public school; where their religious instruction was carefully attended to, and the boys were encouraged to tell their difficulties to the Chaplain and open their minds to him. This was a great blessing to the boys; and I cannot therefore speak too highly of the Christian Church education given at schools of the kind established by Canon Woodard. One is glad to find also that this really Christian Church education is being carried out at schools established at Ardingly. These schools only cost about £15 a year. There are about 500 boys in one school, and shortly another school will follow. I must apologise for having made these few remarks. I feel very strongly, and all must feel strongly at this time, the necessity for our children being brought up in the Catholic faith. We know that there is a great deal of infidelity, scepticism, and ignorance of the doctrines of our Church, and want of faith generally. We cannot feel too strongly on this matter, and I would urge upon all who have to do with the education of the young—which is nearly in the hands of the clergy amongst the upper classes—the necessity of teaching the definite doctrines of the Catholic faith.

The Rev. H. ST. JOHN READE, Head Master of Oundle School.

THE view which I hold as to the introduction of controversial topics in the religious instruction of boys and girls at school may be summed up in four Old Testament words:—"Sow not amongst thorns." Do not let those who at their age must be "weak in the faith" be received to doubtful disputations by the too zealous advocates of *certain Christian Evidence Societies*. If I may use an illustration appropriate to this day of St. Michael and all Angels, it is easy enough to take a young person up to the roof of the house and show him the dreadful array of hostile besiegers; but are you sure that you have the magic touch which will

enable him to see the conquering outer circle of heavenly allies? While I would increase the amount of controversial knowledge required from candidates for ordination, I would diminish the amount required from school boys and girls. How we all shuddered yesterday afternoon when your lordship [the President] was compelled in the same breath to couple the words "Our Lord" with the word "Impostor!" We shuddered from the conviction that, if a bishop addressing churchmen felt constrained to speak so, there must be a great deal said and believed against the central doctrine of our creed in the world without. As to boys, two things are to be observed. They see clearly that anything which is really doubtful—of course everything may be doubted—but that anything that is doubtful cannot be absolutely necessary to salvation; and the other thing observable about young people is, that they soon cease to shudder at anything, however terrible. Familiarity, with them, does breed contempt; and therefore I venture to say that unless you would exhaust from your educational atmosphere the only element in which religion can breathe—I mean reverence—that if you would give young people the chance of growing up with a deep and sincere faith, you must avoid perplexing controversies on such topics as the existence of a Deity and the Divinity of Our Lord. In fact, as I said before, "Sow not amongst thorns."

The Rev. J. F. McCALLAN, Vicar of New Basford,
Nottingham.

THERE is one phase of the subject before the meeting which has hardly been touched upon to-day. It is the question as to the need for a very much larger number of middle-class schools than at present exists in our large towns. Elementary education has been so extended, both by voluntary efforts and as the result of the Education Act of 1870, as to meet almost the whole needs of the population. Within the last fifty years there has grown up in the great towns of England a vast middle-class population, composed of professional men, tradesmen, and men of other occupations, whose children require instruction as much as the children of the working-classes. For instruction of these children, I venture to say that next to no preparations have been made. In Prussia, a town of the size of Leicester, Nottingham, or Derby would contain three, four, or five middle-class schools, in which children of the professional, trading, and other such classes would have the opportunity of receiving the best education the world can afford. I maintain that this is one of the most important questions of the day—the question of extending middle-class schools in our great towns, where there is nowhere to send boys and girls without separating them from the hallowed influence of home and trusting them to their own care, which is often a very doubtful thing. A great town ought not to be without a sufficient supply of middle-class schools any more than it ought to be without a Post Office or the Electric Telegraph. What is the fact with regard to our middle-class schools in towns? They are only a development of the endowments of three or four hundred years ago. Why, with such an immense growth of intelligence and wealth, should this be so? We are actually trying to alienate funds for the purpose of middle-class education from the purposes for which benefactors left them and for which they are still needed; because there is no other way of providing secondary schools. And yet it is the concern of the nation as much as Elementary Education. With regard to the extension of education in these schools, the time has come when we shall be obliged to take that into consideration. I see no reason why we should not have, in our country and in our large towns, a system of middle-class schools in which boys and girls of the trading and professional classes, and of the poor clergy, might get at home as good an education as could be given anywhere in England. I maintain that this is the question of the time.

It is pitiable to think that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Charity Commissioners are but trying to adapt to the requirements of middle-class education the endowments of three hundred years ago. I maintain that, as in Prussia, we ought to establish by law schools which would be of the best description, and in which children of the trading and professional classes would find an education equal to that which is to be had at Rugby or Harrow. There is no reason why it should not be so. Then, how is it that even in the adaptation of middle-class schools by the Charity Commissioners, the girls are left out? Inhabitants of Leicester, and other big towns, you want to see such schools established on a public basis, and so as to ensure that they shall afford the best education that can be given. With regard to religious instruction in middle-class schools, suppose what I suggest were carried out, as I believe it will be, I have no fear about religious instruction in those schools. I maintain that the religious instruction in public schools will always reflect the religious opinions and feelings of the nation. I believe that the Church is only in her infancy, and that she will be ten times stronger twenty-five years hence than she is now. Then, suppose we have a system of middle-class education established by law as they have in America and in Prussia, I believe that religious instruction will be given in these schools efficiently and well. I maintain that in School Boards, where good feeling and charity prevail, there is no difficulty with regard to religion at all. I have had great experience with regard to the education given under large School Boards, and we really have no difficulty. Our children are taught Scripture and Bible lessons, I venture to say, just as well as in the Church Schools; and if middle-class education becomes the concern of the State, and not merely a matter of private speculation or the concern of the Church, which has enough to do otherwise, I can trust with confidence to the future, and know that God will be with the Church in the future, as He has been in the past. There is no doubt, I repeat, that the question of middle-class schools established by the State, giving the best possible education to children at their own doors, and within the hallowing influence of their own homes, is the question of this time.

Rev. MERVYN ARCHDALL, of Harrogate.

As to the manner in which we may preserve and promote the religious character of the education of the upper and middle classes, I venture to set before you a line of thought which has not been suggested by any of the previous speakers. This line of thought may be summed up in one utterance of our Divine Redeemer, when, speaking in the name of His nation He said: "We know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews." I am most deeply persuaded that the best way in which we can promote the religious character of the upper and middle classes is by obtaining a more fundamental understanding of Christianity itself as here spoken of. I venture to think that the fact that the vast majority of the clergy have hitherto been ignorant of the original language of the larger portion of the book which it is their duty to expound, is a sufficient proof that there is something wrong in this respect. If salvation be of the Jews, and the New Testament be the fulfilment of the Old, it is in the latter that we can find the key to the former. For the ideas and modes of thought of the Jewish nation were not the outcome of their natural tendencies, but were moulded and fashioned according to the will of God by the facts of the divine revelation committed to them. Instead, however, of approaching the New Testament through the Old, prepared by sympathy with the Jewish point of view to appreciate the true character of Christianity, in our Universities and elsewhere, the study of the classics has been placed before the study of the Hebrew Scriptures. The Greeks have come in instead of Israel, which

has never been rightly known. Our youth is introduced to Aristotle, Plato, and other heathen authors. Their minds are imbued with the abstract conceptions of philosophical heathenism; and are thus prepared for the study and exposition of Christianity. I contend that this is wrong; and that the fundamental principles of Christianity as revealed in the Jewish documents of the Old Testament should be earnestly studied, and the spirit and genius of the Hebrew Scriptures be mentally assimilated. For there has been but one Jewish religion, or rather let me say, but one Divine Revelation. And we must contemplate this revelation, which in its completeness is Christianity, not only as a religion, or means of salvation for the individual, but also as that great force which is the inner force of all human history. We must point out to the members of our Churches that all pre-Christian history centres in the incarnation, death, and resurrection of our Redeemer; while He is equally the pledge of the future of Israel and of the nations. For the immediate basis of God's work in the world by means of the Messiah remains the same—the nation of the Messiah. Whatever God once gave to the Jewish nation belongs to them still. Whatever was once the calling of the Jewish nation is their calling still. The gifts and calling of God as regards that nation are irrevocable. And when we read an article by a Christian Minister in the *Contemporary Review*, in which it is attempted to show the upper and middle classes, that, "it is allowable to accept as the common basis for theological reunion," between Atheism and the Church, "the Agnostic formula 'Something Is'; and that, the great 'Something Is' addressed itself to man through Moses in the word 'I am' or Jehovah"; is it not high time that the Church should draw attention to the fact that the Jehovah who spake to Moses was not a 'Something Is,' but the personally living God of supernatural revelation by word and deed, "the God of the fathers?" Jehovah was not an abstraction, but the most concrete of realities, in personal fellowship with Whom His people lived. It has been remarked by a previous speaker that there is often found in our day a defective knowledge of the facts of Old Testament history. And it must be so; till these facts cease to be regarded as dry facts in the history of a nation which has no further significance for the fortunes of the world. But they will become interesting and luminous when recognised as part of the progressive, yet unfinished, history of the nation—as concerning God's choice of it [beloved for its fathers' sakes—by means of which the living God has been leading, is leading, and shall lead humanity back to Himself, in life fellowship with Him Who said: "Salvation is of the Jews"—our Lord, Jesus, the Christ.

, The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

You have two fundamental rules to guide this great assembly. One is that the discussions shall be free and open; and I think that the speech we have just heard shows that the discussions are remarkably free. The other rule is that no question should be put to the vote; and therefore your lordship will not be able to put to the vote the question that has been asked just now—viz., Whether the speech you have heard was to the question or not? I should a little doubt as to what the result might be. However, I find you have put upon me the responsible business of bringing this discussion to a close, and I think the best thing to do is to try and bring the meeting back for a few moments to some of the questions raised before our minds by the speeches which we have heard. One question raised was with regard to the intercourse of boys at school with their masters. I have no personal knowledge of the manner in which our public schools are now conducted, but I believe that the intercourse between the boys and the masters is of a very improving kind as affecting both parties concerned. So far as my knowledge goes, the relation between boys and masters is very different from what it was in former

days; but I venture to put before the meeting that there is some little danger attaching to this closer intercourse. These masters, we are told, are very young men. There is an interval of only a few years between them and the oldest boys; and the danger therefore is that, while you have a fine manly spirit exhibited before the boys, there may also be a tendency to encourage a crude expression of opinion on the one side, and the generation of a considerable amount of self-conceit on the other. And, if I might mention what seems to me to be one of the principal dangers to our boys and young men, it is that which may be described by that simple term, "self-conceit." I think that some of our young people have, with regard to themselves, that same kind of wonder that Goldsmith expressed with regard to the schoolmaster of "The Deserted Village": they wonder that one small head can possibly carry all that they know. Therefore I think it may be worth while for all those who are young men, and those who will soon be young men, to remember a very remarkable dictum that has been going the round of society, although I do not know that it has been mentioned in public before. It is told of a very distinguished Master of a College in Cambridge, that, having heard the opinions expressed by the whole body of Junior Fellows at a College meeting, he wound up the debate with these very striking words: "I think, gentlemen, we ought to remember that we are none of us infallible, not even the very youngest man amongst us." Now, having had my fling at the boys, I should like to say something on the other side of the question. I do most sincerely rejoice at the manner in which the education of boys, both in schools and in Universities, seems to be cared for just now; and, if I might make a remark which somewhat touches my own position, I would say how much I sympathise with one of the speakers who referred to the importance of the preparation of boys for confirmation in our public schools. I refer to this matter chiefly in order to emphasise a view which is strongly on my mind with regard to confirmation, not only as concerns our schools, but as concerns the whole body of young people; and it is this. I think there is danger of a notion taking possession of the minds of our clergy that they are to wait till the Bishop gives notice of a confirmation before they stir up their young people to the consideration of the subject. Now, my feeling is rather this. Preparation for confirmation ought to be a constant work going on in every parish and in every school. I can say most earnestly that nothing delights me more than to receive a letter from a clergyman to this effect: "I have got together a number of young people in my parish whom I have been preparing for confirmation. I think there is a danger that if their confirmation is deferred until your lordship's regular confirmation some of them may escape from my hands. Can you give me a special confirmation?" I can truly say—and I think I can speak for my episcopal brethren present—nothing can delight a bishop's heart more than that he should be pressed to give special confirmations instead of merely holding confirmations at the ordinary times. I think if we bear this in mind we shall find that the religious teaching of boys in school may very properly, and almost necessarily, connect itself with the subject of preparation for confirmation, and also preparation for first communion. If this preparation forms a considerable part of the religious system at a public school, I do not think the religious education of a school can go very far wrong; and I venture to say, in one passing sentence, it does seem to me that no formula could possibly be better for the purpose of bringing before boys the peculiar dangers, the peculiar evils, the peculiar sins of boy life, than that which is put before us by the Catechism of the Church of England. If you wish to put these matters forward plainly, and without any shuffling, I think you may base on the Catechism of the Church of England as good a system of religious education as can be devised. Another point has been referred to by the President of Trinity College, Oxford. He spoke of the way in which education has to a certain extent got into the hands of laymen. He spoke of the ordination of

schoolmasters, and made reference to the difficulties sometimes made by Bishops on this head. To speak for myself, I venture to express this opinion, that it is highly desirable that Bishops should accept a *bona fide* mastership in a school as a title for holy orders. I have done so myself several times, and have had the satisfaction of hearing from some whom I have so ordained, how much they felt their hands strengthened for the work they had to do. It is, in fact, absolutely impossible that any man can have a more important parish with which to deal than two or three hundred boys, within a ring fence—brought immediately under his influence—and his influence over them must be an important element, which will have its effect upon the whole of their lives. Let me say a word upon a point which was brought forward by Sir Percival Heywood. He took this view—and I think that a great deal may be said for it, although I do not entirely agree with him—that it was highly desirable that a chaplain should be appointed, who should take charge of the religious teaching of a school. I agree with him so far as this, that there should be some clergyman who should be especially responsible for that part of the work; but I venture to think that it would be an unfortunate thing if you were to relieve the head master of the school of the great responsibility which rests upon him with regard to the religious teaching of those who are entrusted to his care. Have a chaplain by all means, if you find it necessary; but let him be, as it were, an assistant curate to the head master; because, depend upon it, when a parent is looking out for a school for his boy, the consideration that weighs with him more than any other is, not so much what is the character of those holding office in the school under the head master, as what is the character of the head master himself. The head master will impress his character upon the school; and therefore I would not do one single thing which would in the slightest degree take from the shoulders of the head master that greatest of all duties—namely, the religious instruction of the boys. I would add, in conclusion, that I do not entirely go with a recent speaker, who said that our public schools will reflect the general religious feeling of the country. There may be a certain amount of truth in the assertion; but my strong belief is that the schools will lead the country rather than be led by it. It is when you get men like him who has been mentioned once or twice in the course of this discussion—Dr. Arnold—men who know what they mean, and who are determined to express what they mean in the lives of their boys—men who are able to impress upon boys, not perhaps their own speculative views, but their own high sense of duty and their own religious feelings—it is then that you discover the real mainspring of religious instruction in our public schools. Lastly, one word with regard to a remark that was made by a high-spirited lay speaker in the course of this discussion. That gentleman made a speech that did my heart good. I like to hear a layman speak out as he did. But I refer to his speech chiefly for this reason. He made reference to Cathedrals, and said he thought we might look to them to assist in spreading definite religious teaching throughout the dioceses and the country. I should do wrong to anticipate the discussion of Cathedral reform which I see from the programme is to take place to-morrow, or to let out any of the secrets of the Cathedral Commissioners, of whom I am one. But I am sure that Mr. Beresford Hope will not find fault with me for saying, that with regard to looking to the Cathedrals to do something in the direction of definite religious and moral teaching in the dioceses with which Cathedrals are respectively connected, Her Majesty's Cathedral Commissioners are entirely at one with Mr. Dodd as to the impetus which Cathedrals may be expected to give to education of this character.

TEMPERANCE HALL, WEDNESDAY MORNING,

SEPTEMBER 29TH.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of WINCHESTER
took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

**THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH OVER YOUNG
MEN AND WOMEN,—HOW TO MAINTAIN AND
INCREASE IT.**

**(a) YOUNG MEN'S AND GIRLS' FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, AND KINDRED
INSTITUTIONS.**

(b) MORAL AND SPIRITUAL TRAINING OF CHURCH CHOIRS.

PAPERS.

LORD BRABAZON.

SINCE Robert Raikes, whose centenary we celebrated this year, moved with compassion at the sight of so much spiritual destitution among the children of the poor, induced a few Gloucester parents to permit them to listen to a simple exposition of the Gospel, the religious education of the young has been considered one of paramount importance. Experience has shown, however, that, owing to the early age at which the children of the working classes leave school, the religious impression made on their minds is often too faint to enable them to withstand the counter influences of class-custom and example, to which they become exposed when they first enter on the business of life. The result, in many cases, is that, gradually and almost imperceptibly to themselves, they cease all outward observance of religion, and slowly lapse into indifferentism. Church and Chapel are deserted. "Their parents," so runs the argument, "never attended Divine Worship, and why should they? Churches were built by the rich for the benefit of the rich, and working men in their working clothes would be out of place there." No doubt, as children they were forced to attend both Church and School, and it may be that they would wish their children to do as they did; but that is no argument in their minds, why, on becoming men, they should attend Church or Chapel any more than school. They are only following the fashion of their fellows. The fault is often not altogether theirs. Sunday School teachers are not always efficient or judicious. Religious services are sometimes made a burden too heavy to be borne by tender minds and frames. Frequent and long protracted attendances at Sunday School or place of worship, when such are enforced, occasionally exercise a baneful

influence, and produce a dislike towards religion in the minds of children, which bears sad fruit in after years, when they become their own masters, and are at liberty to act as they choose. If this is the case amongst those children who in early life have been subject to religious influences, what wonder if others should abstain through life from any open profession of religion? In towns and populous places, where, for some cause or another, religion has not been brought home to the people, the ridicule and misrepresentations to which a young man of the working class would be exposed, did he, by attending to his religious duties, run counter to the custom of his order, are greater than those, who have not been exposed to them, can appreciate, or than, perhaps, a young man, singlehanded, can well be expected to face. It is under such circumstances that the power of union is felt. When two or three are banded together, the shaft of ridicule becomes comparatively harmless, and the young man or woman, who, when alone, would have sunk beneath its sting, stands undaunted in the presence of sympathy and support.

It is just this mutual sympathy and support, so much needed by the youth of the working classes in its honest endeavours to lead moral and religious lives, that is afforded by the organization of the two societies which I am about to bring to your notice; but before doing so, it is right that I should make mention of two associations which had the honour of working for the young, at a time when the subject did not occupy so prominent a place in the public mind. I allude to the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and the Church of England Young Men's Society. The former of these was started in June, 1844. Since that date it has prosecuted its missionary operations amongst young men throughout the world, so that by the last report there are now 300 branches in Great Britain and Ireland, besides corresponding associations in every quarter of the globe.

The Church of England Young Men's Society is, as its name designates, more closely connected with the Established Church, and has for its object, according to the last report, the promotion of the spiritual, social, and intellectual welfare of young men.

Extensive as had been the operations of these and similar societies, there was still a vast field of work open to Mrs. Townsend, when, in 1875, impressed by the hard and friendless nature of the lives led by so many young girls of the working class, the idea occurred to her mind of purifying and brightening their existence by bringing them into closer union with the more refined and educated of their sex. With this view the Girls' Friendly Society was started. No idea could have been happier. Mutual sympathies were awakened. Prejudices were dissipated. On the one hand energies, perhaps long dormant or enervated by lack of use, found a congenial field of usefulness, whilst on the other, many a poor girl, nigh stifled by the vitiated air of her moral surroundings, has been raised to a purer atmosphere. The need of such a society has been proved by the almost unprecedented rapidity with which it has spread. It is now barely five years since Mrs. Townsend communicated her idea to a few friends, and by the last reports of December,

1879, the Society numbered within Great Britain and Ireland close upon 60,000, exclusive of associates and members in America, Jamaica, Australia, and in the principal towns on the Continent.

In order to give an idea of the nature of the work which the Girls' Friendly Society sets itself to accomplish, I cannot do better than quote the words of the President. Mrs. Townsend says: "Facilities for obtaining employment, and training to fit for it, help and rest to the sick and tired, social gatherings, encouragement to habits of thrift, rewards to faithful service, instruction both religious and secular, means of innocent and wholesome recreation, are all parts of the friendship offered by the Girls' Friendly Society, and it is offered to working girls of all classes, in the shop, in the factory, in domestic service, or at home." In short, to provide a friend for every working girl in England is the aim of the society. To accomplish this a very simple machinery is devised. Each lady (who on becoming an associate must in England be of the National Church) receives a list of associates' names and addresses. She admits working girl members, who must be of virtuous character. When these members leave their district, she recommends them to associates living in the neighbourhood of the places to which the girls have removed. Thus a girl when once admitted to the society should never be without a friend to whom she may turn in time of trouble or difficulty. In order to obtain the full advantages of co-operation 487 local branches have been formed, which in the country are co-extensive with the rural deaneries, and in the towns, if possible, with the parishes.

The associations established in Scotland, Ireland, and America, although in connection with the English Girls' Friendly Society, and with each other, differ in constitution, and are independent of each other.

Considering the short time the society has existed, a fair proportion of the programme of work, just quoted, has been accomplished.

Twelve recreation rooms, comfortably furnished and supplied with newspapers, books, periodicals, and games, have been opened in different parts of the kingdom. Here, the wearied shop-girl, after her hard day's labour, can find rest for body and mind, and can spend in quiet enjoyment the leisure hours of Saturday and Sunday.

In addition to these, or in connection with them, five houses belonging to the society, in which comfortable lodgings and excellent food can be obtained at cheap rates, are now occupied by girls of this class.

Whilst the young women in business belonging to the society have thus been cared for, the wants of domestic servants have not been overlooked, and 12 homes are now occupied by members out of service and between their places.

Many are the expressions of gratitude, which the lady superintendents and matrons of these Homes have heard, from both business and servant girls, towards the society which has thus restored to them the comforts and blessings of home life. It is to be hoped that more of these "lodges" will be established in our large towns, where it is often most difficult for a girl to find cheap, respectable lodgings.

Owing to the deplorably low standard of morals which is often to be found amongst factory girls, it is perhaps amongst them that the society is most needed. Encouraging reports have been received from some 20 branches, the members of which belong to this class, and more especially from the East End Branches of London, which, owing to the absence of any local ladies capable of undertaking the duties of an associate, have to be worked by a committee of ladies, resident in the West End, under the presidency of the Duchess of Leeds, with the assistance of paid local secretaries. A most interesting pamphlet has been published, on the work carried on by these branches, and I have no doubt that it will be found a useful guide to those who purpose forming branches of the society in similar districts.

For those whose vital energies have been lowered by ceaseless work in crowded cities, "homes of rest" have been established, where, for a small payment, rest and quiet can be obtained. A fund, supported almost entirely by the small contributions of the members themselves, enables many a poor girl to regain strength, who would otherwise have been unable to avail herself of these institutions.

The friendless condition of Workhouse girls has not been overlooked by the society. One hundred and thirty-seven ladies devote themselves specially to the care of these girls, and endeavour to find situations for them, when they leave the Workhouse.

The necessity for some medium of communication between the members of so large an association has led to the establishment of a magazine called "Friendly Leaves," the circulation of which now numbers 34,000 a month.

It will be understood that owing to the limited time at my disposal, I have had to suppress much; such as, details regarding the representative character of the central organization. I have made no mention of the work carried on by branches and individual associates, nor of the system of registry by which over 1,000 girls were last year supplied with situations. All this has had to be omitted, and much more; such as the bestowal by the Society of 2,022 premiums for good service on members during the course of last year, and of 708 bonuses on deposits in the Savings' Banks, as encouragements to thrift.

The success of the Girls' Friendly Society induced a few gentlemen, unconnected with it, but interested in the welfare of young men, to start an Association, which, while entirely distinct from the former, and founded on a different basis, might yet include such of its provisions as had been found serviceable and might be made applicable to the case of youths.

The first meeting of these gentlemen was held in the Drawing Room of the Vicarage, at Leeds, in June, 1877, and was attended by Dr. Gott, Rev. Canon Scott, and Rev. C. P. Ford.

Thus originated the Young Men's Friendly Society. The work was discussed during the Church Congress of 1878, but it was not until the 6th of May, 1879, that any very decisive advance was made. On that day a meeting of delegates from the majority of the Dioceses in England was held in the Library of Lambeth Palace, under the presidency of His Grace The Archbishop of Canterbury. After

some discussion it was then determined to draw up a statement of the aims and proposed organization of the Society, and a provisional Committee was appointed for this purpose.

The Committee met at St. Paul's Chapter House, and after careful thought and frequent consultation drew up the rules and constitution, as embodied in the Society's Pamphlet, which have since obtained the sanction of a further meeting of Diocesan delegates held at Lambeth.

It was then decided that the Society should consist of Associates and Members, and that its object should be to help young men both spiritually and temporarily ; by

(a). Befriending them when leaving home or when moving from one place to another, and by protecting them from evil influences.

(b). By promoting thrift and independence, especially by encouraging young men to make provision against sickness, accident, and want.

(c). By promoting a healthy tone of literature and amusement among young men ; and

(d). By promoting co-operation amongst institutions existing for kindred objects.

A fundamental rule was established, to the effect that Associates were to be Communicants of the Church of England, no such restriction being made as to members.

The Society was to be established for the benefit of youths of various classes from the age of 13, engaged in active work, whether manual, or in shops, in factories, or in offices. Its mode of operation was to enlist the aid of one or more Associates of either sex in each district, whose duty it should be to look after boys leaving school, make friends with them, bring them into relation with the Society, and take a general interest in their welfare. The Associates should commend such youths, when leaving home in search of employment, to the notice of an Associate in the place to which they may be going ; while in like manner youths should be commended to them by Associates at a distance. Several ways are suggested of promoting the work of the Society, viz., by holding classes, religious and secular, for the instruction of members ; by the establishment of reading and coffee rooms ; cricket, athletic, boating, and football clubs ; by lectures, readings, musical and other entertainments ; by organising excursions ; by establishing registries ; by promoting in towns the establishment of " homes " and lodging houses ; by assisting and visiting members in sickness or special need ; by encouraging and helping members to place their money in Savings' Banks ; by promoting the spread of good literature ; by arranging for local festivals ; and by generally assisting and advising young men in their start in life.

It was decided that Branch Associations should be formed, as far as possible, in every rural deanery or large town ; that each diocese and branch, so long as it adhered to the fundamental rule, should be permitted the fullest liberty of action, and that the Central Council, to meet in London, should be composed of a President and Vice-Presidents, to be annually elected, of 2 representatives from each Diocese, and of such other persons, not exceeding 24, as the Central Council might choose to elect. Although the Society has only been

in operation a year, good work has been done by the appointment of secretaries in 6 dioceses, and by the formation of about 30 branches. It will doubtless interest you to hear, that this town, in which we have been so hospitably received, possesses a very flourishing branch, consisting of over 300 associates and members, and that its secretary is Mr. G. A. Robinson, whose labours on behalf of the Congress we all recognise with gratitude. Should further information regarding the working of these societies be desired, I must refer my hearers to the Societies' Pamphlets, published by Messrs. Hatchards, of Piccadilly, which can be obtained at a cheap rate.

Although no restriction, except that of character, is placed on the admission of young men and women as members to both these Societies, it will have been noticed that Associates must be of the national Church, and that in the case of the Young Men's Society, they must be Communicants as well. A distinctly religious and Church character is thus given to both. The Archbishop of Canterbury has on more than one occasion taken an active interest in their welfare, and one of these Societies, as has been already stated, was inaugurated in the Palace of Lambeth. It is sincere matter for congratulation that the National Church, alive to the magnitude of its duties, has taken so decided and active a part in this work amongst the young. If the Church of England is to maintain its position as the Church of the nation, it cannot afford to neglect the religious training of the young men and women, rising to manhood and womanhood, in whose hands in a few years will rest the destinies of the nation. They will shortly be the fathers and mothers of a future generation, and it cannot be a matter of indifference what shall be the nature of the influence which shall be brought to bear upon their children.

Let us hope that the labours of the Girls' and Young Men's Friendly Societies, working in a similar direction, but on perfectly independent lines, may, in conjunction with kindred Associations, be instruments, under God's hand, for purifying the lives of the young men and maidens of England, and for raising to a higher level the moral standard of our country.

Rev. CANON SCOTT, Vicar of S. Mary's, Hull.

THE Church of England labours under two or three disadvantages in her endeavours to retain her younger members constant to their profession, to maintain her influence over them for good, and to edify and instruct them at the same time.

One of these disadvantages is the absence of distinct and authorised discipline, the restoration of which, in some form or other, we yearly assert "is much to be wished."

Another disadvantage is the rigid, undeviating nature of the authorised ministrations of the clergy within the walls of the Church. This, we must be thankful to note, is giving way in some sort under the influence of special missions and their accompaniments.

A third disadvantage is the preference shewn generally by the clergy for dealing with masses rather than with individuals. This,

I am inclined to think, is the most important of the three. It bears more directly on our subject, and is within the reach of amendment. Instant, practical, thorough improvement in this is possible without reference to Parliament or Convocation, to Bishops or Synods.

There is a well known illustration to which you will forgive my reference, as it aptly conveys my meaning. Given the task of filling a number of narrow-necked vessels with liquid in a given time ; no sane man would set about it by sluicing a pail of water upon them from a distance or an elevation, but would take them up one by one and fill them separately, it may be from a smaller vessel, but certainly with a surer prospect of success.

I should be sorry to be misunderstood in what I have just said. I do not intend to depreciate " preaching " by likening it to a douche of cold water from the pulpit. I only wish to lay stress on the surer method of giving instruction, exhortation, and advice individually ; or, at any rate, of not neglecting this practice if we would succeed in influencing and retaining our young people.

If we could once be convinced that it is quite as much worth while to give the earnest exhortation, or the careful and accurate instruction, or the sound and logical argument, or the minute and solid defence of the truth, that with great pains we have worked into a Sunday sermon ; if, I say, we could once be convinced that it is quite as useful to give the same, or part of it, by word of mouth, and perhaps over and over again, to two or three in a class, to a solitary listener in a walk, to a single enquirer in the vestry or parish room, then a great step would be gained towards the retention and edification of the members of the Church. It is a question of patience, of taking trouble, of self-denial—in a word, of devotion, of faith. May the spirit of each man respond to the call of the Spirit of God to him for this work. It would ill become me to take up the time of the Congress with hortatory remarks, or unnecessary proofs of the truth of those things which are already acknowledged. I will rather venture very briefly to throw off a few practical suggestions for work in this special line of influencing and retaining the young ; merely premising that I shall mention no plan or scheme of work which I do not know to have been tried, and to have been found more or less successful. I take it for granted that our object is attained by keeping our young people in regular attendance at Church and at Holy Communion, by giving them an interest in all that is good, and an earnest longing to do some good themselves in the world, by enabling them to preserve their walk and conversation pure and moral and without reproach. Of course this is only the outward exhibition to the world of a renewal which we trust is at work within. Our object is not really attained, until they have endured to the end, and are saved.

But we have to do at present with the visible retention of our members, and the means to be used for our purpose. And as one of the first requisites in this work I put the necessity of friendly intercourse between the Parish Priest and the individual members of his flock. Let him always be ready to give his ear to their troubles and temptations ; let them know that he is always ready thus to befriend them ; let him be in waiting at certain times, give opportunities, make opportunities for this pastoral intercourse, and he will

find his action responded to. Much may be done with some by visits at their houses ; but more will be done by letting it be distinctly known that the clergyman is in his vestry after any service, week-day or Sunday, and that it is his practice there to see people of all sorts on all subjects. The natural feeling of diffidence at the commencement of a new practice like this may easily be removed by asking the well-known Church workers, district visitors, Sunday School teachers, &c., to fall into the same habit, and when they need it, wait after service for an interview ; also by giving notice in the service at any special time when an opportunity is offered, that you will be glad to see certain persons after the service ; for instance, all who were confirmed at the last Confirmation. It will be easy to keep one or two of these behind, and speak to them separately. Thus you break the neck of any strangeness or diffidence, and, when once broken, the practice becomes easier. It will help the work, if, when young people bring letters of recommendation from other parishes, an appointment is made for them to see you on the first Sunday they are at Church after the service. It will be found that a constantly *open* Church, and the daily services, will assist much in removing any strangeness or awkwardness from these pastoral interviews. When the practice is once established and acknowledged, it will be possible for a Parish Priest to pass through the vestry door, and meeting the congregation as they leave by the porch, simply ask the one or two whom he wishes to see for their good, to remain behind for a few minutes without attracting any special attention. If the authoress of "Ploughing and Sowing" could walk alongside the furrow to talk to the plough-boys of her class, surely we can find some opportunity of private interviews with every member of our flock. When once the conference is effected, the subject must be left to the necessities of each case. It may be rebuke or warning that the Priest has to give, or enquiry as to the neglect of Christian duties, or report of evil doing brought to him ; it may be sympathy in some affliction he wishes to give, or advice in some difficulty that is asked ; it may be some question of the defence of the Church ; some answer to an opponent of the Faith, some doctrinal difficulty that has to be met ; or it may have to do with the deeper matters of the spiritual life, with temptation, with sin, with resistance ; or the prayer of the pastor for a soul exercised by God may be the comfort needed at such a time.

The next means of assistance to our work will be the Bible or Instruction Class. One form of this, confined to the little children of the upper and middle ranks of society, has been found of great service in making the Pastor thoroughly acquainted with the characters and dispositions of the children some years, it may be, before they come up to him for instruction for confirmation. It would not be amiss to admit to this any child, however small, who can read, and to retain it in the same class till confirmation time. The details of conducting such a class must be left to each instructor. It may be suggested, that Wednesday or Saturday afternoon would free it from the charge of interrupting school work ; that the instruction should be catechetical upon a passage of Holy Scripture read, a summary of which the elders might bring written in their

own words the next time ; that something should be learnt by heart at home ; and that the Church Catechism should receive due attention. A short hour, with change of work once or twice in the time, will not be found too long ; it may be diversified by a visit paid to the Church occasionally, where a description of its various parts, or a lesson given from one of the stained windows, will greatly interest the little ones. We shall find that some of our better class children, when from pious and thoughtful homes, are well taught ; but that others know far less of the Bible, and of the truths of their religion, than the National School children who have less advantages. Such a class as this should always have its place in the Church on Sunday afternoons, and take its part in the regular catechizing before the congregation.

Other classes for instruction should be carefully arranged, not only for males and females, but also, if possible, for persons of different ages, and of different standards of knowledge. Ladies, including Sunday School teachers, might find the course, yearly put forth by the Church of England Sunday School Institute, a valuable subject, enabling them to enter for the Institute's examination in May. There should be a class for girls, to which they are admitted immediately after their confirmation ; another for young men, in which may be allowed some liberty of discussion. A third for middle-aged and elderly working men, and a similar one for working women, will well-nigh exhaust the requirements of a fair-sized parish. I have not included in these any Bible classes which may be conducted by laymen or women on a Sunday, which are more or less in connection with, or springing from, the Parish Sunday School.

I have taken it for granted that the staff of clergy, or the strength of the individual Parish Priest, is sufficient for the work sketched out. It may of necessity happen that such classes can only be held once a fortnight, or even once a month, and it is advisable that they be allowed to lapse for two months or so in the summer.

But I have dwelt on them at length, because they fall so naturally into the next subject, which I venture to consider all-important in carrying out the object of this discussion—I mean “guilds.” Guilds may be simple, or they may be elaborate ; my view is, the simpler the better. A great deal of unnecessary objection has been raised against them, even against their name. I am not acquainted with any guilds where what are called “vows” are enforced—though I know many where the “Rules of Life,” (not one whit overstepping the Baptismal Covenant, but explaining, simplifying, and entering into detail in connection with that responsibility,) are set forth, more as suggestions and recommendations, to be observed carefully in the spirit, though not so binding in the letter—I say, I know many where such Rules of Life have been found most helpful, and are cherished by the members with great affection.

It will, I venture to think, be well to leave it to a Bible class to form itself into a guild by its own wish or suggestion, and to have a voice in the drawing up of the rules. It may also be well for the members to meet strictly as a guild only four or five times a year, leaving the other meetings, weekly or fortnightly, open, to be

still attended by those who wish for the instruction, but have no inclination to be enrolled in a guild. In some cases, one guild can be made to serve for two Bible classes, as for instance, ladies and working girls. A fortnightly meeting of each Bible class keeps up the instruction; and a quarterly meeting of the guild unites those attendants at each class who are also members of the guild. It will likewise be sometimes necessary to have two grades in one guild or brotherhood for young men; those under 18 years of age being placed in the junior grade. I cannot enter here into the manner of conducting these Bible classes and guilds, but I may mention my own opinion that the instruction should not take the shape of mere exhortation or exposition, but that questions should be asked, if not of individuals, at any rate generally from the chair, and answered by those who can or will. In fact, I think this catechetical treatment of people should be practised more than it is. Mr. Body has shewn how instruction may thus be imparted even to large congregations, by giving them the heads of a subject, or some definitions, or important notes of memory, to repeat aloud in the Church, on the principle that people remember much better what they have said aloud with their voice, than what they have heard with their ears, or read with their eyes.

With respect to the conduct of men's guilds, a little more freedom must be allowed. Papers may be read by the members, on which discussion may ensue, closed by the clergyman; or subjects of interest chosen beforehand, and kept before the members in a printed list, may be opened by the chairman, and he may allow himself to be catechized by the members, so as to give them the knowledge for which they enquire.

I mention a few subjects taken at random from the half-yearly list of such a brotherhood. Papers read on Archbishop Laud, Bishop Patteson, John Wesley, the Church of England before the Reformation, Monumental Records of Old Testament History, Symbolism, Evolution not contrary to a belief in God.

Discussions on the following subjects:—Article xxxiv. "Of the Traditions of the Church; Article xxii. "Of Purgatory;" S. Paul and S. James on Faith; Old Testament Wars of Extermination; "Tu es Petrus;" Obligation of the Sabbath; Community of Goods; Capital Punishment; Retreats, &c.

It is sometimes found expedient to let the members of a brotherhood link themselves in pairs as "mates,"—the duty of a mate being to pray for his fellow, to see that he does not fall away, to influence him for good by example, and to remonstrate with him kindly on any infraction of the rules, or laxity of religious purpose.

I would point out, in concluding this part of my subject, that these classes and guild meetings offer many opportunities for those private conferences with individuals upon which I have enlarged already; opportunities for the young people to remain afterwards on their own promptings to speak with their Parish Priest, or for him to request individuals to remain in order that he may speak to them.

A third means of retaining the young to their religious duties may be found in the use of preparation classes or meetings, previous to Holy Communion. In some parishes, it is found useful to have a

short preparation every week after the Saturday evensong, and to urge the younger communicants to be present at it on the evening before they receive. But this may be done in a more effectual way by summoning all the old confirmation candidates three or four times a year, e.g. before the greater festivals, and at Michaelmas, to a special meeting in the Church. For this purpose a careful confirmation register must be kept, and changes of residence diligently entered in it. By means of a short letter printed or lithographed, say at Easter, and a post card of invitation at the other times, large assemblages of males on one evening, and females on another, with perhaps a general one open to all on some Sunday night, or on Good Friday after the evening service, may be secured ; and their preparation conducted much in the same way as the after meeting at a mission :—a short instruction or exhortation followed by a solemn self-examination conducted by the priest, the communicants being on their knees, and he standing in the aisle or on the chancel steps, giving out slowly one by one, such questions based on the Ten Commandments (in the first person singular of course) as he may think suitable to the failings and temptations of those before him. There should be a silent pause after each commandment, followed by the recitation in full of the Kyrie Eleison from the Communion office : a simple form of confession to be joined in aloud : and an act of contrition, made by the Priest in the name of all assembled, will, with the Benediction, form a conclusion. It is quite necessary that men and women should have separate evenings for such a solemn service, in order that the conductor may not be hampered in that searching of conscience which is most needful at such a time.

It has been found useful after a confirmation to have a series of weekly communicants' classes on the same evenings on which the confirmation classes have been held, but open to all who have been confirmed in times past, and in which the communion office may be explained. Interest in this can be increased by getting those present to read aloud from their Prayer Book, all together, portion by portion of the office, questions and explanations following each short portion read. This plan has also been found very useful with children and servants on a Sunday afternoon, as a change in the usual mode of catechising. The Gospel for the day, or portions of the different offices in the Prayer Book, afford unlimited scope for religious instruction and Church teaching. Time entirely fails me, or a more secular side of this subject might be taken up, and the advantages of parish lectures, reading rooms, cricket and gymnasium for the youths, or working parties and singing meetings for the girls, urged upon your notice. The Girls' Friendly Society, and its younger brother, the Young Men's Friendly Society, have been purposely planned to embrace this work in its very widest extent, the advantages of these societies being, that without names, such as guild or brotherhood, and with the simplest possible rules, they adapt themselves to the working of all parties in the Church, each one carrying on his own branch in his own way, with his own detailed regulations and practices. The day will, I hope, come when a branch of these societies will be established in every parish, and existing guilds and associations

affiliated to them, on the two principles, that "Union is strength," and that these all embracing societies will thus touch each girl or youth, wheresoever they may be removed to, within the reach of the Church of England herself.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. R. W. RANDALL, Vicar of All Saints', Clifton.

THERE is one thing which is strongly impressed on my own mind at the present moment, and I cannot but think that there will be a hearty agreement in what I am about to say. On subjects like that which we are now discussing, we feel perhaps even more strongly than with reference to some other subjects discussed in the Congress, that it is a mistake that there are so many selected readers and so many selected speakers. For upon such a subject as this we require all the gathered experience of the largest number of persons who are met together; and if there had been a mere introduction of this subject by one good reader and one good speaker, we should then have had more opportunity of bringing out, what we want in a Congress, a genuine debate. I venture, further, to offer another suggestion, that if we would sometimes prolong a discussion from the morning until the afternoon, the results of Congress deliberation would be much greater than they are at present. And now, in taking up the consideration of the subject, I must be permitted to say that I could not have ventured to deal with it, if I had not first thrown to the winds two of the most desirable qualities which a man can possess—the quality of modesty, and the quality of fear. It is necessary when your portmanteau is small, to leave behind you a great many things which you would wish to carry, and at a Congress the time allowed for a speech is like a small portmanteau, and there is not room enough in it to permit you to say all that you would wish. For this reason I do not apologise for venturing to speak on this subject before those much better qualified to deal with it than myself.

The subject is one of very great importance. When we are talking of young men and young women, we must remember that they are not always to remain young. They are to be, if God spares them, the grey heads and wise leaders themselves hereafter, when many of us have passed away. How, then, are we to deal with them, so as to fit them best for the after work of life? First of all, then, let us say for a moment in words too often used, "Oh, they are only young men and young women." We must be on our guard against the slightest approach to anything like a feeling of contempt for them.

But far more than this, we must respect them, honour them, and love them. They have some of the greatest and noblest of qualities, and if the shadow of a vice lies close to these virtues, as is the case with all human virtues, we must overlook their faults, and welcome with admiration their warm hearts and earnest spirits. Warm hearts and determined spirits will do great things, if the warmth is the warmth that comes from heaven, and the determination is rightly ordered and directed.

The real secret of success in dealing with the young is the secret of success in dealing with all people—personal influence. Do not be afraid of this. Sometimes people will say, by way of disparagement, "This man's influence is only personal, and when he passes away his influence will pass away with him." If his influence is real, it will not altogether pass away. But be that as it may, we must not think lightly of personal influence. That which raises the Gospel above all the teaching of mere philosophy is

its power of attracting the hearts of men to a Person, and it is clear that it is part of the Divine plan to use human minds, human voices, human character, and human influence for touching hearts and ennobling character, and so for doing the work of God in this world.

There are two special things for which we may bring the weight of our personal influence upon the young. First, we must make them feel that the Church cannot do without them. It is a great thing to get into the mind of the young, that the noblest work they can do is work for the Church of God. We must place the Church before them as no mere human institution, no kind of spiritual police, no mere thing to be wielded only by the governments of this world. We must make them understand that it is the kingdom of God, a kingdom in which He rules, not for mere repression, not to make men mere slaves unconsciously following some law which is impressed upon them not for their good but for His pleasure; but that, on the contrary, it is a kingdom in which He rules them with laws and with rules, because He is wisest to know what best can control in them all that might break out into rebellion, and because He can understand the difficulty of subduing the human heart. We must make them understand that there is something for them to do in this Great Kingdom; that there is no cause more noble than that of the Church, because it is the cause of God; that there is no field more wide for the exercise of their best efforts, because in the Church there is room for every kind of power to be occupied.

From their first years, then, the young should learn to do something for their fellow-Christians round about them; a something also, if it may be, for the whole band and brotherhood of Christians throughout the world, something to increase, to raise, to ennoble that brotherhood. Is it not this which has of late years attracted so many hearts to the Church? The child finds that the alms it gives are doing something. The young man finds, in the class that is gathered round him in the Sunday School, one to whom he can act as a companion and a friend. Some day, it may be, his hand is wrung warmly or the voice of his young friend says to him, "When the time of danger came you helped me," or "When I was in difficulty you showed me the way out of my perplexity;" and so he feels that there is work for him to do in the Church of God. So let us give them work to do, and thus make them understand that even if the Church could do without them she would not do without them, because the Body of the Church can never be in health and perfect, unless all its members are working. The present Bishop of Edinburgh said at the Church Congress at Norwich, "The Christian has to be educated for his manhood in Christ and qualified for the work of the Church, not by mere instruction, but through practical co-operation in the duties of that divinely constituted fellowship, which is ordained amongst other ends to be a school for the discipline of its members. Any Church which shall govern its members as children, and not as constituent parts of itself, will dwarf and enfeeble them, and will remain destitute of inherent strength. And in a body instinct with life and energy, organisation will not be confined to the highest members, but will extend to the remotest and feeblest." So we must let these young ones feel from their earliest years that they are living members of the Church, working for the good of the whole body, that the body must suffer if their work is not done, that the body will advance and grow by the doing of their work.

But next it is most important for them that we should make them clearly understand that if the Church cannot do without them, neither can they do without the Church. There is sometimes, I think, a kind of fretfulness against authority to be found amongst the young, and sometimes a kind of suspicion of authority. We must aim at teaching the young that if it is, I will not say their right, but much rather their solemn duty, to exercise their private judgment, still that authority is the best assistance of private judgment. So they will come to see that they are real gainers by having the authority of the Church to guide them. Early in my own

life I remember something which will perhaps serve to explain what I mean. My father said to me one of those wise things which often fell from his lips, for which I have so much reason to be thankful, "Remember that it may sometimes happen that a father is wrong, and that it may even be the son's duty to say that his father is wrong; but never forget that it is a solemn responsibility which the son takes upon himself when he says that his father is mistaken." And so it is with the Church of God and her children; it is possible that amidst the many perplexities which have surrounded her, she may have fallen into some mistakes—not in the great things of the faith, such as are contained in her Creeds, because there we know that she has been guided by God, there we are certain that she guides us aright;—but in some matters of smaller importance it may be that an honest son of the Church might ask, "Is the Church right here?" And here, then, to use my father's words, if he makes up his mind that the Church is wrong it is a solemn responsibility, for God has established the authority of His Church in the world to guide us in the right use of our private judgment, and it must be a clear loss to us to disregard that authority. If, then, they will look at it in this way, the young will come to welcome authority as an aid to them. There must be some here who have taken the rules of their Prayer Book, and kept them at first in simple obedience, without seeing the reasons for them, and yet in later times have learnt to say, "I see now the good of these things." We shall do well then to teach the young early to take it for granted that the rules of the Church are likely to do them good, and they will find then that, not only will God guide the intellect, but that He will restrain the will, and not only will He restrain the will, but He will raise the affections of their hearts. For where are these more raised, more sanctified, and more glorified, than they are by the Church? By the Church here in this Congress we mean, of course, our mother the Church of England. Where are the affections better guided than by this mother who fixes the soul, by its adoration, its subjection, its faith, its hope, on God, on the Blessed Mediator, on the Spirit, on the Blessed Trinity.

Depend upon it, that if we would teach the young so to trust to the Church of God, so to look to her in their faith, so to regulate their lives by her laws, so to raise their affections by placing them where the Church teaches us that they should be placed, we shall find that they will trust her increasingly; for nowhere in the world shall we find, richly as God may have blessed other parts of the Catholic Church, any part of that Church in which the standard of Christian life is purer, more noble, or more practical.

HENRY F. BOWKER, Esq.

THE subject has been well introduced. The importance of institutions for looking after the spiritual and moral interests of young men and women cannot be over-estimated. It is of only one of these that I shall have time to refer to in the brief space of time allowed me—viz., that of the Young Men's Christian Association. I am aware that it is not exclusively connected with our Church, but it has embodied in its rules two principles which the Church should fully recognise, and which have been the chief sources of its very extensive influence. First, it demands of all who join it a test of membership, which is that every young man who unites himself to it should give evidence of belonging to the Body of Christ. I am quite aware of the difficulty of applying such a test, but let me say that it is easier to assume a position than to test our title to it.

It is the circle within the circle which I ask all the ministers of our Church to look to carefully, if they wish any efforts for the special behalf of young people to succeed.

Secondly, that association gives all its members something to do. It is in the sphere of their daily occupation that they are called upon to work for Christ. Christ's arms are wide enough to embrace every human need, but if we want men to work effectually in His service, we must bring them into close personal contact with Himself.

Gather young men together, they are worth any trouble you may take ; but gather them chiefly into Bible classes, for it is over the Word of God that your greatest successes will be seen. The best way of dealing with them is by a straightforward frankness of manner. Large sympathies are required to do this, but the people who possess them are the most successful. It was my privilege for many years to conduct a large Bible class of young men in connection with the Young Men's Christian Association in London. Many rich and varied experiences were granted me from God during that period. Some of these are vividly before me now. It was after one of our Bible readings on a Sunday afternoon that a young man said to me, "I don't believe a word of what you have been talking about this afternoon." I took his arm, saying, "I admire your candour, I like you for speaking your mind so plainly, but what is it you object to?" "Well," he said, "I don't believe the Bible to be true, and I doubt whether such a person as Christ ever lived." I asked him to come and see me on the following Friday, and I promised to give him a cup of tea, and to listen to all his objections. He came, and after a few interchanges of friendly greeting, he said to me somewhat abruptly, "What is Christianity?" Well, you know how God helps you, especially in a great need. I replied, "Christianity is a life." "A life," he said, "then it is not merely a series of dogmas?" "Not that only, but," I repeated, "a life." It was the arrow sent to his heart by the Spirit of God. We had many meetings and much conversation, but he subsequently gave his heart to Christ and became an earnest and successful worker in His vineyard.

Let me add that in these days of much knowledge there are in the minds, as well as in the hearts of young men, many perplexities, and these are best met by sympathy, patience, and kindness. In this, as in everything else, our Lord has shown us the way. In the young man who came to Him, as recorded by St. Mark, ch. x, 17—23, we have a type of some of those whom we see around us every day. Look at him. He is full of life and hope, animated too by many generous impulses, and greatly attracted by the goodness of the Great Teacher. As we listen to his self-sufficiency we are both astonished and amazed. "All these I observed from my youth." Our Lord knew that down in the depths of that heart there lurked that love of the world which would be too much for him. Nevertheless we are told, "He loved him." Let us imitate the Master, and, despising not the day of small things, let us be hopeful of all such, and after searching them out, let us patiently, kindly, lovingly, and perseveringly enter into their difficulties and lead them to Christ. They may never pronounce our Shibboleth altogether, but the best way of leading them to a full surrender to Christ, and a full reception of all that the Word of God teaches, is by a winning gentleness.

Very recently, when I was in Scotland, I found myself at a large hydropathic establishment where many young people were staying. Amongst the opportunities which were given me during that visit was the meeting with a young man of superior mind and education, and of great promise. I found that he was in the habit of going out in solitary rambles, sketching some of the beautiful scenes in the neighbourhood. I offered to meet him at a celebrated waterfall a few miles off, one afternoon. We walked back to the house together. In the course of our conversation I asked him about himself, when he told me that in the pursuit of his professional studies he was surrounded by young men of other nations as well as our own—French, German, Italian. I found that he had ventured to speak to some of these of those truths which a careful and loving

Christian mother had taught him. "With what success?" I asked. "None," he replied. They would point to the conduct of the many professing Christians with whom they came in contact, and, snapping their fingers in scorn would say, "We'll none of it. Ruskin and Carlyle are the men we will follow." He added, "What do you think of this?" I replied, "I despise no one. Ruskin and Carlyle are great moral teachers, but Christ is a greater. His morality goes deeper than theirs, for it has for its root and foundation the denial of self and taking up the Cross. And without this preliminary process and discipline no man ever enters into His service."

Our Right Rev. Chairman this morning led us by solemn words of warning to this essential point, and his words were enforced by the Dean of York. It is possible for us to be living under the very roof of the house of God, and to share daily in its services, and yet in heart stand in direct antagonism to the truths constantly repeated by us.

I venture, in conclusion, to remind you of that magnificent utterance of the Archbishop of York, in St. Martin's Church yesterday morning, in which, after referring to the scepticism of the day, its controversies and its many perplexing difficulties, he said that although many, perhaps the most of us, may not be able to answer objections and to solve difficulties, we can all live Christ's life by the power of the Spirit of God, and adorn His doctrine.

This, indeed, is what God is loudly demanding in these last days. It is in vain to preach, in vain to discuss great questions, unless we point to a personal Christ, Saviour, Redeemer, Friend, ever present, ever willing to receive and to bless. We need to dismiss our half beliefs and to do what we talk about, and be what we seem. There has been a wonderful revival in the Church of England: it is a grand institution, a living power in the land. May God bless it more and more, but if it is to be sustained in its present position, and grow still—it will do so only as its members present the life of Christ in their daily and hourly conduct.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of WINCHESTER.

I REJOICE to see so large an assembly here, notwithstanding the attractions of the Congress Hall. The importance of the subject we have met to discuss cannot be over-estimated, because we all know that it is in the first years of life that the character of most persons is moulded. After these years you may break, but you cannot bend, the metal of which character is formed. We have long tried to exercise religious influence over young people, but with little success. We know how soon we lose them from our schools. Every parochial clergyman knows that after they have left school it is almost in vain to hope to bring them under our influence and control again. For a few weeks preceding confirmation a clergyman can get a certain number of young people under his care; but except during this brief period they are lost from our influence. I am sure that the Girls' Friendly Society and the Young Men's Friendly Society may become of immense assistance to clergymen, and a great help to our Church. I know something of the Girls' Friendly Society, but as yet I have seen but little of the Young Men's Friendly Society. I know that there is one objection often raised to the Girls' Society, and I must allude to it; and that, because I think that, instead of being a valid objection to it, it is a strong recommendation. It is said you make a mistake when you seek to gather together associations of young people of unblemished character. It is said that it is impossible to do this. Now, if that is the case, I can only say it is

a terrible slur on the Church as well as on the people of this land. But I cannot but think that, if we begin early enough, and if we proceed wisely enough, we shall be able to gather together bodies of young women as yet of character unblemished, and that we may keep them unblemished. You know we have Bands of Hope to keep our young people temperate; we have Bands of Mercy to inculcate kindness of heart to dumb creatures; and surely it would be a blessed thing if we could have Bands of Purity. And if we go rightly to work we can, I think, establish such things as Bands of Purity for young men and young women; and I would recommend the clergy and the laity to take up the work and co-operate for the purpose of forming, throughout the country, bands of young men and young women who will bind themselves as much as may be by God's grace to keep their character spotless, and to help one another in all their trials and difficulties. I believe that bands or guilds, under the guidance of the clergy, would do good Church work and be of the greatest comfort to the country. In our great manufacturing towns, we cannot but see how the massing together of men and women in factories and workshops, and various occupations, is beset with danger. The Duke of Wellington used to say, "I never mass a great number of men together in times of peace." He saw that there was great danger in the massing together of numbers, for they corrupt one another. But it is inevitable now that they should be so massed together for the arts of peace, as well as for the purposes of war; and that being so, I think we should try and counteract the danger of associating them together merely for work, or for money making, by associating them for God, for the Church, for purity, and for holiness of life. Now, turning to one branch of our subject, "Church Choirs," I must say I think it is a matter which is not enough thought of. In the improvements I have seen during my lifetime I do not know a greater change than has been effected in Church choirs. I can remember the time when we had the performance of a heterogeneous collection of instruments in our choirs, and the nasal twang was in full perfection, the clerk generally attaining an admirable proficiency in the desired nasal tone. Anything more unedifying it would be difficult to describe. But now all that is changed. You cannot go to any country village church without hearing good music, often by a surpliced choir. A skilful organist, frequently the wife or daughter of the clergyman, plays the organ and provides good devotional music. Now, the young people who form these choirs will either be a source of blessing, or they will be a curse to the parish—a blessing if they are carefully trained morally and spiritually. They have to lead the praises of the congregation, and surely they ought in their own lives to be praising God. If not, then they are speaking a lie every Sunday of their lives. Nothing can be more dangerous to these young minds than to be occupied regularly in a service in which their hearts are not engaged. I have had a rather unusual experience of choirs, for I have been connected with four cathedrals during my lifetime, as Prebendary, Canon, or Bishop, and so I have seen a great deal of choir boys; and I know that the life of a choir boy is one full of dangers of all kinds. Unspeakable dangers beset these lads early in life, and they need protection, I think, more than any body of young men or women. I speak not of moral danger alone; but there is great danger of their lapsing into infidelity. I have known a young man who thus grew up in the Church, and who ought to have become an example of Christian belief, become one of the worst class of unbelievers, and I have heard him attribute the growth of his unbelief to the unreality of his life as a chorister boy. Deans and canons of cathedrals, and clergymen in whose parish churches there are choral services, cannot be too careful in training, teaching, and guarding those young people who are engaged in leading the services of praise in the Church.

**MONTAGU BURROWS, Esq., Professor of Modern History
in the University of Oxford.**

It is a great satisfaction to me, who only propose to give you a few words on Young Men's Unions, and those a few practical words illustrating some action that has been taken in the Diocese of Oxford, to have as a basis on which to found my remarks, such speeches as you have heard this morning. They prevent the necessity of spending any moment of the ten minutes allowed in saying anything about the importance of this subject. What I do hope is that some practical hints and suggestions will proceed from the Congress on this matter, and that they will bear real fruit. In order that they may do so, I think you will agree with me that it will be very desirable to know about anything which has really been done. It is very curious to see how the same ideas may happen to be spreading through the country at the same time. You have heard from Lord Brabazon about the commencement of the Young Men's Friendly Society. Without knowing anything about the movement to which he has referred, a similar movement proceeded from individuals in the Diocese of Oxford; and, curiously enough, at the Oxford Conference of Clergy and Laity, in 1878, a plan was formed, very much akin to the plan which was formed at Sheffield at about the same moment. These two movements were totally without connection with one another. Here, then, is something practical; a beginning has been made. The Oxford Conference of Clergy and Laity on that occasion agreed, without a dissentient voice, that a committee should be formed to establish an organization of young men's societies throughout the diocese. The Bishop most heartily promoted it, as also the three Archdeacons of the diocese, who were placed at the head of the committee, with a mixed body of clergy and laity to assist them. This committee sent out a series of questions to every clergyman in the diocese, in order to get their opinions on the subject. They only received answers from about one-third of these, but out of that number there were about one hundred in favour of forming a Diocesan Union of young men and lads. At the Conference of 1879 the committee was empowered to form such an organization. A considerable number of rural deans in the diocese have since taken up the matter with great spirit, and we hope next year to be able to report considerable progress. We are not working in antagonism to a society about which you will hear more, probably, from a gentleman who follows me. At one time we thought it would be better to give up our organization, and join theirs. But the feeling generally, not only amongst ourselves, but on the part of the Young Men's Friendly Society, was that we should keep our own special organization. I trust you will allow me to read a selection from the answers received from the clergy of the diocese, in order to show that this is a matter which ought to be advanced out of the stage of isolated efforts, and be adopted generally with a view to regular and systematic organization throughout England. Here are some extracts from replies contained in the report adopted by the Oxford Conference: "If the design of the committee can be carried out on any considerable scale, it may be of the greatest service in the cause of sound religion in this diocese." . . . "The need of a Diocesan movement is great and real." . . . "I have found it impossible to organize such a society when there is nothing of the sort in the surrounding parishes." . . . "The want of such associations is obviously one of the weak points in our parochial system." . . . "I feel the great need of such a society; materials are ready, but I have not the courage or capacity to begin." . . . "If a network of such societies could be scattered over the country, members leaving their parish would find a friendly hand to welcome them, and not be so often lost to the Church." . . . "The recommendation of the Conference would give an opportunity of beginning some special association." . . . "I wish I could establish a society of the kind alluded to; I await anxiously the result of the committee's work." . . . "I

shall cordially welcome any such plan, and would do my utmost to work in harmony with it. I am very glad such a plan is now broached." . . . "I see the greatest advantage in a common diocesan centre. No one, till he has tried it, can form any idea of the mine of spiritual wealth which is lying at present waiting to be explored among the young men and women of our congregations. Men do not sink their shafts because the machinery is not at hand. Let it come in the way of special Church organization." I may here say that I can send the pamphlet containing our report to any person who desires to have it. I am afraid I must charge a shilling for it, as it contains thirty-five pages; but anyone can have it who writes to me at Oxford, enclosing twelve postage stamps. Our plan is, generally, to have a Branch in every parish of our diocese, to establish the Branch for three different sets of people; the young Probationary Members, who are not Communicants; the Full Members, who are Communicants; and the Honorary Members, who assist in the working of the Union. We wish to leave each parish to its own independent organization, so that we should not force any cut-and-dried system upon anybody; but we wish to make use of just such facilities as we find to our hands, irrespective of all parties, or party names. All that we ask is that there shall be *something*; so that when a lad leaves a parish he may be recommended to another parish, and find the same care taken of him, the same classes of instruction on Sundays or week-days or both; the same means of recreation, have the same opportunity of getting employment and advice, and, in short, all such things as you have heard mentioned by other speakers to-day. We propose that there shall be an annual meeting of Delegates, not, of course, sent up from the whole of the diocese together, but from Rural Deaneries, or smaller areas; and some selection of Honorary Members present at these gatherings, so that there may be mutual conference and encouragement from time to time. Lastly, we have been strongly advised by many persons to try and get the ladies to assist in working these institutions. Some of our most experienced workers tell us that there is no class of persons so well calculated to get a real hold upon the young lads of a parish as a lady. And I believe there is scarcely a parish in the country, however small, in which, if it be impossible to find a man or men to help in this great work, it will be impossible to find helpers from the other sex.

The Rev. H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, Minor Canon of
St. Paul's.

I AM the Secretary of the Young Men's Friendly Society. But since its aims and objects have already been set before you, I will only say a few words upon that special subject. First, this society has been found to reach boys at a younger age than either the Young Men's Christian Association, or the Church of England Young Men's Society. Further, our local organizations are not compelled to accept the dictation of the central body in the management of local affairs. Our branches make their own rules, manage their own funds, and carry on their own work, subject only to the very wide provisions of our general rules. So much for the society; further information as to the details will be given at our meeting this afternoon. I wish to make use of my time in saying a few words about choir boys; especially cathedral choir boys. They are exposed to more dangers, and have fewer good influences to guard them, than the choir boys of a parish church. Their day's work is not a light one; and the constant attendance at Divine Worship, the sort of sermons to which they are compelled to listen, the familiarity with sacred things which they acquire, tend to create a reaction against them all when the boys leave the Cathedral choir. It has been my

misfortune to know only too much of those terrible temptations and tempters to which your lordship has alluded. Against this misery those who have the care of the boys should keep most vigilant watch. Such matters are difficult to deal with ; but there is no reason why the authorities should fail to do their duty with regard to them, as unhappily they often do. The root of all manner of mischief is to be found in the "boarding out" system. I would most strongly urge the establishment of choir schools in connection with cathedrals, where the boys may live under the care of a resident master. I entreat well-meaning persons not to "pet" and make much of choristers ; the truest kindness, believe me, is to let them alone. Then the greatest care should be taken in admitting boys into the choir. I have known cases in which choristers have been found, after some years' service in the choir, to be unbaptised. I would admit no boy above the age of twelve ; nor any boy, had he the voice of an angel, who was likely to bring mischief with him into the choir school. It is also to be noted that athletic sports, so useful for the preservation of health and purity, are almost out of the cathedral chorister's reach. His day is so broken up by the cathedral services that he can never enjoy out-door games to the same extent as other boys. To remedy this, at St. Paul's the boys have a holiday once a week, when the men alone sing the service : some such plan might perhaps be adopted elsewhere. It is a further question whether nothing can be done for cathedral boys, when their voices break and they are obliged to leave. At present they often pass from the cathedral to influences of an indifferent or an evil kind ; and I have observed with sorrow how generally boys alter for the worse in a very short time after leaving. It may be a dream of my own ; but I have often thought that if there was some institution which would take boys from the age of fourteen or fifteen, and prepare them for St. Augustine's, Canterbury, or St. Boniface, Warminster, our cathedral choir schools might become nurseries for Foreign Missions. Is this quite impracticable ? But the point of the highest importance is to influence the lads for good while still at the cathedral. And if some one connected with their daily life—a minor canon, the precentor, the master of the boys—would lay himself out to help them by that manly sympathy which always wins boys, and that personal influence of which much has been already well said, I believe cathedral boys would have a better chance. The boys of parish choirs almost always have this help ; the boys of a cathedral almost never. May I give an instance from my own experience ? At a cathedral with which I was formerly connected, a boy in the choir was the son of a Birmingham secularist. He was unbaptised ; he refused to be confirmed ; he avowed himself a secularist, and read Bradlaugh's tracts, and similar works. A minor canon made up his mind that, please God, he would win that boy. He made friends with him ; and when he left the cathedral choir corresponded with him, and kept up the old interest in his welfare. The time came when the boy, now a young man, asked his friend to tell him more of Christ. He did so ; and after a struggle of several years, during which the lad used to read Butler and Christian Apologetics when his day's office work was done, he begged for and received baptism at my hands ; and that boy is now reading for ordination at Oxford.

HENRY C. RICHARDS, Esq., of Gray's Inn.

CANON SHUTTLEWORTH has spoken so fully of the dangers and the necessities, I may say, of choir men and choir boys, that I would rather confine myself to young men and the duties of the Church towards them. The Church is now entering upon a struggle, for you cannot go into any part of society where you will not hear ecclesiastical questions debated. There is a wide field open, especially in large towns. My own experience during many years

in London, leads me to say that there the Church is gaining ground, and in many large towns I hear from laymen and clergymen that the Church of England is making her influence felt. In London alone it is computed that there are 40,000 young men without homes; young men who come from different parts of the country to earn their livelihood, to pursue their callings, and, as they call it, to *get on* in the world. Some may come from pious homes, some may have no decided religious impressions, and some may be glad to get away from home. Any who have had the experience of living in lodgings will see the necessity of getting hold of these young men. It is of no use holding up before young men the Church as a human institution, and to say that so long as you hold sound views it does not matter whether you are a Churchman or a Dissenter. If you do that, you lead young men into a snare, because they naturally think that with dissent there is greater freedom, that you need not accept the Apostles creed, or the Nicene creed, or any particular creed at all. I believe, my Lord Bishop, that in a charge which you delivered at Ely some years ago you spoke of an American bishop complaining that young men came from England without any definite idea of principle; and Bishop Maclagan wrote that you might attend Church for years without hearing anything about the position of Church and Dissent. I should be the last to desire any of those warlike sermons, or altar denunciations; but I would ask the clergy in large towns to remember that there are among their evening congregations a number of persons who have no idea of Church principles. There is a wide field of missionary influence which the clergy might exercise. There is a large amount of evening church-going by persons who have no definite grasp of the principles of the Church. They would not like to be absent from Church altogether, and they think they have done their duty by going in the evening. I think that is a very poor way of honouring God, to give him an hour or an hour and a quarter at the end of the Lord's Day, rather than an hour or an hour and a half at the beginning of the day. My friend who spoke just now about asking the young man to a cup of tea hit the right nail on the head. Young men don't like to be patronised; they feel that the clergy should not stand upon their social position, but should hold out the right hand of fellowship. The clergy will, if they will only stretch out this right hand, and give them this personal intercourse, find these young men are only too ready to work with them. Many of them have their evenings to spare; they have become perhaps too tired, or may not have the taste to pursue what is called intellectual enjoyments. Young men are too often lost to the Church and won to Dissent, not because they find dissenting people better than the Church, but because they find dissenting people more friendly and kindly towards them. My idea is this, that in every large town, parish or group of parishes, we should have a branch of the Young Men's Society or the Young Men's Friendly Society. I would not make it a *sine quâ non* that they should be Churchmen, but the management should be in the hands of the Church and Churchmen only. As regards that wretched thing called "undenominationalism," it simply means the triumph of Dissent and the downfall of the Church. Undenominationalism simply means that every definite doctrine and every definite truth that the Church proclaims and holds up before men and angels, is to be kept in the background because it does not please the Dissenters. So long as the Dissenters are continually attacking our citadel, so long must we boldly nail our flag to the mast and determinately declare that the authority of the Church proceeds from God, that the authority of the Church is God's command to the world, and that that authority must be respected. It is the duty therefore of the clergy not to come forward as mere men of authority; but while asserting the authority of the Church, to cultivate personal intercourse with their flock. As Canon Scott, I think, said, the young man of to-day will be the middle-aged man of another 10 years and the old man of another 20. Let us, then, win them while their hearts are

warm and earnest ; and if clergymen will only throw themselves into the work and make their personal influence felt, we shall find that more and more that influence will be extended, more and more the harvest of the Church will increase.

The Rev. A. LENDRUM, Rector of Blatherwycke.

I HAVE listened with great attention, as all here must have done, to the valuable addresses and speeches that have been delivered on the interesting and important subject now under consideration. I would not have asked to be allowed to address the meeting, had it not been that there is a matter deeply affecting the religious lives of the rising generation, which has not been alluded to by any previous speaker, namely, the difficulties thrown in the way of the proper religious training of the young by certain regulations issuing from the Education Department. It seems to me that a point of such momentous importance ought not to be overlooked in addressing a great meeting like this, as at this Congress there are many highly influential persons, who, by a little united action, could have no difficulty in getting the evil remedied. Few, here, perhaps, are aware that in Board Schools the Creeds and the Catechism of the Church are absolutely excluded, even when the majority of ratepayers wish them to be taught. Can this be right in a Christian country that has had the Gospel in it for 1800 years? Can it be right that in our public schools we must not, under any circumstances, teach the distinctive doctrines of the Church of England, as contained in its Catechism or its Creeds? Yet, in the Christian life, faith and love must ever go together. For without a sound faith there cannot be right practice. Do not misunderstand me. I think it quite right that the children of dissenters should not be compelled to learn the Church Catechism, if their parents object to it. But why should the children of the Church be, on that ground, deprived of their rights and privileges? I have here a paper containing the Bye-laws drawn up by the School Attendance Committee of my own district, into which they were forced by the Education Department to introduce, contrary to their own wish, the following: "Provided always that nothing in these Bye-laws shall prevent the withdrawal of *any* child from any religious observance or instruction in religious subjects." If it had said children of Dissenters, we could have had no ground of objection. We all know too well that there are in most parishes some careless parents who care nothing about training up their children in the way in which they should go, and such a rule as this is an encouragement to them to persevere in their careless indifference. I do think, therefore, that the enforcement of such a rule as this ought not to be submitted to. But what can I, as a single individual, do to check this step towards the spread of practical heathenism. I may mention that an attempt was made to thrust upon us a Board School, but this I successfully resisted. Now they tell me that all careless and irreligious parents, though nominally members of the Church, must be encouraged and empowered to withdraw their children from my Church school at the times when religious instruction is being imparted. Our own Attendance Committee objected, and did what they could to get the regulation altered, but the Education Department sent it back with an imperative injunction to insert it in its present form. I have hitherto refused to accept the Bye-laws while this remains as it is ; but I bring it to the notice of this Congress in the hope that men of influence here will use that influence so as to get the Committee of Council to modify the rule so as throw no needless obstruction in the way of the sound religious training of the children of the Church, in conformity with her principles. I repeat, I have no wish to restrain the liberty of Dissenters. But why should the children of the Church be deprived of their privileges? What is the result of indefinite religious

teaching? Look at Germany, look at home, and we shall have undoubted evidence that infidelity is spreading rapidly from this cause—the want of sound religious education. Not long ago I saw in the *Standard*, that the result of the irreligious School Board education was that criminality was greatly on the increase. And what else could we expect? They received secular education, and so acquired additional cleverness, without the hallowing influences of religious training, and so were able, with more probability of success, to enter upon a course of sin and crime. The *Standard's* statement was distinct, that since Board School education had been adopted there was a great increase of criminality in the country. I believe it is in accordance with human infirmity and corruption that if men are trained without sound religious principles they will almost inevitably lose the sense of right and wrong, and be ready, when temptation comes in their way, to fall into criminal courses. For what does Solomon tell us? Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it. I sincerely trust that the matter will be taken up by men of influence, and that we shall, before long, have this matter satisfactorily settled.

The Rev. GEORGE EVERARD, Vicar of St. Mark's,
Wolverhampton.

Oh, the mighty power of one young man, the power for influence amongst hundreds of his fellows for good or ill! And what an argument this should be why we should try, heart and soul, to do what we can to bring them to Christ, and to keep them faithful to our Church! Permit me to mention a worker in this field. A few years ago a lady was standing by the death-bed of her only son, a prodigal in London. He had been drawn away by the influence of others; but by the earnest prayers and loving efforts of his mother he was led to his Saviour. When he was dying, he turned to his mother, and he said, "Mother, what will you do without me, when I am gone?" The mother said, "My son, I will try from this hour to be a mother to other people's boys till I meet you again in heaven." And how faithfully she has done that, earnestly working to benefit the clerks of London, opening her doors and welcoming them to her own house, giving them proofs of kindness in cases of special need, and giving her whole heart, her whole time to this work of helping young men! This brings me to the one point on which I would like to say a word this morning. It has been mentioned several times before, but cannot be mentioned too often. I mean that whatever societies you use, whether it be the Friendly Society, or the Young Men's Society, if there is really to be work, it must be by *personal influence* carried out with brotherly sympathy, heart to heart, to bring those young men to Christ. May I just mention three instances of personal sympathy and personal help among young men? One of the most interesting moments I ever had was in administering the communion to some young men and one of them blind, and a young lady at the end of the rails. Who were they? They were the members of her bible class whom she had watched over. If I remember rightly some sixteen of them knelt with her at the rails on the opening Sunday of the Mission held in the parish. She has given an idea of the difficulties she met with amongst them in a little book called, "My Mates and 'I.'" May I mention another instance? A lady felt a deep interest in the young men of an agricultural parish. She gathered together four and twenty of them, and Sunday after Sunday she has instructed those young men in the knowledge and love of God. Let me mention another case of personal influence. I remember the day I was ordained. It is now thirty years ago. In the evening of that day I went into the parish schoolroom of Kensington, then

under Archdeacon Sinclair, and in that room there were 120 men who were invited to pray for me who had been ordained that day. How were those young men there? By the influence of a physician who gathered them into a Bible class, watched over them in sickness and in health, and who was invited by their clergyman to prepare them for confirmation, and in this way they were brought into the Church of Christ. Let me mention but one other in my own charge at Wolverhampton. There is one sight that delights my heart so much from Sunday to Sunday. In our Mission Room a great many men meet together every Sunday afternoon in Bible classes, and in the smallest room you will see a young man with some twelve or thirteen good-looking, well-dressed young men round him. Who are these? That young man watched over them as lads in the Sunday school; and he has brought them up, step by step, and has been a brother and a friend to them; and so much has he shown his influence that he has taken some of them with him to the Isle of Man. They saved their money to go on a holiday tour, and in that way he has gained influence over them. Let us remember that, if each one had a warm sympathy for young men, each of us could do something in our own different parishes to help in raising up those who will take our young men and try to bring them to the Lord. One other word I will say. Mention has been made of choirs. I cannot think that we can over-estimate the necessity for reform in this matter. How sad it is that those voices which are engaged in singing God's praises on Sundays should be found on week days uttering words which they should not speak, and, to the great scandal of our Church, the boys should be found in scenes from which they ought to be far away. I think the clergymen should, from time to time, be casting a glance after them, giving them a word of warning in season. I remember a young man saying that he went to the choir and sang the words of a beautiful hymn, and he said, "How dare I sing such a beautiful hymn when I am leading such a life on week days? I must either give up the choir or give up the life I am leading." I think the clergy might by an earnest, faithful word, or perhaps by giving them a helpful, Christian book at Christmas or other times, do much good in this matter. May I mention another thought? A dear brother, whose heart is full of love for young men, just dropped one word with respect to authority with young men. May I make one remark? I would simply say that I believe fully young men will yield to authority when it is *in the shape of pastoral counsel*; but I believe the great mass of English young men will *never, never yield to the claims of a sacerdotal priesthood*.

The Rev. J. E. STOCKS, Vicar of Market Harborough.

I AM afraid I stand rather at a disadvantage in having to address a tired, but, I am sure, a well-pleased audience at the end of a meeting. I can only promise that, if you will give me your attention for a few moments, I will not take up the whole even of the short time allotted to me. I wish to say a few words on behalf of choir-boys. Mr. Shuttleworth has spoken, with a force and eloquence which I cannot hope to rival, about the boys in cathedral choirs. I wish to say something about parochial choir boys. And first, is it not the fact that, as a part of Church organization, they belong to these later years? Thirty or forty years ago they were unknown, or almost unknown. These boys have their own special dangers. Your lordship, in your opening address, referred to what you said were called their "moral" dangers. On this point I will only say one word. I believe that we of the clergy fail in straightforward courage and simplicity in dealing with them. I think if we took heart and spoke plainly and simply to a boy, beginning with that which is to be found in most boys' hearts, the love of home, we might do much to prevent those grave moral evils which often harden a boy's heart to the home of his

childhood, and embitter and mar the home of his manhood. Then there are other dangers—the dangers that come from over-familiarity with sacred things, the danger of bad behaviour in the House of God. How are these to be met? I believe the only way is that which has been already mentioned this morning—personal influence carried into effect by means of careful personal instruction. The point that I would venture to press upon my brethren of the clergy is this: it is not safe, it is not tolerable, to have a choir of boys, unless some one person, either the clergyman of the parish himself, or someone whom he can implicitly trust, is responsible for the moral and spiritual welfare of those boys. He ought to make it his business to know them, and to enter into their interests; he ought to know something of their homes; he ought to lead them to place confidence in him; he ought to give them something of his leisure time, to lead, and guide, and teach them. If he will do this, I am sure he will find out those practical measures of dealing with their dangers which are best suited to the place where they live. I have spoken of the dangers of choir-boys, but I think there is another point which ought to be mentioned, and that is the hopeful side of the work. No one, I will venture to say, has had much to do with choir-boys who is not hopeful about them. He must find a great deal that is promising and encouraging, and he may hope, if he takes a close personal interest in them, that some at least may rise from the lower ministries of the Church to the higher, that some may be fit to take Holy Orders. One word I would say to members of congregations. I would support the warning which Mr. Shuttleworth gave. I would ask members of congregations to do choir-boys a very great kindness, the most unusual kindness of letting them alone. Choir-boys are not, what they have sometimes been described in books, very sedate, very devout, using an unusual gift with artistic fervour. They are, for the most part, a very healthy compound of animal spirits, strength, and mischief. I, for my part, would not wish them otherwise, for I can imagine nothing more hopeless and tiresome than a number of boys full only of music and a melancholy devotion. Let us take them as they are, and do the best we can with them, and we need not be discouraged. I would venture to conclude with two thoughts suggested by the Gospel for the Day, S. Michael and All Angels' Day. We bring Christ's little ones together to lead the services of His Church. We are bound to take good care that we do not put any offence in their way. But if we do take such care, then we may take home that most consoling of all the consoling promises of the Gospel, "Whosoever receiveth one of these little ones that believe in Me, receiveth Me."

The Rev. W. T. THORNHILL WEBBER, Vicar of St. John's,
Red Lion Square, Holborn.

I WILL not detain this meeting more than two or three minutes on the subject of the moral and spiritual training of Church choirs. And first let me urge that a clergyman who has the responsibility of a choir should, as far as possible, identify himself with the choir, remembering that their position in the Church is that of his assistants in conducting public worship, and that, therefore, he should be as careful of their demeanour as he is of his own. One thing to be watchfully guarded against is the tendency to utter even the most weighty words (*e.g.*, those of the General Confession and the Lord's Prayer) with a rapidity which is inconsistent with a due appreciation of their force and meaning. Then there is another point, which, as it appears to me, is of great importance. In London, and no doubt in other towns, and perhaps in the country too, choral celebrations of the Holy Communion are becoming more frequent, owing possibly to the fact that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has, within the last four

years, published a complete "Book of Common Prayer with Plain Song," being a reproduction of the music proper of the Holy Communion, Burial, and other offices, as revised by John Merbeck, under the direction of Cranmer, and an intelligent study of the liturgy makes it at once apparent that this mode of rendering the service is in thorough accord with the mind of the Church of England. A choral celebration implies the presence of a choir. But then comes the thought, is it right that young choir boys should utter those solemn words of the Confession—so far beyond their years? Is there not here great danger of *unreality*—a thing most to be guarded against in the spiritual training of Church choirs. My own practice on such occasions, if I may venture to allude to it, has been never to allow the boys to say the words of the Confession, which is said only by the men, who are all Communicants. In order to maintain a reverent tone it is highly important that the clergyman should himself attend, and if possible take part in, the practising of the choir. It is also very desirable that he should identify himself with the choir at their times of recreation. If I may venture once more to refer to my own parish, I should like to mention a plan which has been tried for the last fifteen years, and has worked well. It has been our custom to recognise the services of our choir—which is entirely voluntary—by taking the boys, and as many of the men as can get away, for ten days to the seaside. Our party has usually consisted of some five-and-twenty or eight-and-twenty in number. Yarmouth, Dovercourt, Folkestone, Hastings, St. Leonards-on-Sea, and Southsea, each in their turn, and some many times over, have been the scenes of these much-enjoyed excursions. Early rising, sea bathing, cricket, or a visit to some local place of interest, are more or less the order of each day. The lads are then at least perfectly unconventional; there is a natural flowing forth of their real selves, so that in the ten days of constant intercourse you can get to know more of your boys, and have a better opportunity of observing any tendencies which need checking, than you ever would under ordinary circumstances—to say nothing of the raising of tone and enlargement of ideas which, together with physical benefit, are the not unnatural effect of such an excursion. Thus, by identifying yourself with them in their recreation, you gain an insight into their characters and dispositions, which is of no slight value in the moral and spiritual training of a church choir. I entirely agree with Mr. Shuttleworth as to the desirability of athletics for hardly-worked choirs. May I, in conclusion, suggest that it would have been much more convenient had each of the two distinct subjects, which have been linked together for discussion this morning, had a separate session assigned to it; for I venture to submit that each is sufficiently important and interesting to have justified such an appropriation.

The Rev. A. W. N. DEACON.

I SHOULD not intrude myself at so late an hour, so much having been already said about choir boys, but that as an old choir-boy I feel very strongly about the careful religious influences which should be brought to bear upon them. A good deal has been said about the *dangers* which attach to belonging to a choir, but I am one of those who can speak about the benefits. For I am one of many in this country, sons of the poorer clergy, who if they had not had "a voice," as it is called, would not have received those benefits of a classical education which I so thankfully acknowledge as coming from a choral exhibitionership. I entered a choir at the age of nine, and had no thought of then becoming a member of the Ministry. I know well the benefits of belonging to a choir. I can look back to the time when I was a member of a college choir, and there were two of the choir-men

(theological students) to whom we were responsible, who were over us, who were our friends, who took care of us, and under God's blessing, I may say, that, under the influence of those two men, who were then laymen but who afterwards took Holy Orders, and one of the clergy, three of us who were boys in that choir are now in Holy Orders in the Church of England. I must say, speaking from my own experience, that the blessings of a choir may be much greater than its dangers. In the three parishes in which I have served, one of the greatest responsibilities which I have realised has been the personal knowledge which I have striven to gain of the character of every boy in my choir.

MUSEUM LECTURE HALL, WEDNESDAY MORNING,

SEPTEMBER 29TH.

The Venerable ARCHDEACON of OAKHAM took the Chair
at 10 o'clock.

PENITENTIARY WORK OF THE CHURCH.

PAPERS.

The Rev. J. P. F. DAVIDSON, Chaplain of the House of
Mercy, Fulham.

THE Penitentiary Work of the Church, in its general scope, is a wide subject, and covers a large area of important detail—historical, statistical, and suggestive.

I confine myself, in the present paper, mainly to the *principles of the work, viewed as a religious effort, on the part of the Church, to bring back the lost and fallen to her fold.*

It is useful in the history of any movement, from time to time, to recur to and examine its principles, the real nature of the end proposed, and the character of the means by which it is sought to compass that end. Specially does this hold good, at the present time, in respect of the movement or effort, with which we are concerned. For we may be said to have reached, or to be reaching, a new epoch in the history of Penitentiary Work. New interest seems to be awakening, on many sides, in a work long left to its own silent operation. New plans are being discussed; new associations are being formed. The greatness, and the importance, and the necessity of the work begin to be recognised. There is an influx of public interest into the question. There is almost a competition of rival schemes and suggestions. We seem to be rising from the torpor of a long night, and to be opening our eyes on the dawn of a new era of Penitentiary zeal.

At such a crisis, in this new phase of the movement, it is of the first importance to look to our principles, and to make sure of their soundness. The voice of wisdom, no less than that of religion, bids us calculate well the real nature of the work; its distinctive aims, and inherent difficulties, and the character of the forces requisite for its accomplishment. Let us not build our tower, without sitting down first to count the cost.

I propose, then, to consider, (I) first, what Penitentiary Work, strictly speaking, is; and (II), in the second place, to enquire how far the conditions of such work are being fulfilled in the efforts made or proposed in its behalf.

(I) And first: The Penitentiary Work of the Church must be distinguished carefully from mere benevolence to the fallen. It is not to be regarded in the light of a merely philanthropical movement.

Nor, again, is it a simply external effort, legal or social, for the remedy of the disorders of human life.

It is, of course, Benevolence: it has, too, of necessity, its outward aspects and its human machinery. But these are rather accompaniments of the work than the work itself. For when you face fully the problem of the recovery of fallen souls, you come across the great mystery of sin in its inner and deeper workings. It is not so much with the outward forms of misery, nor with social disturbance, that you have ultimately to deal. You find yourself in the presence of "a pestilence that walketh in darkness," whose very origin is wrapped in obscurity, and whose deadly poison baffles every human antidote. "We wrestle" (to use the forcible language of Scripture in this Penitentiary problem,) "not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers. . . against spiritual wickedness in high places."

The evil is a superhuman one, and can only be counteracted by a superhuman remedy. For (to carry on the Scriptural metaphor) the powers of spiritual evil are entrenched in a strong fortress. Human forces may carry an outwork here or there, human strategy gain an isolated or a transient advantage. But the Citadel itself remains inaccessible, except to Spiritual Power.

In other words, the mystery of sin can be met only by the Divine Grace of the Redeemer. There is no true healing for the wounds it has inflicted on Humanity, as they break out afresh in the ever-varying forms of evil, except at the hand of a Supernatural Healer.

Hence it is, ultimately and really, to the power of His Presence, as it abides in the supernatural order of His Church, and in the mystery of sacraments, that we must look for victory in the struggle with spiritual evil.

I would not here be supposed to undervalue human agency, or philanthropical efforts, but only to point out their insufficiency—the inadequacy of human effort to an end which is distinctly spiritual. Nor, again, in describing the work before us as a spiritual and a sacramental work, would I narrow unduly the range of meaning in these terms.

In the spiritual order there are "diversities of operations." Within the sacramental sphere there are "differences of

administrations"—all the powers of the manifold Grace of God working through the various means of Divine appointment. There is the mystery of the Word; the power of Prayer; the grace of Confession to burthened souls; the benefit of Absolution; the stay and guidance of godly counsel; the healing of the precious Body and Blood, prolonging and diffusing sacramentally, even to the end, the virtue, which went forth of old from the Sacred Humanity of Christ upon the sinful and the sorrowing, and "healed them all."

Consequently, there is no need to confine Penitentiary Work to one school of thought within the Church. The operations of grace, within the whole Mystical Body, under the One indwelling Spirit, are at least as diverse as the minds of men, and as the tendencies of thought. Even those merely philanthropic impulses, which lie outside the sphere of grace, may be pressed, with due wisdom, into its service, and should be secured as allies in the great struggle; not driven into hostile rivalry. But whatever the aid sought, or the special means employed, one great truth must be kept prominently forward by all who would recognise the real character and greatness of the work, viz., *this: It is spiritual evil with which we are engaged, and it must be confronted by spiritual forces.* There is no permanent remedy for the diseases of fallen souls, except in the supernatural healing of their Redeemer. The application to the deadly wound must be that of the Life-giving Humanity. Still is that old saying true—"The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." And, through the centuries, and on to the end, and even amid the deeper shadows of the advancing mystery of sin, the Church still seeks to descry the same Form—"One like unto the Son of Man in the midst of the seven candlesticks"—the ever-loving Healer of souls; and to listen for that Voice which through succeeding generations echoes on across this sin-wasted world;—"I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, and have the keys of hell and of death."

I have dwelt at some length on this point, and yet, perhaps, not longer than is necessary. For the current of modern thought sets strongly in the direction of a Christianity apart from the supernatural. There is a prevailing tendency, in every sphere of human life and progress, to appropriate with one hand the benefits of Christianity, and, with the other, to set aside the real sources of its power. "Now," says a recent writer in the *Contemporary Review*, "that moral injunctions are losing the authority given by their supposed (?) sacred origin, the secularisation of morals is becoming imperative." As with ethics, so it is with education—in the region of intellect as well as in that of morals. And when we pass from ethics and from education to the more distinctly spiritual sphere of Penitentiary Work, this same tendency is everywhere observable. The various schemes that are rife for the remedy of spiritual evil put forward indeed, for the most part, an ideal of Christian purity, and yet, at the same time, ignore the true sources of Christian regeneration in the powers of a supernatural life.

Such schemes must prove abortive, and short lived, if not altogether visionary. For they do not penetrate the real depths,

nor grasp the true dimensions of the evil. To quote the words of a learned Prelate, whose presence we greet at this Congress, the Bishop of Durham, on a kindred subject—"When the sources of life are cut off, the stream will cease to flow." "They have healed," to take up the complaint of the inspired prophet, when warning his age against the superficial cure of moral evil, "They have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people *slightly*, saying, peace, peace; when there is no peace."

(II) So far for the first point in our enquiry—the essentially spiritual character of real Penitentiary Work. I pass on to consider, briefly, in the next place, how far the conditions of such work are being fulfilled in our present Penitentiary efforts.

1. First, then: the work hitherto has been, to a great extent, the work of Sisterhoods—communities living a religious life, and carrying on this labour of love for Christ's sake, in the power of that life, unsparingly and without reward. May it long continue their work! For if the principles, above laid down, be sound, we are here at least on the right track, in moving along the lines of the religious life. There is here a systematic recognition of the powers of grace, and a continual resort, in sacraments and ministries of love, to that "Fountain of Life, which is open for sin and for uncleanness."

Much good work may be done, to a certain point, by other forms of associated life, such as (to mention one) "The Social Alliance for Purity." But such societies can never take the place of the religious life in dealing with the sins of fallen men and women. They may even prove deceptive, if they are allowed to divert attention from the real nature of the disorder; to present it to the eye only in its outward and social aspects; and to attempt to carry, with merely carnal weapons, the stronghold of the spiritual enemy. Happily the English Church is becoming alive to the value and blessing of the revival of her religious orders. The actual results achieved in Works of Mercy are commending them to her practical mind. And those who look deeper, or who are permitted to share in the inner movements of their revived life, are able to discern—in this higher form of more entire self-dedication, and in these nobler ventures of Faith—fresh tokens of the Power of the Cross, a fresh manifestation of the Spirit of God, and the impulse of a new and living force in the struggle with spiritual evil.

It is thought, I fear with some truth, that an inclination is manifesting itself in our religious communities to prefer other and more promising forms of spiritual work—such as education, or nursing, to strictly Penitentiary efforts. This, if so, cannot be too much regretted. Dreary, no doubt, oftentimes, and outwardly hopeless, is the toil of the labourer among the fallen. And yet, in no form of work can he follow more closely in the footsteps of "the Man of Sorrows," or co-operate so truly with the great purpose of His Mission, who "came to seek and to save that which was lost."

2. In principle, then, the religious community is the true instrument for Penitentiary Work. It represents and it concentrates a spiritual effort in behalf of a work which is distinctly spiritual.

But a second question arises: "How far is this instrument in full working order?"

And the answer to this question is not altogether an encouraging one. Time, however, forbids me to do more than indicate briefly its main deficiencies.

No Penitentiary Institution is really complete which has not, in direct connection with the House of Mercy proper, a preparatory House of Refuge, in which the destitute and the outcast may be received, who have not yet risen to the idea, or even the desire of Penitence. These are not fit subjects for strict Penitentiary discipline; but they may be made so.

Equally important, and yet more often deficient, is some kind of after-home, corresponding, to quote an obvious analogy, with the convalescent home in the hospital system.

Such a home, so to speak, of spiritual convalescence—affording, with a wise relaxation of outward restraint, the protection, for awhile, of a kind and watchful oversight—would break the too great suddenness of the transition to the full freedom of ordinary life, and prove the surest safeguard against relapse.

Nor, even so is the equipment of the House of Mercy perfect. It requires yet further, if its work is to be fully developed, its Order and Home of Magdalenes—those who, under a fixed religious rule, consecrate their after-lives to penitence and chastity, giving themselves henceforth, like Mary of Magdala, entirely to Him Who has cleansed them: at Whose Sacred Feet they would sit for ever.

There are natures so disordered by the ravages of sin, as absolutely to need the support of an external rule in their renewal to holiness. There are others, again, in whom the Spirit works such a conviction of the heinousness of past transgressions, that nothing can satisfy them short of a life altogether given to Him who has had mercy upon them. Can we deny to Penitence such as this its necessary sphere of exercise?

I touch upon one other point under this head: a greater elasticity—giving more scope for discrimination—is required in the *religious services of the House of Mercy*. For there, it should be remembered, the highest and the lowest levels of spiritual life are brought together in the closest contiguity—the pure-minded, devoted religious, and the poor outcast, whose life has been passed amid all the associations of sin and impurity. The holy offices of continual devotion, which are the very life of the one, are clearly not adapted to the wants of the other. There is danger in placing "strong meat" before those who are yet carnal: in forcing, rather than creating, habits of devotion. It would be well to utilize, in our Penitentiaries, the mission-type of service, with its more varied and elastic capabilities, at least in the earlier stages of the penitential life; to supply more the occasional stimulant as well as the necessary spiritual food; and to regulate, with more precision, the separate treatment of the sick and the whole, the weak and the strong, the carnal and the spiritual.

The distinction, indeed, is obvious. But it is not always acted upon.

3. Once more; there is a third question, and that one of vast importance in any enquiry into the progress of Penitentiary efforts.

I refer to its influence and effects on *men—fallen men*. Hitherto the fallen woman has been well-nigh the sole subject of Penitentiary treatment. How far has the work touched the stouter and harder, and, generally speaking, the greater transgressor—the man? Scarcely, it must be confessed, at all. The problem is indeed a difficult one. But one thing is abundantly clear. While our efforts leave untouched and out of account the greater sinner, and bear only upon the feeble and more frail, we are grappling but miserably with the great work before us.

Three points may be suggested in any advance towards the solution of this problem.

a. First: the moral sense of society, as to the sin of the man, must be enlightened and changed. What, in one of his thoughtful sermons, some years ago, Frederick Robertson wrote of the action of society in this respect, remains true in our own day. “It banishes the frail penitent, and does homage to the daring, hard transgressor.”

b. Secondly: much might be done by the more frequent use of special mission services for men, and the formation, as the result of such services, of permanent Guilds or Brotherhoods of Purity.

c. Thirdly: with less direct, perhaps, but with more permanent effect, let the doctrine of Scripture and of the Church—that the body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost—be more continually impressed upon the young, as a part of the religious training of the boy, until it becomes a very consciousness of his growing manhood, and he feels more and more that to defile the body is to defile the Temple of God.

To conclude: nothing can exceed the importance, not only to the Church, but to society at large, of this momentous work. Impurity is, no doubt, even more than Intemperance, the crying sin of the day. It is affecting all conditions of life. It penetrates all classes. It enters in, as those only know whose task it is to minister to its victims, where it is least suspected; blighting the lives of thousands, saddening many homes.

And there is no evil, humanly speaking, more irremediable: recovery from which it is so hard to test and to be sure of.

Too often even those who have been rescued from this shipwreck of life float back again into the ocean of sin, after all our efforts to save them, and are lost to sight. It remains only to pray that they may yet be landed on another portion of the shore, carried onward to it by some hidden force of grace; and be found, at length, at the Feet of the Deliverer.

The enterprise is indeed great; and the human effort often hopeless. But there resides, in the Church, a Supernatural Presence, whose grace is all-sufficient. “With God nothing shall be impossible.”

W. H. HEATON, Esq.

I STOP for a moment to notice briefly a preliminary objection that has been often made to Penitentiary work. People have said to me and I have many times heard of a similar remark having been made

to others) "I see no use in your compassing sea and land to make one penitent, when her place is sure to be filled up by another. From certain physical causes there is a specific demand for a particular number of victims, and that particular number there will always be, with very slight variations, whilst human nature is what it is." Of course, this opinion is sometimes given in coarser and more emphatic language, but the thing is the same.

I shall, by-and-bye, return to attack the proposition from a different point, but at present I meet it with the simple argument that this was not our Lord's view of the case. He did not refuse to rescue the adulteress from her fate and from her sin, lest another who was then innocent, should be compelled, by inexorable rule, to fall from virtue. He did not leave the Magdalene in her evil course for fear of her place being filled by one as yet unfallen. I wish to address a few words to those who have not, as yet, taken any decided interest in these matters, who have never thought out the subject for themselves, and have never realized the immense call for the work, the vast field that lies, rotten-ripe, before those who are trying to cope with the Herculean task.

A person who does realize all this, who sees how feeble is the machinery and how few the labourers, feels rather as a man would who might be standing on a rock jutting out into a torrent, and seeing multitudes of human beings drifting helplessly past, whilst he has only a short rope to throw to individuals, with which, if they grasp it and hold on, he may succeed in saving a few here and there. He hears the thunder of a fall below, and he knows that those who are hurried past, one after another, are going to their doom. He sees people walking about near him, who could help in his saving work, if only they would.

He calls to them and entreats them to come. One sad face after another is swept along out of reach of his rope, and the idlers on the bank have longer ones; but they are playing, skipping over their ropes and amusing themselves, and laughing at his energy, as he frantically works away with his own limited means, and saves all he can. Nay, many of the bystanders are even pushing each other over into the torrent, and thrusting back those who are struggling to land.

This is the position of Penitentiary Work. Many pass by on the other side; others hamper the work and find fault without supplying or even suggesting remedies.

Some make the work!!!

Still it goes on, for it is the Lord's work, and good results can be shewn.

The exact title of our subject is "Penitentiary Work of the Church," and therefore I have not considered myself at liberty to refer, except incidentally, to such institutions and societies as are not conducted under definite Church teaching. We have a society styled the "Church Penitentiary Association," of the Council of which I am a member; but it would be as unreasonable to limit our conception of "Church Penitentiary Work" to that under the auspices of the Church Penitentiary Association, as to suppose that all the missionary work of the Church is done by the "Church Missionary Society." Still, the Church Penitentiary Association is the only

association of Penitentiaries within the Church, and it must therefore be the centrepiece in any sketch of what is going on in this work of rescuing, reforming, and replacing in a virtuous state of life those women and girls who have fallen from chastity.

There are now in union with the Church Penitentiary Association 25 Penitentiaries, with accommodation for penitents varying from 96 at Bovey Tracey to 12 at Salisbury; 567 have passed out from these Homes during 1879, of whom 288 are reported as being "favourable" cases.

The aggregate accommodation is 897, and there were 837 in residence on January 1st of the present year. Some even of these 288 favourable cases do not continue steadfast; and of the 279 "doubtful" and unfavourable ones many come back again and again, only to fall away as often. Most Penitentiaries have a wise rule not to admit into their own establishment a girl who has once been there and has fallen away. They send such cases to other Homes, when they will take them, both for the purpose of trying the effect of a different set of workers and new scenes, and also because the return, to her quondam companions, of a former inmate who has lapsed, is likely to unsettle the others.

Besides these "Penitentiaries proper," there are 13 "Refuges" or places of temporary shelter; 752 have passed through these during 1879, of whom only 199 were sent to one or other of the 25 Penitentiaries above mentioned. This shews that the actual rescue work done under the auspices of the "Church Penitentiary Association" is much larger than the Penitentiaries can deal with.

One especially (that in Great College-street, Westminster) which acts as a feeder to the large Penitentiary in Highgate, has rescued no less than 251 in the year. Only 84 of these went to Highgate and to other Homes in union with the Church Penitentiary Association, so that 167 remain to be accounted for. Some of these were probably preventive cases, of girls in danger who were restored to their friends, or provided with employment somewhere, but a large number must have been sent to houses outside the organization of the Church Penitentiary Association.

The same thing occurs at Aldershot, Southsea, and Gosport, all Refuges supplying St. Thomas' Home at Basingstoke; 97 cases have passed through, only 34 of which went to St. Thomas' Home and other houses in union with the Church Penitentiary Association, leaving 63, out of which about 20 were preventive cases, the residue being sent to various isolated "Homes" in London, Portsmouth, Brighton, and elsewhere, especially the Magdalen Hospital at Streatham, which receives many of them.

And now as to the work itself. Much difference of opinion exists as to the best methods, the best machinery, the best people for workers. Some of the most experienced Penitentiary authorities, notably those of the "Rescue Society," deprecate any seeking out the fallen by special agents. They say "It is much better for young women to find themselves compelled to seek the shelter of a "Home" than for them to be sought out and persuaded to enter." Very many societies, however, preface their reformatory work with a literal following of our Lord's example as the "Good Shepherd," and go

out into the streets and lanes to seek out the lost sheep. Such a work, under the name of the "Church Mission to the Fallen," has just been started, which, though not a definite branch of the Church Penitentiary Association, is to a certain extent, under its eyes. I hope to hear more of this society from one of those who will succeed me, and will not, therefore, say any more about it. Many a fallen girl may be saved after the first slip by such seeking out, before she gets hardened and brazen. Such an one has seldom the courage to go herself to a "Home" or a "Refuge," while shame still has power; though she would, for the same reason, be all the more accessible to influence brought directly to bear upon her in a gentle Christlike way.

Having caught and brought home the wandering sheep, what should be the next step? Here, again, are at least two courses. Some prefer keeping her for some time in a "Refuge" to test her steadfastness, before sending her off to a permanent Penitentiary. Others think it best to get her away, as soon as possible, from the scenes of her sinful life and the neighbourhood of her evil companions. These advocate the use of "Refuges" merely as receiving houses, with a well organized system of sending the penitents off as soon as a vacancy can be found in some suitable Penitentiary.

The Refuge Matron should be a woman of some education, and of much tact, who can and will discriminate, in her choice of a "Home" for a freshly rescued girl, between those best suited to the case, and those which, however good in their way, are not, from some special feature, the best for that particular person. Most need some speciality in their training, and much harm is often done by applying a Procrustean system to all, whereby some are driven to leave, either clandestinely, or openly (for we have to remember that we have no legal power to detain them against their will), ever after to act as hindrances in the path of others, who might have been induced to leave their sin, but for the stories of the miseries of Penitentiary life, circulated by these deserters, of course twisted and coloured into something very different from the reality.

Others are, by such unbending treatment, converted into finished hypocrites, and others of weak intellect are turned into sly half idiots. I believe that nothing is more necessary for the successful working of a Penitentiary than classification, first into groups, and then into individuals. Better take in hand a few only, and give time to each girl, study her and adapt the training to her peculiarities, than herd together large numbers of such women, who have, for the most part, but a faint spark of real repentance, and attempt to grind them all in one mill of rules, work, religious observances, and supervision. Of course, the difference should be more real than apparent, and a certain amount of uniformity is necessary to keep order. It is more in what seem to be "little things" that the discrimination should be used.

There is one point on which I must touch, relating to the machinery of the work. I mean, as to the best people to be employed in the superintendence and general guidance of the inner life of the Penitentiaries. I think nearly everybody agrees that

women are the best to deal directly with women, under such circumstances as we are considering.

It is only by the loving, sisterly ministrations of their own sex that fallen women can be raised to a new life of purity. The general supervision and ghostly advice of a clergyman is useful, and even necessary, that he may be referred to in all difficult matters, and may give the weight of his experience and authority to the female workers; but the intimate, daily and hourly, contact with these poor creatures can only be carried on by women. I do not think that any very young women should be engaged in work of this sort. Till their minds have been well formed, and before experience of life and a steady walk in their Master's footprints on the shore have given them fixity of purpose and a calm deliberation, they should not venture on these stormy waters, where they may often do as much harm, both to themselves and others, as would outweigh any possible good that they might achieve. The Church Penitentiary Association goes a point beyond requiring that the workers shall be women, and says that, in Homes in union with the association, the chief part of the work must be carried on by "self-devoted women." Pray mark that the word "sister" (which is supposed by some to smack of party) is not anywhere mentioned in the rules of the association. The term "self-devoted woman" is used in its broadest sense. Some of them, no doubt, are "sisters," and noble, unselfish, Christ-like work has been, and is, done by them in this cause; but many of those who are styled "self-devoted women" in the returns of the Church Penitentiary Association are in no technical sense "sisters," but act individually, with no vows, no community life, no distinctive dress. In some of the "Homes" in union with the "Church Penitentiary Association," the ladies who do the work not only are unpaid, but pay largely in aid of the institution they conduct. At Clewer, in 1879, the sisters and helpers paid £725—at Horbury, £300—at Maplestead, £88—Bovey Tracey, £140—Bussage, £176, &c., &c.

In many Penitentiaries unconnected with the "Church Penitentiary Association" paid matrons are entirely employed, under the control of a committee. In others the work is all done by sisters.

It is difficult to judge between the various systems, and impossible, in this short paper, even to touch the fringe of an argument on the subject. There is more than ample work for all existing agencies, and all possible help must be welcomed, even if some of us dislike the special methods of this or that worker, or band of workers.

In my judgment, the system aimed at in the Winchester Diocese is one of the best and most comprehensive with which I am myself acquainted. The Diocesan Home, situated at Basingstoke, is called "St. Thomas' Home for the Friendless and Fallen," and every effort is made to suit the work to the name. The area of work includes all the County of Surrey which was in the old Diocese of Winchester. There are, at present, "Refuges" at Southsea (for Portsmouth), at Gosport, and at Aldershot, and others are contemplated at Southampton, Winchester, and Guildford. These Refuges are each in charge of a matron, with a branch committee and a section of a "Ladies' Association," which has correspondence with

"Homes," Hospitals, Orphanages, and other institutions in all parts of the kingdom. The applicant for admission has her case carefully sifted and gone into, and is then sent, as soon as possible, to the place deemed most suitable. Many who come to the Refuge are brought in by the matron herself, many by the "special police" of these garrison towns. Some of them are poor homeless girls who have not fallen, and many of this class are restored to their friends or placed in situations. Of the fallen, those whose cases admit of it are sent, if there is room, to the Central Home, where there is an assemblage of detached cottages, each with its own garden and offices ; and in charge of every cottage is a lady specially devoted to the work, who, with the usual help of an associate, takes the entire charge of eleven or twelve girls, who make that cottage their home. Here also they do their needlework, receive their school teaching, and have their own gardens, only leaving the cottage and its grounds for the chapel, for work in the laundry, or for a walk in the general grounds of the Home. There are at present four of these cottages; and there will eventually be at least seven; in which classification can be thoroughly carried out. It is intended to try to work the Diocese thoroughly in every way; in rescuing not only the fallen, but the friendless who are in danger of falling; to arrange for separate treatment of the very young cases, who form one of the saddest, and by no means the most hopeful of the various phases of Penitentiary Work; and also of those who are of what may be called the higher class, the more refined, who can seldom, if ever, be induced to stay in a "Home" where they are mixed with their coarser sisters in vice. Both of these classes require special and separate treatment, as is applied in the first case at Miss Cotton's "Children's Home" at Leytonstone, and in the second at St. James' Home, Fulham. It is also intended to try to save the little innocent children of these outcasts, and the Ladies' Association has already opened a small Home about fifteen miles from Portsmouth for this purpose. Measures of "Prevention" are also employed, including warnings addressed to those who have not as yet understood the subject of the many ways in which employers of servants can assist the cause of purity, and can help to save from a first fall those who supply the greatest numbers to the Penitentiaries. (Out of 274 received into the various "Homes" of the "Rescue Society" during 1879, 221 had been domestic servants.) All this will of course require a vast machinery, and will take time to evolve, and also much money. But a bold scheme, with many earnest and willing hearts to follow it up, with faith and steady prayer, is sure to succeed in God's own time. I only wish that an equally comprehensive plan, with additions and improvements, could be started in every Diocese in England.

The main effort of my paper is to urge greater organization, not only in individual Penitentiaries, but in the work, as a whole, throughout the kingdom. We have, I hope, nearly passed the period of hushing up the whole subject; shaking our heads and saying that it is very shocking, but that it must not be spoken about, even with the best motives and for purely curative purposes. I cannot think that England is to be made purer by the plan of

ignoring the crime itself; of visiting in a sort of backhanded way one class of sinners with entire banishment from social life, and not permitting any allusion to its existence, whilst an equally (at least equally) guilty class is allowed, on condition of leaving the dirty shoes outside the door, to enter society of any grade, and to sin as much as it likes, as long as it does not flaunt its crimes too openly before friends and relations. Surely, for the country and for the world at large, the true plan is to grapple with this disease and try to cast it out; and the best means of doing so cannot be considered and determined on, whilst the whole subject has to be spoken of with whispering and in secret, as if Penitentiary Workers were dangerous conspirators, plotting the downfall of the Constitution.

If we could only get out of these fetters that hamper us, far better means of working on some sort of system and general organization might be elaborated, and there need not be so much waste of power as there is at present. Now that our Dioceses are enlarging and perfecting their central societies, I could have hoped to have seen this Penitentiary Work taking its place amongst the recognized departments of Church machinery. The Bishop's direct countenance and interest would act (as it does where it is exercised) both as a spur and as a wholesome check on the method and spirit of the work. To obviate the inevitable little jealousy in the case of two or more claimants for the title of "Diocesan Penitentiary," I would suggest that all those should bear the name which have the approval of the Bishop, guided in his decision by a Diocesan Penitentiary Board, under the scope of which might also be ranged all Reformatories which are willing to be enrolled, subject of course to the Bishop's approval.

There are at present a great many Penitentiaries which are entirely under Church teaching and management, but which, from one reason or another, either will not or cannot be united to the "Church Penitentiary Association." These might all combine under a Diocesan system which would permit to them as much freedom of action as is now allowed to, or at least acted on by the individual Parochial Clergy in nearly all Dioceses. It seems to be impossible to unite all Church Penitentiaries under the banner and on the platform of the Church Penitentiary Association.

Whatever we may think ought to be the Church's theory with regard to uniformity of system, we cannot, in any field of work, reduce such theory to practice; and I hold that the wisest plan is to make the best use we can of realities, and be content if we can collect parties of Penitentiary workers who differ—less or more—in opinion as to methods and machinery, under one centre as to absolute essentials, leaving each band free to pursue its own way in details. Such a link as I propose, whilst it need not gall, might be very useful in assisting the individual Penitentiaries to exchange ideas, to pass penitents from one to another, and generally to do amongst themselves what we are doing here, rubbing off our angles and excrescences by brotherly fellowship and good humoured debate, trying to find out our individual mistakes in the light of the opinions of others.

At present, many Penitentiaries, even of the distinct Church

type—take counties or towns as their area, rather than Dioceses or Archdeaconries, and this might at first cause some little complication in starting such a plan as I have proposed. But so few counties have any large portion of their area in more than one Diocese, that I think this difficulty would soon be got over.

I have not time to enter into the question of industrial employment in Penitentiaries further than to remark that laundry work is almost the universal staple, chiefly for three reasons. (1.) It is hard work, which is an advantage; the old adage about "idle hands" applying with tenfold force in this case. (2.) It is simple work, easily taught, and easy to supervise, and there is a constant demand for it. (3) It is fairly paying work, and all who have had to help in raising funds know but too well that such a qualification cannot be neglected. This staple work is usually supplemented by needlework for those whose health will not stand the wash tub, and in a few places by other employments. There is a great field here for invention and experiment, and many have cast their eyes round to find other useful occupations, notably Admiral Ryder, who has taken much pains to obtain information on this head with many others, and who, if he were not detained by professional duties, would certainly have been on this platform to-day. Next as to the disposal of the penitents. The usual plan in the Homes in union with the Church Penitentiary Association is to keep them for an average of two years. Some make this rule absolute, whilst others vary it to suit each case. There is reason to be shewn for both plans. It is said by those who are rigid that this is the shortest time in which any progress can be made with religious training, and in which the frequent hankering after the old wild life can be overcome. I have also heard that much jealousy and consequent uneasiness is often excited by sending a girl away out of her turn. But this last difficulty can be obviated by regular classification in the "Home," placing together those who, after a time in the Probationer's ward or cottage, seem most likely to be fit for the world in a comparatively short time, either from having been only novices in their vicious life, or from shewing signs of a mild and teachable disposition. I should like to mention one other point connected with Penitentiary Work proper; but it would take a whole paper to go into it thoroughly. I mean the question of the disposal of those penitents, who, after passing the usual two years in the Penitentiary, are either themselves afraid to go out into domestic service or other ordinary employment, or for whom the authorities have like fears. If they are kept on indefinitely they will gradually clog the machinery of the Home and will obliterate its Penitentiary character. There will often be such cases, from causes into which I have no time to enter; and nearly all workers confess to feeling some embarrassment in dealing with them.

In some Homes a class of "Permanent Magdalenes" is formed, and whenever this has been done, great satisfaction is expressed with the result of the experiment.

But even this plan will lead, in time, to a block further on, and therefore there is an increasing cry for "Intermediate Homes," for some method of keeping up the training and supervision in a

modified degree, and making the labour of the inmates more self-supporting than in Penitentiaries. At Reading a "Nursing Home" has been started, but after a year's work the report is only "fairly satisfactory." There is a large field of labour in this direction which has been hardly touched as yet; but the increasing interest in the whole subject gives hope of progress before very long.

I cannot sit down without using the few moments that remain to me, for an earnest appeal to all who are here to try if you cannot do something to prevent some of this sin and misery with which Penitentiaries have to deal. It always puzzles me to find that so many really good people who are zealous in the work of Cure, do not seem much interested in that of Prevention, or to look upon it as a practical matter. Surely the placing of life-boats on our coasts would not be thought enough to do for the saving of life at sea, so long as no lighthouse warned the seaman off the rocks, no buoy marked the safe channel. I entreat you, in the Redeemer's name, to do all you can to help in preserving the virtue of those who, in the present state of society, find it hard to keep it untainted. In the first place, support, as a fundamental article of your creed, the proposition that purity is as necessary and as possible for a man as for a woman; that impurity is as vile, as worthy of scorn and ostracism in one, as in the other sex. If you fully accept, realise, and act upon this, as an incontrovertible axiom, you will become, you cannot help yourself, an active worker in the cause of purity. If you treat men who are known to be impure in the same manner as if they were impure women, you will help to make purity fashionable. In the next place try to realise that Womanhood is one. "Common humanity" is an accepted term, and an outrage upon it is considered to be a public crime. On the same reasoning there is a "Common womanhood," and anyone who sullies the purity of that womanhood in one of its members, insults the womanhood of our own mothers! wives! sisters! daughters!

Take every care you can to shield that womanhood from any cloud of shame.

Teach your sons, when they are of sufficient age to understand and require such teaching, that it is base and unmanly, as well as unchristian, to do anything to stain a woman's purity, or even to help to keep one in impurity; that, further, it is disgraceful for him to lose his own chastity; and that, if he should lose it, he will not be fit company for his own mother or sisters till he has recovered it whence alone it can be restored to him, at the fountain of his Saviour's blood. Show the immoral man that, whilst he is impenitent, you will have no fellowship with him; and do not insult the purity of womanhood by in any way conniving at his being received into decent society.

I believe that very much more, and more efficient, help can be done by prevention, than by the sadly insufficient means of cure possible to us. I believe that such work is not only possible but easy, if men and women would but address themselves to it in earnest. The latter could do much by abstaining from reading (aye and from writing) the dirty trash that abounds in so many modern novels;

by more carefully choosing their company, and at once leaving the table or the ball room of even a duchess, when they are aware of a well-known profligate being amongst the guests.

I do not say "drop Penitentiary Work." I fear that long years must pass before enough people take up the work of prevention to seriously stop the flood of impurity that casts up so many sad wrecks on the shores of the Penitentiaries. But I say "take up the other as well." Do not trust to picking up the battered shards at the foot of the cataract, and laboriously piecing them together, instead of trying to help the gallant ship to safety above the fatal rapids. All can do something in this cause. When you have once felt the urgency of the matter you will not be able to give it up. There is a call to you all to come and help; and, if you reject this call, and turn from the cry of the ruined and the helpless; if you say "it is not my business," think well how you will be able to answer to the Almighty Judge before the Great White Throne.

Miss ELLICE HOPKINS, of Brighton.

(This paper was read by the Rev. J. A. Faithfull, one of the Secretaries.)

BEFORE proceeding to the subject of this paper—The Best Reformatory Methods for Girls—I should like to make a few preliminary remarks on the class to which it throughout refers. Those who have no personal knowledge of this class, I suppose, take their idea of it very much from the Bible, and the "strange woman," drawn in one place as a vicious married woman, and always as a woman who has reached responsible years, and takes of her own free will to a profligate life. That there are many such vicious women in England now, as in Palestine then, it would be as idle to deny as to deny the existence of correspondingly vicious men. Only they are not the class, as a rule, that our Penitentiaries have to deal with. The rank and file of those who pass through our Penitentiaries are for the most part very young girls, sometimes mere children in years, generally the victims of the bad conditions presented by our large overcrowded towns—conditions which would not exist in the simpler civilization of ancient society in the East; girls whose original fault has been nothing greater than the unruliness, the idleness, the silly, birdlike vanity, and the reckless love of fun, that we sometimes have to contend with in our own girls, during the difficult age of fifteen to seventeen; faults which in them, sheltered by society and the protecting care we are able to throw round them, lead to no permanently evil result; but in those others too often precipitate them down that fearful moral precipice which ever skirts their path. Add to these a certain number of victims of love basely betrayed, and I think my audience will agree with me that it is the standing disgrace of the Church that these masses of young girls should be in a great measure practically abandoned in the midst of our Christian civilization, the vile haunts where they herd as a rule unvisited, and no systematic Christian influence brought to bear upon them. And may I not add that, for any mother of carefully shielded girls to turn against these

poor degraded children, who might have been as pure and unspotted as her own had they had the same social advantages—for any mother to feel anything but a Divine compassion for them, and gladly to give a thank-offering for her own girls to any good training Home that will, perchance, undo the grievous harm that has befallen them, seems to me to be false to both the compassionate motherhood God has implanted within us, and to the womanhood He has consecrated to the highest uses by the fact of the Incarnation.

Let us, therefore, now consider the best methods of dealing with those, who wish to give up their evil life, and who voluntarily give themselves up to us for moral training and reclamation. I think it is John Stuart Mill who says that the first step towards mastering any subject is thoroughly to understand its difficulties. I am quite sure it is the first step in Penitentiary Work; and it is because we have given so little loving, thoughtful, anxious attention to its difficulties that the Penitentiary Work of England has gone into so many wrong and hopeless channels. If, therefore, I dwell upon the difficulties of the work, it is not with an intention of discouraging. I do not consider that Penitentiary Work, rightly conducted, is discouraging. From sixty to seventy out of every hundred turn out well in any Home managed on the right methods; and I would ask, what Mission service, what temperance club of newly reclaimed drunkards, can show better results? I dwell upon the difficulties simply as the shaping influence that must ultimately give the best form to the work, and with a hope of getting it to take the "line of least resistance," which is the line of both life and love.

I. I begin, therefore, with the fundamental difficulty of all; that of having to put bad girls together, and especially bad girls of a class. This I believe to be an insuperable difficulty; and lying as it does at the base of all Penitentiary Work, I can only suppose that God does not mean us to cure the result of this social cancer too easily, but to drive us to make it our main effort to strike at its roots. To realise the full force of this difficulty, I would only ask my audience to transfer some of our present methods for impure girls to impure boys, remembering that "one touch of nature makes them kin." Would it occur to any one out of Bedlam to shut up some 70 to 100 impure boys together, to refuse them athletic play, to forbid their ever walking out, and then at night shut them up in an unsupervised dormitory, for the most corrupt to infect at his leisure the less experienced in vice? Yet these are the methods which actually obtain at some of our existing Penitentiaries for girls; and that any girl turns out well, under a system which would fairly kill off what little remained of the moral nature of any bad boy, I think speaks volumes for the inherent tendency towards purity in a girl's nature. The difficulty itself I believe, as I have said, to be insuperable; no form of boarding out is possible without spreading the very corruption we want to cure. All we can do is to keep it ever carefully in our thoughts and neutralise it as far as possible. Once realised to the full, the "barrack system" at least stands utterly condemned. To pile 70 to 100 bad girls together, however supervised by sisters or matrons, is, and must be, a radical mistake, and must lead to a certain amount of moral miasma. It is said "there is safety in

numbers." There is no safety in *corrupt* numbers. The cottage system in some form must be the form of future Penitentiary Work. Small numbers—twenty at the very outside, I should prefer twelve—under one matron, exerting the strong individual influence only possible in small numbers, and admitting of careful classification when there is more than one cottage, the whole made as bright and homelike as possible—this I would urge with the utmost earnestness as a *first principle* in Penitentiary Work, the only way I can think of for neutralising the fundamental evil of putting bad girls of the same class together. Of course I shall be met with the difficulty of expense. I think in a Diocesan Cottage Penitentiary like St. Thomas', Basingstoke—which I should like to see established in every one of our thirty-two dioceses—this might be lessened by a common kitchen, the dinners being sent in on the restaurant plan abroad. But anyhow, I would urge that good work must be cheapest in the end. Let us remember that we incur the frightful responsibility of sending these girls into private families, and as we would not have at the Last Day to face young boys led astray, or young servant-girls corrupted, by our half-done or wholly undone work, let us adopt the system which commends itself to our common sense as the right and most thorough. The plan of the London Cottage Home, built on the Albion-hill Home ground, can be had on application to Hatchards, Piccadilly. On the whole, I prefer it to the Basingstoke cottages; and it holds one more and costs £75 less—the cost of the building being £825.

II. This leads me on to the second crucial difficulty in Penitentiary work—the *dormitories*. By every law of association, by every fact of memory, it is in the dormitories we have to fight our hardest battle for these girls' souls. But here again the difficulty, once fairly faced, will, I think, shape out one answer, and *one only*. On the one hand you have to keep them from corrupting one another; on the other you have to build up those outworks of decency and modesty and privacy which have been so awfully broken down. If you have a supervision window from the matron's or sisters' room, and the light burning all night, this involves your having no curtains of any kind to intercept the view, and you fail to train them in those habits of niceness and privacy which, essentially indecent as many of them are at first, are especially needed. On the other hand, if with this view you have curtains, your supervision window is of no use; and ignorance is emphatically bliss as to what goes on behind those curtains. There is but one plan for meeting both difficulties, either separate bedrooms, or, when this is impossible, cubicles, the varnished deal partitions running up from 7ft. to 8ft. Each little bedroom should have its own washing-stand, and should be made as bright and neat and natty as possible, so as to inspire the girl with a love for a bright, neat, clean bedroom. To those who entertain a sentimental objection to slipping an outside bolt at night—I say sentimental because in case of fire the partition could be scaled with no great difficulty—I would suggest rolling doors, with the noise they make in opening as a substitute for the bolt. Anyhow, I would urge *careful dormitory arrangements* as a crucial point in Penitentiary Work. Cut off the sources of corruption, and the

young life is like a stream that soon runs itself clear, especially when, as in the case of these girls, the sin is one rather of bad conditions than deliberate choice of will. But leave a source of corruption in full play, as it must be in some of those terrible unsupervised dormitories I have visited, and your stream remains foul to the last, when you deliberately turn it like an open drain into a private house to spread moral pestilence among the young. For their sake, I cry, be careful about the dormitory arrangements, if you put bad girls together.

III. I come now to the third great crucial difficulty—work, and how to form a love for it. First, as to the nature of the work. It should not be too sedentary at first, except where the health is broken down. There is a good deal of moral evil that may be worked off by physical exertion; and any work that allows of much thinking, till the thoughts have had time to run clear, is to be avoided. Laundry work is, on the whole, the best and the most profitable; but, in every training Home worthy the name, needlework should also be carefully taught, since on a girl being a good needlewoman mostly depends her getting a good situation, in itself the greatest safeguard for her future life. In a cottage penitentiary, such as St. Thomas's, Basingstoke, I suppose common laundry premises are indispensable. In this case the utmost vigilance must be exerted that they do not indulge in corrupt communications. Absolute silence is too great a strain to put on them, and only leads to that turning the mind inward which is so much to be deprecated on more counts than one. But I regret that in my *Notes on Penitentiary Work** I have recommended the plan adopted at the Albion-hill Home, of the girls washing face to face, as I am now convinced that it gives peculiar facilities for "corrupt communications." The girls of a cottage should work as much as possible in blocks, the washtubs down one wall being appropriated to one cottage, and the girls kept as separate as possible. It is in the washhouse where the most harm is generally done, and where the greatest vigilance must be used, the greater skill needed for ironing and folding requiring more attention, and leaving the thoughts and tongue less at leisure.

But how to form a real love of work is possibly a still greater difficulty. Laziness has got into these poor children's bones, unless they have providentially been rescued at once after their first few weeks. Only those who have visited them in the vile haunts where they herd, seen them lolling over their breakfasts at eleven and twelve o'clock in the morning, and doing literally nothing all day but drink and gossip,—only they can realise the terrible effort that hard work must cost them at first. Yet on our being able to form steady habits of industry depends the whole success of our reformatory work. The rough old fable that represents the devil fishing for men with all sorts of cunningly contrived baits, till he came to the idle man, who gave him no trouble, as he bolted the naked hook, is only too true. "The devil tempts men, but the idle man tempts

* *Notes on Penitentiary Work*, price 6d. Hatchard.

the devil," as the old saying has it. Surely, therefore, the right plan is that which Elizabeth Fry adopted with her Newgate prisoners—namely, to give them a personal incentive to work hard, a personal interest in the fruits of their work. Yet, I only know one Penitentiary, in Bristol, that recognises this principle. In this Penitentiary the girls are divided into three classes, according to the work they are able to turn out, exactly as we should do in book-learning. The third-class is considered as simply learning, and receives nothing; but the second and first-class receive proportionately a certain drawback from their earnings, which is put by for the girl's outfit. If a girl is idle or behaves badly, she is, of course, put back into the third-class, and for a time forfeits her earnings and knows that her outfit will suffer for it. The girl is accordingly trained to habits of industry, as life, or, in other words, God trains us all, teaching us that as we sow we reap, and that if we won't work we can't have. My only objection to the Bristol plan lies in their requiring a girl to stay two years, whether she is fit for service or not, as in less than that time the "drawback" would not amount to sufficient to procure a good outfit. Of this I feel sure, that the atmosphere of a Penitentiary can never be made so wholesome at best, as to justify us keeping a girl in it a month longer than is needful. It is always better to be able to tell a girl that she makes her own time, and that she will be sent out the moment she can be trusted, rather than have a fixed time, for which, whatever her behaviour, she must stay. But this difficulty can easily be avoided. Should a girl have behaved invariably well, and learnt all she could at the end of the year, the rest of the money needed for her outfit might be a free gift to her, and would come then as a good-conduct prize which she had fairly earned. But in whatever way it is carried out, I am quite sure that the principle of giving a girl a direct and personal interest in her work is of the utmost importance as an incentive to industry.

IV. I now pass to a fourth crucial point, the neglect of which in many Penitentiaries shows the little loving thought and care we have given to these poor girls' difficulties. Mrs. Murray Vicars, who has done so much to give what I may term a wholesome tone to Penitentiary Work, has nowhere shown her motherly good sense more strongly in dealing with these girls than in insisting on their having a good play once in the day at least—not "quiet games," which Canon Butler (of Wantage) insists on as alone desirable, but good athletic play, calling the whole body into exercise. Let us reflect for one moment that these girls come to us fresh from the wild licence of the streets; that they are often physically deranged, their derangement showing itself in wild fits of demoniac passion; that they are subject to intense fits of depression, partly real, partly hysterical; and that the bare restraint of regular employment is terrible at first; and I think we shall allow that they have a very steep path to climb just at first. Then, in the name of all that is merciful and tender, let us make it as easy as we can for them. We all know the help young men find in athletics; why refuse the same help to these girls? Many a poor child who has been driven to desperation by the grind of monotonous toil, broken only by religious

services, and who, after various outbursts, has given up in despair, might have been saved if she had been allowed to take a skipping-rope and skip off her fit of depression or temptation in the sunshine. Alas! that those painfully grown-up bodies, committees, should have no knowledge of rope except for cording and hanging purposes. Swings, skipping-ropes, and, I should suggest, a "giant's stride" now used in the gymnastics of all our young ladies' schools, will be found invaluable adjuncts in helping these wild girls to overcome themselves and slay the hydra within that their past life has let loose. I know no more ghastly story than that which was told me by a clergyman who heard it from the chaplain of the Penitentiary where it occurred—a Penitentiary on the severe ecclesiastical system, with long hours of silence and frequent services and no play. A girl escaped one bitter winter night with nothing on but her night-dress. They traced her by the print of her bare feet in the snow to the middle of a field, and there by the foot-prints they could see she had danced a wild saraband of ecstasy at having escaped from our tender Christian care! Those naked feet dancing in the midnight snow represent the tortures that good religious women inflict on these wild girls by their want of the divine sympathy of Jesus which would lead them to adapt their methods to their infirmities. And in connection with this let me express my thankfulness that the old, unnatural system of shutting up these girls for two whole years, often without even a fair-sized garden belonging to the institution, and then, with one fell push, launching them into the liberty of their first situation—a liberty which, from the very intoxication of it, is too apt to be abused—is slowly but steadily dying out. Surely it stands condemned by our common sense alone. But why treat these poor children as sinners above all sinners, when, for the most part, they are victims of bad conditions? Why should they not be allowed to walk out into the country on summer evenings with their cottage mother, and come home with their hands full of wild-flowers? Is it impossible for us to treat these poor girls naturally, as we should any other sinners who have sought the Father's face, with the cry, "I have sinned?" Impurity, of all sins, as I have said elsewhere in my *Notes on Penitentiary Work*, pre-eminently needs an element of healthy forgetfulness; morbid dwelling on it, even for repentance, only brands it in; to think of it is more or less to commit it; our two watchwords in dealing with it must be—"Forgetting those things that are behind, press forward," and "Empty by filling." Give the mind healthy interests, higher objects, and harmless diversions, and, as the pure flows in, the impure will flow out. What these wild girls need is no elaborate ecclesiastical system and ascetic discipline as so-called "penitents," but just a wholesome, bright, natural life, with as much as may be of the home and the mother in it, with the strict discipline of a well-ordered family, but also those elements of brightness and change which will associate the good life in their minds with those two charming old Bible words, "peace and pleasantness," and with strong, quiet, deep religious teaching inspiring a hearty shame and sorrow for the past, and making them especially realise

the sanctity of the body as the temple of the Holy Ghost and the instrument of God's service.

V. This leads me on to my fifth point, which, however, is only a suggestion. Could we not secure some more softening and sanctifying influences in our Homes, and make them a little less hard and dry than they are apt to be? When the Penitentiary or training home, as I should prefer to call it, is built in the outskirts of a town, and in good fresh air, as it ought to be, would it not be possible to take in a sickly or convalescent child, from two to five years, and give the girls something a little tenderer than the wash-tub to spend their women's hearts on? I need not say that the child must be the child of decent married folk: it would be quite too young to understand evil, while the good food and pure air might be a great boon to a back-street little one, and I believe the fresh babble of the child's voice, the blessed child eyes that never mirror back our shame, and all the unconscious purity of a little child, and sense of trust towards it, would do more than anything to improve what I have called the atmosphere of a Penitentiary, and to call back the lost womanly nature to its inmates. "The mistress's baby do make me forget such a lot," as a poor girl exclaimed in one of our large London workhouses.

VI. I have purposely said nothing of religious teaching, because, with all its supreme importance, I feel that it must be given according to the individual conviction. I would only plead that the services should be short and hearty, and not so many of them as to interfere with the formation of regular habits of industry.

VII. The best constitution for a training Home is undoubtedly a lady-superintendent and a committee of gentlemen, to look into the accounts and to be a guarantee to the public that the funds are rightly disposed of, as well as to give counsel when counsel is required. But if a suitable lady-superintendent is not to be found, and a ladies' committee becomes a necessity, then one member should be appointed for a certain period, to whom the matron would be responsible, and who would see the girls individually and admit fresh cases, and so avoid the harassing interference of the whole committee with the matron, a source of great weakness in many Homes, and also the fresh comer having to appear before the committee and have the shame of her past life raked out before them all, a most indecent procedure to my way of thinking, and scarcely a first lesson in modesty. Where the Penitentiary belongs to a Sisterhood, these difficulties are avoided. My only fear would be then, that having given up home life, and living very much by rule, the training of Sisters is scarcely one that adapts them for dealing with these wild girls, and supplying the elements of a mother and a home, which are what they want.

In conclusion, it is impossible for me to make these brief and imperfect suggestions on Penitentiary Work without an emphatic protest as to the utter inadequacy of all Penitentiary Work in dealing with this deep and vital social problem, and without an earnest appeal to my own Church no longer to confine herself, as she has hitherto chiefly done, to such a mere palliative, but to take up the deeper and more vital lines of work that go more to the root of the

evil. On all sides we are leaving regular manufactories of desecrated womanhood in full play, and then burthening ourselves with Penitentiaries to accommodate the results. Again and again I cry, Were it not better to shut up the manufactory? An inspector of the Metropolitan Police, a man with great practical knowledge of this evil, roughly computed that there are some 10,000 children living and being brought up in houses of ill-fame throughout the United Kingdom, many of them under circumstances that make a life of shame simply a necessity. Four streets alone in London give us fifty-eight of these children, all of them under fourteen. One of them has been brought up in one of the lowest dens of infamy, and is now a little servant-girl at another, that being her only opening in life! Another, a child of thirteen, ingenuously informs her mother that she intends to be on the streets before she is sixteen! I say the presence of children at all in these illegal houses is simply monstrous. Yet till within the last few weeks no English law existed by which a child could be saved from the danger of prostitution. This deepest degradation, which more than any other among women feeds the crime and disease of the country and comes on the rates, was ignored in the 14th section of the Industrial Schools Act, which provides against a child growing up a vagrant, a mendicant, a thief, or a destitute orphan, but not the most degraded of all. I am thankful to say that, through the agency of Colonel Alexander, M.P., to whom our most earnest thanks are due, we have now got an amended clause similar to that existing in the Industrial Schools Acts, borrowed from our own, of five of our colonies, which provides that any child "living in a house of ill-fame or frequenting the company of prostitutes" should come under the classes of children who may be removed from their vicious associations and sent to a certified industrial school. The amendment passed both Houses without a division, receiving the warm support of Mr. Mundella, of Lord Norton, who moved it in the Upper House, the Lord Chancellor, the Primate, Lord Shaftesbury, &c., and I can only trust that the clergy of our large towns will not allow it to become a dead letter, but will bring moral pressure to bear on our magistrates to put it in force. I need scarcely say that the amendment of the Industrial Schools Act, 1880, can be had on application to the Queen's Printers (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London). The mere fact of the proportion of girls to boys in the London Industrial Schools—200 girls to 1,300 boys—is enough alone to show the terrible neglect of systematic preventive work among young girls. Where are the missing 1,100 girls, with equally bad associations and conditions as the boys? I have no hesitation in saying that a large number of them either are or will be on the London streets. What can I say but beseech the Church to afford them industrial training enough to save them from so terrible a fate, and to endeavour to fence this fearful precipice at the top, and no longer to content herself with providing ambulances at the bottom. Other great lines of vital work need to be taken up as well; and if permission be accorded me, I would thankfully trace them out another year, as well as the kind of

organisation which I think the Church might adopt for carrying them out, and so fulfilling the central work to which her fundamental doctrine of the Incarnation pledges her, enshrining the sanctity of womanhood at her very heart.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. W. HAY CHAPMAN, Vicar of Christ Church,
Clifton.

THE opinions which I am about to express in reference to Penitentiary Work have been formed from some little personal experience, and have been confirmed by intimate association with many who have devoted themselves to this most difficult work. I propose to treat the subject under different heads.

I. The moral condition of those we desire to help.

The first feeling of all who engage in Penitentiary Work is a sense of almost overwhelming sorrow and humiliation at the ruin sin has made. We are grieved and oppressed by the thought, that many girls, who have been well brought up, have by one false step forfeited their good names, and brought misery and ruin upon themselves.

Experience has taught me that this is not the case. With few exceptions I have found that before their actual fall they had been disobedient to their parents, or those set over them; impatient of restraint, and bent on having their own way; so that the sin which brought them to ruin was the outcome of previous sins of heart and life.

They had sown wickedness, and, according to God's righteous law, they reaped the same. They had chosen to be naughty, self-willed girls, and the result was a ruined womanhood.

The sentimental view, which regards them as poor misguided girls, more sinned against than sinning, who will respond to a word of kindness, and rise readily to a higher life if only a helping hand is held out to them, is, I believe, as far removed from the truth as is the world's judgment, which regards them as objects of contempt and loathing, who have forfeited their right to Christian sympathy and help. I pass on towards—

II. Some of the principal reasons of their fall.

A very large proportion have step-parents. Sometimes there is positive unkindness on the part of the step-parent: more often the girl has only the idea that she is not wanted at home, and thus an independent feeling springs up that she can do what she likes with her life, and this leads to ruinous results. A certain proportion have very bad homes, or were born in sin, and have never known a mother's love and care.

A large number of girls come from the country to London or some large town, attracted by the superior advantages which town situations are supposed to afford. They find themselves without a situation, and without a friend to help and advise them, and thus the step to ruin is only too easily made.

Many of these girls from the country have had good homes, and having got into trouble, do not like to make known to their friends their shame and disgrace—but the majority of them are the spoilt children of the family. Many a girl has been known to say, "I was always allowed to have my own way, and that has been my ruin." One who has had great experience in personal dealings with them, has written to me as follows: "I have never heard a girl speak reproachfully of a father and mother for being too strict, but many an one has said to me how she wished she had been corrected for her faults, and not allowed so much liberty."

I would strongly impress on the clergy of country parishes the duty of

advising parents not to allow their daughters to go to service in large towns unless they have some relation or friend who will take an interest in them and look after them.

Bank Holidays are a fruitful cause of the ruin of young girls. There is never a Bank Holiday without numbers passing the boundary line which separates the fallen from the unfallen. How is this evil to be met? I would offer two suggestions:—

First. As the danger arises from young people going out alone, without proper protection, would it not be well for the clergy to instruct their district visitors and superintendents of mothers' meetings to impress upon the parents among whom they work the importance of making it a day of family pleasure, and accompanying their children, even though it be at some personal sacrifice of the rest which they might prefer.

Second. I would also advise that no mothers' meeting or any parochial gathering be held on that day to which the young people could not accompany their parents.

Lastly. In the majority of cases the immediate cause of the girl's fall is the friendship which she forms with another girl, and not the enticements of the opposite sex.

A girl makes acquaintance with a servant in the neighbourhood, or she meets some girl in the street who accosts her, and thus the friendship is formed. After a time the new friend persuades her to leave her situation, promising that she will leave her own, and take her with her to a place she knows of. The charm of novelty and a more independent life is so great that she yields to the advice of her friend, and they go off together. After a few days, when most of their little money is spent, the so-called friend discloses the true nature of her work, and our girl, being without resources, falls an easy prey to the tempter.

Much sentimental nonsense is often talked about the kindness and generosity these fallen girls show to each other. This is not generally true, though there may be instances of it. Much of what passes for kindness and good nature has its root simply in the cowardice which it is the nature of sin to evoke. A girl who lives by sin does not dare as a general rule to live and sin alone, so that she will drag an unfallen girl down to share her guilt, simply that she may drown the accusing voice of conscience, which will make itself heard were she alone.

Is not this a proof of the hideous selfishness that sin educes? These cannot be too strongly urged upon Superintendents of Girls' Sunday Schools, Teachers of Bible Classes, and all those whose work lies amongst young girls, the imperative duty of their speaking, constantly and plainly, to those under their care, of the great importance to their characters of the friendships they will form; warning them against sudden friendships with strangers, however agreeable they may be, and urging them to make friends only of those who at least outwardly show that they fear God by going to His House and praying and keeping His day holy.

III. How are the fallen ones to be found and rescued from this misery?

Various agencies are at work, and very many different plans have been attempted, but nothing short of direct individual search for the lost ones will avail. The sheep that has wandered from the fold must be gone after and diligently sought for until found. The house must be diligently swept until the lost coin is recovered. This involves great self-denial, perseverance, and courage on the part of the seeker. I thank God in many towns there are devoted ladies who, from a burning love of souls, are visiting houses where the lost ones dwell, at the risk of being insulted, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with their poor sisters, and dragging them from the very fire.

The Female Mission, connected with the Reformatory and Refuge Union, has been very successful in the work. From the Report it appears that 17 Female Missionaries are employed, and during the past year 390 young women have been placed in Homes, 322 provided with situations, and 111

restored to their friends. The season of illness affords a very special opportunity for dealing with the fallen ones. In several of the large London hospitals special wards are set apart for them, and there is one hospital in London always open to receive them. From statistics connected with the Female Lock Hospital, last year, out of 349 patients, 107 were placed in asylums.

A good work is being carried on in connection with the out-patients of the London Lock Hospital for Women. A Female Missionary is employed for the express purpose of becoming acquainted with the women. This effort was only commenced in December, 1878, (eighteen months ago): 1,637 young women have been visited, 467 have visited the Missionary, 60 have been sent to Homes, and 36 restored to friends.

IV. The question now arises as to the best way of dealing with those over whom we have gained an influence.

Most persons interested in this work are agreed that it is necessary, before giving them a fresh start in life, to place them in some Asylum or Home, as a test of the reality of their desire to do better. This opens up many and difficult questions as to how Penitentiary Work in Homes should be carried on.

It is most important that those who have the management of Homes should clearly see the inseparable evils connected with them.

The greatest evil is this, that every inmate leaves the Home knowing more or less intimately a number of other girls who have, like herself, gone astray. In the case of large Homes this is most serious.

A girl who has been in a Home for a year where there are eighty inmates, leaves weighted with the knowledge of eighty or one hundred who have all done wrong themselves and know that she has done wrong. She is always liable to meet them, notwithstanding the care that is taken by the managers to prevent it. Anyone who at all knows the unbounded influence that one girl may have over another will understand how very seriously this fact of acquaintanceship may endanger the future well-doing of the girl.

Another great drawback to Homes is that it is well nigh impossible to prevent communication of evil and ways of doing it. It is impossible to speak too strongly of the cruel wrong that is often done by well-meaning people in placing a girl who has fallen into sin through her affections with those who have made a trade of sin. However strict the supervision may be, the girl will probably leave the Home much worse than she was when she came in. Such girls ought to be placed in separate Homes, and, if that cannot be done, a helping hand to enable them to obtain any situation, however humble, would be the truest kindness. The question then forces itself upon us: Do the evils connected with Homes overbalance the benefits they confer?

This question can only be answered by another. What is the religious influence that is brought to bear on the inmates? If powerful and suitable religious teaching is brought to bear upon the girls; if the workers in the Home are deeply impressed with the necessity of striving for the salvation of the girls, not merely their reformation; then, and only then, can the question be answered in the affirmative. If this is granted, then another question is raised. How is the religious teaching in Homes to be carried on? Of this important part of Penitentiary Work I would speak under three distinct heads. (a.) Evangelistic Addresses. (b.) Instruction Classes. (c.) Personal dealing with souls.

(a.) Nothing so misleads as the name Penitentiary, because, of the large number who enter Homes, very few are penitents when they come in. The majority accept the offer of a Home, not because they are conscious of having sinned in God's sight, but because their sin has brought them into straits for which a Home is the best means of escape. While they do not enter our Homes as penitents, our one great desire should be that during their stay they may, by the teaching of the Holy Ghost, be brought

to true repentance and be converted to God. How might we best carry on our work with a view to this blessed end? By evangelists who are qualified to give suitable addresses:—This has been tried with blessed results in a large London Home. It is most important that the great truths of the Gospel should be presented in a manner that will not weary the hearers. Hence, when they are set forth by different minds, who naturally look at the same truths from different points of view, and who can bring a large variety of illustrations and experience to enforce them, we are likely to attain our end. I need hardly add that great care must be taken in the selection of Evangelists, and they will need careful direction. No allusion to the special sin should ever be made; no after work by the Evangelist should ever be allowed.

(b.) Besides Evangelistic Addresses, inmates must receive regular religious instruction as to the practical duties of daily life. This is best done, either by one lady whom the inmates love and respect, whose visits will be looked forward to with deepest interest, or by the Chaplain of the Institution.

(c.) A very important part of the religious work of the Home is personal dealing with individual souls. This is solely woman's work. It is the duty of the clergy to select the very best workers they can possibly find for this particular work, and, having done this, the work must be left entirely in their hands. I have no hesitation in saying that the evils that arise from private interviews between a clergyman and the penitents are much greater than any good which can ensue. A woman who is a true penitent shrinks from any allusion to her past life from a man, even if he be a clergyman; while to those who are not sincere the temptation to simulate religious feeling is very great, and very great harm is done.

As regards the internal management of Homes, the great problem is the employment of the inmates. It is most essential that the work should be of a stirring, active kind; hence laundry work is admirable for the lower classes of fallen women; but there are a very large number of girls of a superior class, chiefly shopgirls, who would not enter a Home where they are obliged to do laundry work, and the difficulty is how to employ them. Plain needlework, except for a short time daily, is not desirable. If no talking is allowed, the mind falls back upon itself, and becomes a prey to vain remorse, or else goes over in imagination the past sinful life.

A successful experiment has been made by opening, in connection with the Lock Hospital, a small house in which dressmaking is carried on. There is much greater interest in such work than in plain sewing, and the girls feel it a great advantage to be learning something that will be of real service to them in after life.

The great want, I believe, at the present time, is the classification of Homes. There are, I find, 25 Homes in the Metropolis, containing 1,351 women; 64 Homes in the Provinces, containing 2,050. I am told that there is no difficulty in finding accommodation for the servant class, but great difficulty in finding suitable accommodation for women of a superior class.

There are many other points connected with the internal management of Homes that I should like to dwell on, such as the length of time that it is desirable for women to remain in them, the best system to be adopted for rewards and punishments, and also the best way of providing suitable recreation for the inmates, but time fails me. I must, however, say to Managers of Homes, do not be afraid of expelling. It is better to expel at once for any offence that is detected against moral purity in conversation, or otherwise. This may sound harsh, but the good of a Home entirely ceases unless a high standard is kept up.

There is one point on which I feel most strongly: the necessity of maintaining an interest in the girls after they leave the Home. From experience I found that a large proportion return to their evil way. Hence great disappointment is often felt by those who have taken deep interest in

the girls while in the Home. It was well said by one who had the charge of a large Home for many years, "No girl leaves a Home with any moral backbone." This led me some years ago to start a small Home, entirely disconnected with the Penitentiary, as a "Home for Servants." It is the business of the matron to *mother* the girls who have passed through the Penitentiary. They come to her for a few days before going to their situation. She visits them in their situations, settles innumerable difficulties. She often induces them to remain in their situation, which they would have hastily thrown up in a moment of temptation, or in a fit of temper. Her visits are generally warmly welcomed by the mistresses. The girls are received at the Home, when they are out of a situation; so that, if a girl fails through inefficiency or temper, she has another chance. I believe it is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this work. It has been calculated that, since the Servants' Home was started five years ago, five-eighths of the girls that have been sent out from the Lock Asylum have done well.

One point more. From experience I gather that the most hopeful age to work upon is from eighteen to twenty-three. The difficulty of reclaiming those who fall into sin earlier is very much greater. Girls of fifteen and sixteen are the most difficult and hopeless cases to deal with. This may sound very startling, but the reason is this, that a young girl of that age who voluntarily leads a life of sin must have been thoroughly depraved to have done so. She has been what we should call a thoroughly naughty girl.

Before I conclude I would say a word to those who are engaged in this most blessed, yet most difficult and most unhopeful, of all work. What is needed on the part of those who enter upon it? Purity, pity, and a deep sense that sin is the abominable thing in the sight of God.

In no branch of Church work will merely natural gifts be of so little value. Impulsive, kind-hearted men will be worse than useless, and will generally lead to miserable failure. The worker will find that the measure of her powers over others will be the measure of her own powers of self-sacrifice and self-denial.

Self-pleasing has been the cause of all the sin she has to deal with, and she must exemplify in her own life the freedom and joy which comes from a life given up to the obedience and service of Christ. She must have the hope that goes on hoping in spite of discouragement. She must feel acutely each time when her work has proved a failure, and yet be able to meet each fresh case that comes before her with such hope and keen interest as if she had never known the sting of bitter disappointment.

It is also most essential that she should cultivate constant cheerfulness as a Christian duty, for in no work is it more necessary to shew a continual bright face. Her disappointments and perplexities must all be cast aside by stern self-control, until she is alone with her Master, and can tell Him all things.

She will have to go on working when her labour seems well nigh lost. Novices in the work often greatly over-estimate the good results. There is no work in which it is more easy to produce great apparent and immediate results. While those who have spent years at it are often cruelly disappointed by seeing women, whom they hoped had been delivered from their evil ways, again sink back into the slavery of sin. Their last state is worse than the first. To all who are interested in or engaged in Penitentiary Work I would say, remember that it is your Lord's Work, and your one object must be to do His Will. We know that His compassion for the fallen was tender and strong. His spotless purity had a marvellous attraction over the guilty ones. He who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, has left His Church to carry on His Work. Hence any branch of His Church which neglects to care for the fallen, fails to be a true witness to her Lord, and falls short of His purpose concerning her.

In conclusion may I say one word to my brother clergy as to their duty to those who engage in this work? I have said that the work of dealing with fallen women is essentially women's work. The workers themselves should be the objects of our special solicitude. It is not enough to select our workers with great care, after much prayer, but we are bound to give them all the help we can while they are engaged in the work; not so much in the work itself, as in their own spiritual life. The worker labours under very special trials—she cannot speak to others of her work, and is thus shut out from the help and comfort which comes from sympathy with other workers.

The work itself brings her into constant contact with the most debasing sin, so that often she feels as if the shadow of it rests upon her own soul, and the keen suffering of this none but those who have experienced it can tell.

The discouragement is so great that the worker is oft tempted to say, "I have laboured in vain, and spent my strength for nought."

I would, therefore, on behalf of our sisters engaged in Penitentiary Work, ask for your tender sympathy and hearty co-operation, and for the prayers of the faithful, that the joy of the Lord may be their strength, and that the Lord's work may prosper in their hands.

The Rev. ARTHUR BRINCKMAN, All Saints', Margaret Street,
London.

I do not propose so much to discuss the details of the work as to call your attention to the necessity for it, and, if possible, provoke a little more enthusiasm in regard thereto. Those who do not take a practical interest in work among fallen women can have but a very slight idea of the vast amount of ignorance and prejudice that exist concerning it. You are told that genuine conversions are so few and far between that you had better devote your labour to something else. All that I have to say is that there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over *one* sinner that repents, and if only one soul is rescued here and there that is encouragement enough to proceed. During the last few months an attempt had been made to get up a permanent Church mission to the fallen. Well, a great many objections have been started. People have said "Why do you agitate the question. Are things worse than they were?" I believe I may say, emphatically, that they are worse. I believe every Christian must feel that the days we live in are worse than those that have gone before. You will all agree with me, that, as the opportunity is, so is the power of temptation. If the thing cannot be done, the temptation loses half its force. Some years ago young women could hardly go even a short distance from the eye of their parents unattended. Now, what with our Metropolitan railways and other conveyances, a young woman is beyond supervision and control in a few minutes. Cheap postage, cheap newspapers, furnish the opportunities, and so make the temptation stronger, and sin no doubt more abundant. And then, too, it has been often said, that, as is the tone of the upper and influential classes as regards the Seventh Commandment, so, to a great extent, will be the feeling of the whole nation with regard to it. If immorality is tolerated, countenanced, and encouraged among the influential classes, you may expect a great deal of license over the whole nation. Let me thus illustrate the difficulties of the work among the fallen. Take, for instance, the modern view of marriage. I may sum it up in one word, and say that with a great many people now-a-days it is simply Mahommedan. It is an encouragement to sin, and a hindrance to our work. If you go to a woman in the upper grades of that sinful life, and tell her she is living in sin, what is her answer? She will come out with the Society expression, "I am living under protection!" that cowardly phrase for cloaking a deadly sin. And

then she will tell you "My friend is very generous and gives me all I require. I have promised again and again to be always faithful to him, and I consider myself as his wife, although I have not been through the marriage ceremony in the church." I have known women with handles to their names vow in a church to be faithful to their husbands, then committing adultery go to the Divorce Court, and, when the legal proceedings are settled, bring their guilty paramour into the church, and a clergyman pronounces God's blessing on the adulterer and adultress. These women will say to you, "You may speak of me as a mistress, but I do not regard myself so much fallen, or so deserving to be treated as an outcast, as many a woman of the world whose adultery is blessed by a priest of the Church, and whose sin is encouraged, for it is legalized by the action of the State." To take another point. The tone of society encourages sin, and hinders us in our work among the fallen. I read an article the other day in the *Evening Standard* as to the present fashion of women's dress. I do not wish to be misunderstood nor to give offence, but I am speaking the truth when I say that the prevailing fashion of women's dress, year by year, has a very great deal to do with the amount of actual sin. Of course I do not mean to say such a wicked and cruel thing as that every woman who dresses in the height of fashion does so with a wrong motive, but I do say that many women, in blindly following the fashion, who like to be in it and feel themselves well-dressed, are frequently, unknown to themselves, adopting certain details of costume which, like sparks, often kindle the unholy fire in the minds of men who watch them, thus tempting them to sin. In speaking of some indirect encouragements to sin, I cannot omit the Society journals, and not only these, but some of the daily papers, and one or two weekly illustrated prints, all of which make what I call a stupid unhealthy fuss about married women who are supposed to be beauties. Of course, in saying this, I do not mean to hint anything against these women. No doubt they are as pained and disgusted as we ourselves are, but I do say it does a great deal of harm to us in our work among fallen women. If any one approves of bazaars in aid of a Church charity, and, wanting to get one up, advertises the bazaar to be held under the auspices of a good Churchwoman, such as the late Mrs. Tait or the present Mrs. Gladstone, he would have a fair attendance; but let it be known that you are going to take the Albert Hall or some such place, and put forth a list of so-called professional beauties as stall holders, then you will have the place crowded with men giving their sovereigns for things worth sixpence, and no end of foolery about cups of tea and cigarettes. What can be the effect of all this in these women? Why, they laugh to scorn the thought that charity is at the bottom of it all; and, as to the impure all things are impure, they set it down to something worse. All this does harm—this exhibition of beauties is not confined to the upper ranks of society, we have barmaid exhibitions now-a-days. The middle class, too, tradesmen, the scientific optician and learned chemist, will dot their windows over with photos of English wives who are supposed to be beauties, to attract the gaze of passers-by. If you take any quality, such as personal beauty, and exaggerate it, why, you tend to obscure that which is of greater value in the sight of God, and which should be of at least equal value in the sight of man, that true beauty of the woman's soul, the purity of her character and life. The Church is bound to keep pace with all her foes. As infidelity increases, and sin and indifference spread, she must put forward fresh efforts. She is vigorous enough against certain sins. She does not hesitate to denounce drunkenness—you can see drunkenness in the streets, and tell how it is going on by the Excise reports; but of that other sin, the pestilence that walketh in darkness, because its march goes on so stealthily is no reason why it should be left alone. It is a simple fact, that, of late years, fornication and other forms of immorality among many have ceased to be regarded as sins unless found out. It has become a positive science, in fact, how to sin with impunity; hence the Registrar-General's report cannot be regarded as a

satisfactory proof that sins of immorality are decreasing. There is plenty of enthusiasm in the Church of England regarding some sins, but for the love of God and souls we do want more enthusiasm to grapple with this vice. Midnight services, and visiting at the houses of these women, and other plans have been tried; but I cannot help thinking that we want something beyond all that. We want, if we can, to set God working in this mission path. In every large town let this be done. Let the Church be open half an hour at midnight, where those, old, wise, and loving enough, might meet together and plead with God for the conversion of lost souls. It would be a powerful way of touching the hearts of these women. It would be a work of self-denial and love which would be a standing protest against the sin, in the sight of God and Heaven, while the sin was going on. And sometimes we should have the powerful aid of some heart-broken parent coming into the church to plead, with us, to the Good Shepherd to bring some wanderer back. The more this work among the fallen is taken up, the better will it be for the Church of England. As you all know, she is often in trouble, and when the cry is raised "Watchman, what of the night?" you can give this encouraging answer, that when a Church has risen up to do her mission work in earnest, when she dares to attack Satan in his strongholds, and is working among that class the most difficult of all to win, of that Church none need despair; her candlestick will never be removed; she is safe in the hands of her God.

ARTHUR MADDISON, Esq.

THERE are two distinct divisions of Penitentiary Work—that outside the Institutions or Homes, and that within.

It is the former of these two divisions concerning which I should like to say a few words; though as regards the latter—the internal organisation of the Penitentiaries themselves—I shall have one or two remarks to offer; but only in so far as they affect the outside worker.

And I would direct attention firstly to the almost total absence, till within recent years, of any outside agency for specially reaching the class of women whose position we are considering. I think I am right in stating, that previously to 1851 there was no systematic "*going out*" of the Christian Church to bring in these wanderers. I have not time now, nor would it be very profitable to our present discussion, to follow out the growth of the various missionary efforts that have since sprung up; suffice it to epitomise very briefly the missionary organisations now in operation.

There is the midnight meeting movement, originally designed to gather the poor women together for a few hours' rest and refreshment at or about the time of midnight. This idea has more recently been improved upon. It was found that at that late hour the women were too often semi-intoxicated, and the better plan is now generally adopted of bringing them together at about six o'clock in the evening. A warm room and good hot tea is provided, and thus *prima facie* evidence is afforded them (of a nature they can best understand) that those who invite them have their true welfare at heart. During tea time ladies or Bible women converse with the guests and seek to lead them to abandon their evil life. After tea earnest addresses are delivered.

Some are by these means induced at once to enter Homes; others, it may be, can only be persuaded to enter temporary Refuges; others promise to go into a Home in a day or two (as soon as they can pay their debts); and a certain number, more or less, give no heed to the message of love.

It is urged against this method of work that the women are, at these meetings, unduly excited by the enthusiasm of the speakers, that in this frame of mind they make promises of amendment the full purport of which they have not duly considered, and that in a day or two, when the vividness

of the impression momentarily made at the meeting has passed off, they generally go back to their evil course.

And, I must admit, there is much truth in this objection; large proportions of those who profess at these gatherings to be anxious to turn to a new life, and are taken into temporary shelter, do "go back." But to what conclusion does this admission lead us? Not surely to the entire abandonment of these meetings. It may be that they are not the *best* means of reaching the fallen; they may produce, as far as we know, a small percentage of good results; it may even appear to some (I confess it does to me) an unwise proceeding to encourage the frequent flocking together of any one particular class of offenders. Still, as in times past this work has been blessed, and as some by this means come under the sound of the Gospel and within the influence of Christian sympathy and love who would not otherwise do so, it would seem to be the duty of the Church, especially in certain populous parts, to take these meetings as much as possible under her control, and so to regulate and direct them as to avoid undue excitement and indiscretion; providing, from amongst her members, lady workers whose love for Christ outweighs even their natural reluctance to converse with their fallen sisters. Let it ever be remembered that this is essentially *woman's work*.

This was the leading thought which actuated those who in 1858 founded the *Female Mission to the Fallen*, by many better known as *Woman's Mission to Women*. It is another work outside of but in close connection with the Penitentiaries.

It employs female missionaries, who go into the streets at night, and into the hospitals and houses of ill repute by day, and, in fact, go anywhere to rescue the objects of their mission.

Each of these missionaries in her own house can provide temporary shelter pending the investigation of a case and the finding of a suitable Home. In short the main feature of the work is its homely character. It is a number of loving Christian women seeking, by every means in their power, their erring sisters.

Each case is considered separately, and is dealt with according as the special circumstances demand. Some, as already mentioned, are placed in the Homes (as many as 390 in the last twelve months); but there are many who can be better dealt with in other ways; some are restored to their parents; a few have been emigrated; a still smaller number have been married; and many of those who have taken but one false step have been speedily replaced in service, and a large proportion of these do well. It is better to re-absorb such as these into society, provided it be done wisely, than to withdraw them from it for a year or two and classify them with those worse than themselves.

One of the missionaries attends to cases of attempted suicide, and others that come before the magistrates at the police courts. In most large cities one missionary might with advantage be occupied with these difficult cases, and she will generally receive the hearty co-operation of the magistrates.

One feature of the mission is that it employs women *ONLY*, to work among women. No efforts on behalf of fallen women are likely to be so successful as those which are made by their own sex; they are better able to enter into their feelings, to sympathise with them, to draw from them their tale of sorrow, and to give them such advice as will be most helpful and seasonable.

Ladies may render most valuable assistance in this work by visiting the houses of the missionaries and there conversing with the young women, and also advising the missionaries about the cases.

A second special feature of the mission is, as already hinted, that the workers *go out* to wherever the wanderers are to be found, and endeavour to bring them in to the true Shepherd of the fold; thus carrying out in all its fulness the spirit of the Gospel—"going after that which is lost."

The managers of an excellent Home thus aptly express their view upon this subject in a recent Report:—"The aim of all should be to increase and make easier the *lines of communication* between the poor fallen ones and the 'Homes.' It requires a degree of moral courage, which can hardly be expected in the first stage of penitence, for the poor woman to knock at the door of a Refuge or Penitentiary and ask for admission." It was in recognition of this fact, and with a view to make the "lines of communication" easier, that the Female Mission to the Fallen was established. Previously it had been thought, and the opinion is still held by some, and is expressed in the last Report of another institution, that it were better to leave these young women to find themselves *compelled* to seek the shelter of a Home, than for them to be sought out and persuaded to enter one. Many of those rescued by this mission, and now living respectable lives, would in all human probability never have found themselves *compelled* to seek the shelter of a Home, nor would they have had the moral courage to knock at the door of one; but, invited to enter, they responded to the invitation, and not a few, by the gentle Christian influence of the missionary during the few days of their sojourn with her, have been led to see their true condition, and their need of a period of discipline and training, and have cheerfully submitted to the necessary rules of an institution, which the bare thought of entering seemed in the first instance so terrifying.

Another feature in the work of the mission is, that its agents are ready to assist *any* woman, however bad, provided she really appears anxious to lead a new life; hence many, who have been rejected as hopeless by almost every other agency, come under the care of the mission, and, as might be expected, help to swell the number of the failures. Nevertheless very good results have been achieved and about 1000 cases aided by the mission every year.

I ought to mention one other feature in connection with this outside work, viz. the judicious use of suitable tracts. I have a few lists of those most appropriate, for any who may like to have one. All the tracts used by the female mission are printed specially for the purpose, and bear on them a kindly invitation to call upon the missionary, whose address is given. Sometimes a poor girl at once accepts the invitation, but more frequently a day or two elapses before she goes to the missionary, anxious to be helped to turn from her evil life.

Instances have occurred in which after many months the tract has been found by a girl when turning over her box, many miles from where she received it; the neglected invitation has thus shed a bright ray of hope upon her desponding mind, and she has written to the missionary to find out whether the offer of help still held good. I need scarcely add that the invitations *always hold good*.

Often the tract falls into the hands of those who judge themselves too far gone in evil to turn from it themselves, and yet such is their compassion for those just *entering* on the sad life, that they pass the tract to them, advising them to take heed to its warnings; thus they become instrumental in bringing the younger women within the influence of the mission.

I must now very briefly notice a few points, at which what I have styled outside Penitentiary Work and inside Penitentiary Work come in contact.

Firstly, I would take exception to the very word Penitentiary as the title of an institution for these women. The word is harsh, and presents to the penitent—it may be an important truth—but not the attractive side of the truth. And if we are to present one side of the truth, in the very name of the institution by all means let it be one that will be likely to win the affections of those we seek to save. Who that has worked among this class has not experienced a hindrance in the use of the word?

Then may I plead for an elasticity of rules, or better still that there should be no rules?

Does this sound absurd? Well, in support of my plea, I would only give you the experience of a clergyman who, with his wife, has now for many years devoted himself to the internal management of a Penitentiary. He told me only a few days ago, "I have tried rules and have thrown them all in the fire, and now, with the exception of the hours for rising and for meals and for going to bed, we have none."

Of course the Penitentiary should be under the immediate management of a very responsible person, in order to be able to dispense with rules. It is comparatively easy to maintain order in a Penitentiary, if strict rules are framed, and in case of violation dismissal is resorted to; but the immediate object of the Penitentiary should not be so much to reduce the inmates to military order, as to win their hearts for the Lord Jesus Christ—the order will follow. It is as impracticable to frame a set of rules for the healing of sick souls, as it is to draw up an universal prescription for the cure of all physical maladies.

As it is, the outside worker has too often to deal with those who have been persuaded to enter Homes, but who, for the violation of rules, have been dismissed and thus rendered ineligible for other institutions. They must then be allowed to drift back into their former course of life, or some further help must be given them by any outside worker who cannot calmly see a soul drift to perdition (without another attempt to rescue), because forsooth she has broken, provokingly broken it may be, a rule of a Penitentiary.

On the question of classification. It seems at present more practical to have quite separate Homes for the different classes, rather than to receive all classes into one Home and to classify them within the institution.

The length of the period of detention within the Homes is a serious obstacle to many entering them. It cannot, I think, be too soon recognised that every penitent does not require two years' or even one year's training in the institution, and some require to be allowed to spend their lives there. The varying circumstances that have led to her disgrace should generally govern the nature of the discipline to which she is to be required to submit. And it is impossible to have within one institution all the different methods of treatment required.

At present very few Church Homes will receive cases for less than one year; the consequence is that it is often difficult to find a Home to receive a case requiring a short period of training, while there are generally plenty of vacancies in Homes that are for the longer periods.

One other need should be mentioned. There are only one or two Homes for those penitents who are about to become mothers, and these are not Church Homes. Now there are constantly recurring cases, which it would be most undesirable to send into the Infirmary, and thence, as a necessity, back to their own parish.

Very often, at a period that is most likely to be the turning point in a young woman's life (as far as human judgment can discern), there is no institution to receive her. The Homes carrying on this work at the present time are able to shew an unusual proportion of good results of their labours, and it does seem important that there should be at least one such institution under Church of England management.

I do not advocate a large increase in the number of such institutions; and they should only receive exceptional and hopeful cases.

DISCUSSION.

The REV. V. G. BORRADAILE, St. Mary Magdalene,
Munster Square, London.

ONE of the readers referred to the Church Penitentiary Association as the only organized Church Society for that particular branch of work, and reference has also been made to an association just formed to carry out the work which the former, by its rules and regulations, is unable to take in hand. That society is called the Church Mission to the Fallen, and with your permission I will refer for a few moments to the objects of that society, and the means by which we propose to carry out these objects. The work of Church Penitentiary Associations is to provide home and shelter for those souls who desire to leave their life of sin, while the Church Mission to the Fallen aims at Missionary work. The one provides shelter for the wounded traveller, but the other, like the Master Himself, goes to the place where the wounded traveller is, and brings Him into the shelter. We propose, in our work for the fallen, to bring home the message of God both to men and women. We want to bring home to the men that they are fallen from their high estate by their sin, and that they need to be sought out and saved, purified and strengthened for the service of God. Our work, however, will not end there; because, as we seek out those that are lost, we must come across those who are on the brink of ruin, and, therefore, our Mission Work will go hand-in-hand to a certain extent with the endeavour to prevent evil. We should strive to seek out by missionary efforts those who have fallen, and save those who are on the brink of ruin. Our efforts will be directed to stopping the evil at its roots, as well as endeavouring to undo some of its results. For the carrying out of this work, we propose, first of all, to have women missionaries, paid or otherwise, who will seek out women in their homes, who will speak to them in the streets, in the hospitals, and other places where they congregate. We propose, so far as we can, in like manner to reach personally such men as we can, to hold missionary services both for men only and for women only; and further we propose, as was referred to by another speaker, to have continual intercessory work carried on—continually to intercede day after day, and night after night, meeting sin in its own stronghold and fighting it with the weapon of prayer. To carry out this work we need workers and money; we ask those who will join us as associates to aid us in one or more of these three ways—by prayer, by collection of money to meet the necessary expenses, and by personal work. It is a distinct rule of our society that, whether paid or unpaid, workers must be real working members of our Church. We want money for the work, and we want workers to carry it on, and surely this is a work which we can distinctly say has no party tinge about it. The reader of one of the papers said there could be no party idea about Penitentiary work. Surely, then, if that was true of such work, it was still more true of Mission Work; for whatever differences of opinion there might be as to the mode in which souls are to be brought back to the service of God, there can be no difference, among High or Low or Broad, as to the necessity of bringing them into the fold of Christ. As this Mission is to have nothing of a party character about it, neither do we wish it to be confined to London, but to be co-extensive with the work of the Church of England itself. The sin, which we combat, is co-extensive with the Church, and the organization wherewith to combat it ought to be equally extended. Reference has been made to the work of Temperance. In every diocese and town, branches of the Church of England Temperance Society have sprung up; and, if we were as earnest as we should be against this sin, there should not be a single diocese where there is not a branch of the Church

Penitentiary Association, and of the Church Mission to the Fallen. We hope that, by drawing attention to the work of this Society, we may gain willing workers in the field; that as the knowledge of the greatness of the work is extended, so it may call out workers ready and willing to give themselves to it. We call upon all those who have been preserved from sin to show their thankfulness to God by earnest work in this field, and those who have sinned and by God's mercy been brought to repentance to make a thank offering to their Saviour by striving their utmost to seek and to save where once they destroyed. This Church Mission does not put before itself the idea that it can altogether destroy the evil in question, but it does feel that if it can kindle a greater enthusiasm in the work, and enrol among its members men and women willing to work, and pray, for the service of God, it can do much to prevent and dry up the sources of the evil. It can do very much to protect the weak and rescue those who have wandered, and, at least, it can bear its witness to its Master's Mission. It can feel, whatever measure of success it has, that it is striving to seek and to save that which was lost.

The Rev. RICHARD T. WEST, Incumbent of St. Mary
Magdalen, Paddington.

IN what has been said one or two things have struck me as very helpful, while one or two are in direct contradiction to what I should recommend. I admire the work of Miss Ellice Hopkins, but I could not help being sorry that she threw out a hint about a girl escaping through the snow from some institution unknown. It can be no other institution than Clewer or Wantage. Now in both of these places they are perfectly free to go away when they like. They go out constantly, and at Wantage, which is more in the country, they have long walks and come back with bunches of flowers. I have a Penitentiary of my own, but those only are received into it who have fallen for the first time. Therefore we have not to search and to seek out; on the contrary, we have many more applications than our limited accommodation will allow us to entertain. We have only accommodation for from twenty-five to thirty, and of course that is very small. One or two things, as I have said, strike me as very extraordinary in some of the remarks made. One speaker said that in his Home he had no hours save for meals and rising and going to bed. Had he no hours for prayer? I cannot conceive bringing souls to God without having hours laid down for His worship. There must be rules, although not rigid and hard; for that unfortunate class require discipline more than perhaps any other. Ladies' rule is harder than that of the priest. Generally speaking, the priest is likely to lean to the indulgent side. These girls, in fact, are much in the position of "other people's children." People say "how easily managed they are;" but very often the most attractive children are the most troublesome. I thoroughly endorse the view that we must insist on the chastity of men as well as of women. It is a gross insult to humanity, it is a libel on the incarnation, that men cannot be holy as well as women. I know they can and may be. It is monstrous to talk of ladies of fashion harbouring in their houses men of notoriously dissolute lives, and allowing them to mix with their daughters and friends—to think, too, of such persons visiting Penitentiaries and talking about reformation, although it may be the rules of society have kept them from the actual sin. People should insist on their daughters marrying only respectable members of society. Then as to novels. You leave almost loose novels in the way of your servants, who read them in their spare hours; and it is also the case that sometimes such talk takes place in their hearing which it is not proper they should listen to.

With regard to one or two remarks about temperance work, I do not see why one work should militate against the other. I am chaplain to a Home for intemperance at Feltham, and my own theory is that the sin of intemperance is more hopeless than this sin of impurity. In the first place nature takes away the temptation, but not so with drink. My opinion is that there is plenty of room for each work. I am a member of the Church Penitentiary Association, and I think their meetings and operations are most inadequate. They never seem to get sufficiently out among the people. We should all join the association, for we want many more members. It is a very large hearted and useful society, but it wants a great deal more sympathy, help, and vigour, to lead people to join it. Like the great "Willing," we should "advertise it boldly." Mr. Chapman has told us that a large proportion of these unfortunates go back to their old lives. Has that proportion anything to do with the clergy? I think it has. I believe in the benefit of confession for these cases strongly; but, with or without confession, there must be an interview between every penitent and the priest: for how can you expect ladies to bring home the message the priest has to carry? At any rate the priest has surely a message from Christ. As our Lord was left alone with the woman taken in adultery, so He says "Go ye in my name." He gives a commission; and, surely, His example should be the model for the priest.

R. F. MARTIN, Esq., J.P., Mount Sorrel.

It is with the view of giving you the experience of one living in a large manufacturing village that I venture to say a few words upon this subject. When I see day by day dozens of young girls walking from our village to work in the factories in the adjoining villages, I see what I imagine to be a very great evil, and one which is at the root of much which necessitates our penitentiary work. I do not venture to suggest, what may be the obvious thing to say, that country factories are sources of great danger to our country girls, and should therefore be abolished; because I feel sure that anything which tends to throw an obstacle in the way of the employment of women (considering the great number in this country already unemployed,) must infallibly end in making a further number fall into bad ways. But factories in towns, where the hands travel along the streets, and factories in villages, where they are obliged to traverse long lanes and footpaths in order to get to their work, are two very different things. And speaking from my own experience I am sure that factories in adjoining villages have been a very great source of danger to young women, and that a neighbour who started a sort of covered omnibus (not at all through philanthropic motives, but merely for the purpose of carrying the girls to and from their work) did a real and good moral work to the neighbourhood. It is of course clear that the great cause of girls falling into degradation is not here, as in our towns, want. The girls get good wages. The cause, as I suppose, and I think it is right to say so, lies more in the number of young men and boys who get good wages which they have no need to husband, and which they have neither the Christianity nor the morality to spend aright. A responsibility, therefore, lies heavily on those who employ these young men and boys, to do what they can, and say what they can, to keep them from being sources of temptation to the neighbourhood around. I should like also to mention one other thing. It appears to me that our country workhouses are a very great source of danger to young girls. If the statistics were properly gone into—and it appears to be difficult to get at them correctly—they would make plain a state of things which would astonish all England. I should like then to be able to see young girls taken from our workhouses and placed in service in moderate sized country houses, where they could be brought in contact with old and respectable servants,

instead of the paupers. If this were done, there would be far greater hope for them. I know that, in many cases, the only places that appear to be open to them are those in country public houses; and for a workhouse girl to be placed as a servant in a country public house is a state of things which one shudders to contemplate; and the results are frightfully bad. Lastly, I should like to say that for the state of affairs in the country villages the Homes established in towns appear to be quite unsuited. How is a poor girl, with a baby to look after, possibly to get away to any of our Homes in town? This is a question which I have not heard mooted to-day; but, all the same, the difficulty is perpetually before us.

The Rev. R. MILBURN BLAKISTON.

THE only reason I venture to intrude at this discussion is that some years ago I undertook work for the Church in connection with the reclamation of fallen women, not only in the ordinary Penitentiary to which I was then attached, but also in another work of a different character. The title of our subject to-day is "The Penitentiary work of the Church," and I think this includes work of any kind that is carried on by the Church for the reclamation of fallen women. For some time it fell to my lot to be Chaplain to the Royal Albert Hospital at Devonport. That is a hospital which is connected with the Government, and is intended to receive women who are sent there under what are known as the "C. D." acts. There is doubtless great difference of opinion in regard to these acts, but I hold it to be foreign to our subject to discuss in any way the nature of these acts. I only allude to them as bringing before us a branch of work connected with the Church for the reclamation of fallen women. Having watched the working of the acts for many years before being connected with the Royal Albert Hospital, and having worked under them, my mind is fully made up about them. Although I am not prepared to say they are perfect, yet I see no objection to them in principle, and I am abundantly satisfied of their great utility in those places where they have been in operation. It is a remarkable fact that the opposition, doubtless very considerable, to these acts, in many parts of the country, can scarcely be said to exist at all in those towns and districts where they are in force. My allusion to them will not, I hope, provoke discussion from any one else. I only wish to refer to the work done under these Acts for reclaiming women who came under their influence. In the first place, it is provided by these Acts that every Hospital under them shall have a Chaplain of the Church of England. In the Penitentiary, one does see, as every speaker has admitted, frightful wrecks of human nature both physical and moral, but in hospitals of this character worse things are witnessed. It was remarked by one speaker, and alluded to since by others, that the girls who go to Penitentiaries are not penitents. That is perfectly true so far as my experience is concerned. I hardly recollect a case where a girl has gone to a Penitentiary because she herself was a penitent. She has gone there very frequently indeed because she was starving, and when once there the object of the managers was to induce her to become penitent at the foot of the Cross. If that is so in ordinary penitentiaries, still more is it the case in these hospitals. The inmates do not go there from want or inclination, but they are sent there. When once there, there is, I think, great work to be done, to see if by some means or other an opportunity cannot be afforded them for changing entirely their course of life. One very important thing I hold to be this, and it is in existence in these hospitals—the personal and individual attention of the Chaplain to every woman that comes into the hospital. Not one single girl ever leaves the hospital, however often sent there and discharged—and it is a terrible thing that many of these girls are sent to the hospital 10, 15, 20, or even more times—without having placed

before her the chance of giving up her course of life entirely. She has in every case a personal interview with the Chaplain. I hold that to be of immense value. A Chaplain cannot do collectively what he can do personally with an individual girl who is leaving his charge. If he addresses them in the ward, as of course he will do, he may do a good work to a certain extent, but his address as often provokes blasphemy as anything else. The Chaplain of such an hospital is in continual communication with penitentiaries of all kinds in the neighbourhood. I think, in connection with the Royal Albert Hospital, I used to correspond with about six or seven penitentiaries, some under Church and some under Dissenting management; some of them—and not the best, under a Ladies' Committee, and one of them under Roman Catholic supervision. All the girls, however, had the choice as to which Penitentiary they wished to go to. It was generally found to be the case that the girls who wished to go to a Penitentiary knew pretty well beforehand which one they would like to go to, because, unfortunately, as everyone can testify, all who go to Penitentiaries do not become penitents. Many return to their former life, so that it quickly spreads among that class what is the nature of the different Penitentiaries or Reformatories. There is another point I should like to refer to. Girls who have come to the Hospital for the *first* time are always placed in a ward by themselves. They are not allowed to mix in any way with those who have come in more than once; and you will not be surprised when I tell you as a consequence that it is from this ward that those who go to Penitentiaries are most chiefly drawn. Let me make another remark, or rather let me re-echo a remark that has already been made. We found it was almost invariably the case that girls were seduced by women rather than by men. I am sorry to say that I have never yet myself met with procuresses who have been converted. I hope others may have done so; but if any persons in the world are doing the devil's work, they are. Now the question may be asked, what proportion of girls who come into the hospitals go to Homes? One must not look into places such as those for large results; but if only ten or five per cent. of those who go from hospitals are won, I think it is a thing to be thankful for. I will only add one more word of testimony, as to the value of these hospitals, with regard to the feelings of parents of the poor girls who go into them. I remember the mother of one of the girls, who came into the hospital and from the hospital was sent to a Home, coming to the matron and saying: "Madam, I thank God from my heart, that my poor child fell here and not in Exeter"—where the Acts are not in force.

The Rev. G. SARSON, Rector of Orlestone, Kent.

It seems to me that many speakers to-day have been encouraging us in

"Compounding sins we are inclined to,
By damning those we have no mind to."

The excellent speech of Mr. Brinckman would have been applicable had it been delivered in a square in the West-end of London. I do not myself think that the sins he condemned are those which we, attendants at a Church Congress, are inclined to. The sin, it seems to me, that we can bring home to ourselves is the unbelief in the common sisterhood of women. If we believed in the common sisterhood of these unfortunates then the man's cause of this sin would be cut off. Another thing that struck me was the feeling of the great helplessness, of the utter helplessness, of ordinary individuals in this matter. We can all give our subscriptions, and, if this proved to be enough, then we should all be doing something to cut off this evil. But we do nothing, by this means, to diminish the supply of this class of sinners. Mr. Brinckman made a beautiful suggestion, that we should have prayer meetings in our churches at the hours when this sin was most

rampant, in order that fallen sisters might be induced to drop in. I want to ask,—Are any of our ladies so really sympathetic, or so great believers in their common sisterhood, as to take any of these fallen women to their own homes? Because if they are not, if they only believe in sending them to these confessedly imperfect institutions, then I say there is little sign that ladies are at present prepared to make any real self-sacrifice in this cause. A great deal has been said as to the necessity of classification in these institutions. I believe I am not wrong in saying that an amount of classification of inmates is necessary which it is almost impossible to effect. One set of inmates, we have been told, will corrupt another set, and an impossible amount of organization is thus called for. Now, there is a simple remedy for all that. If ladies were prepared to take these people into their own homes—provided there were no young children or a large family; if ladies, I say, really believed that these women were their sisters, and would treat them as they could wish their own sisters in such cases to be treated, a remedy would be provided at once. Of course that seems an Utopian idea, and it is all because we do not believe these people are our own sisters. A good deal has been said as to the necessity of doing something which shall cut off the supply of sinners. Again, it is our unbelief in the common sisterhood of women, it is our unbelief in the brotherhood of the human family, that seem to me to do more than anything else to create the circumstances which make people a prey to this sin. It has been said by Miss Hopkins (and the recommendation was applauded) that we ought, in these institutions, to have pianos, and pictures, and flowers, and everything that can be, in order to make their home bright and cheerful. We ought, in fact, to have all these things for people who, through our neglect, have been brought to this miserable state. But are you having them for your own servants who are doing work which makes your own daily life happy? Are you making their lives bright and happy, and doing everything which shall make them feel that a life of service for you, and fellowship with you in your homes, is a really desirable one? When ladies really believe that they and their servants are sisters, society will be drawn together by bonds which will help to hold up many who now fall. I think, however, we must go on from our servants to our family lives. A good deal has been said about doing something to punish men. It has not been suggested that there should be a penitentiary for men; and *this* should raise a doubt as to whether the penitentiary system is the best way of helping the fallen of the weaker sex. A great deal, as I say, has been said about *punishing* men; but, here again, it would be a far better thing to do your utmost to *prevent* this sin; and this sin is brought about by habits which Mr. Brinckman and Dr. West might do a great deal to check in the society in which they move. It is quite understood in the society in which these gentlemen move, and amongst the people to whom they preach, that it is almost a sin for young people who have been brought up in the lap of luxury to marry, if they have not got an income which will enable them to keep up the luxurious traditions in which they have been reared. As an axiom of society that is one of the roots of the evil we are discussing; but we do not hear it denounced as such in our West-end pulpits, before the fathers and mothers of those who pay these poor women. Fathers and mothers would often far rather have their sons spending a great deal on these poor women than have them marry those who have not got a good income. So long as society is what it is, the sins that defile it will be fed and ministered to. We must readjust the relationships of our social life. Women must hallow the bonds that bind them to their fellow women, and multiply the charms of home for those poorer than themselves, and prove that in their sight simplicity, work, and purity, are more precious and desirable than luxury and elegant idleness.

R. GRAHAM, Esq., Manchester.

I WOULD not have ventured to claim five minutes' attention in proceedings where all the readers have been speakers, and, with one single exception, all the speakers readers, except for one reason, and that is that the Chairman wished laymen to speak on this subject. I have not heard touched upon in very plain terms, except by Mr. Brinckman, what are the causes from which this evil of prostitution proceeds. Any one who is conversant with the state of the homes of the agricultural population, and still more with the homes to be found in the back slums of large towns, and knows that in the large majority of cases you will there find a single bedroom for father, mother, and grown-up sons and daughters, will understand perfectly well that that is the prolific source of perhaps about 75 per cent. of the prostitutes to be seen in our streets. If we desire to do away with that great curse, we should in the first place endeavour, by the power of the Artizans Dwellings Act in large towns, and in the country by urging large landowners, to bring about a better condition of the homes of the people. The second point to which I wish to refer has been alluded to already—the seeming antagonism of this work to that of temperance reform. To my mind there are no two causes which so touch, and act, and re-act on each other. Any one who has lived in Manchester, and knows that at the corner of each large street there are in close combination gin-palaces and demoralized women, will understand another great cause of immorality. I once asked the Bishop of Manchester to speak at our meeting in the Free Trade Hall, and he said, "What do you want me to talk about?" I said, "You are to preach next Sunday in Angel Meadow, in going home look in at the ginshop at the corner of ——— Street, and tell us what you see." He did so, and on the platform he told us this: "I saw little children, whose heads hardly reached up to the counter, put up jugs for beer; I saw women in rags and squalor drinking gin and suckling children three or four months old at the same time; and I turned away and felt in my inmost heart that I would sooner keep a brothel than a ginshop." It is very well known that there are a large number of disreputable houses in every town, yet how seldom do we find there is a strong attempt to put them down. There was the case of the Argyll Rooms, in London, than which a more infamous house never existed. This statement was made to the magistrates by the Rev. J. W. Horsley, Chaplain of Clerkenwell Prison, and we all know that he had to face an action for libel on account of that statement, which cost him a large sum. I have only time now to say that I cannot see why women should be ostracized and put beyond the pale of decent society for a sin which is committed by men in the upper, middle, and lower classes of society with impunity; and so long, in my opinion, as we have that state of things, so long will the evil go on, at even a faster pace than now. If the time ever comes, however, when the doors of respectable houses are closed on the faces of such men, then you will cut off a large source of this great evil.

The Rev. THEOPHILUS BENNETT, M.A.

WE have just heard the Manchester school of thought well put before us, and I now re-echo the sentiments of the previous speaker, and say "ditto" to everything that fell from him. Like a Manchester man he went to the root of the evil, and inquired into its causes. There was one cause, however, he did not touch upon, and it was *dress*. Now, someone said long ago in the crinoline days, that "Crinoline was at the bottom of all the immorality in the country." Nowadays,

however, we have got to the antipodes of that, and yet the world is not purer. There is a practical reform, in my opinion, to be effected in the matter of dress which would be very beneficial. I think it was Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne who asked a clergyman who was always preaching against drunkards, why he never said a word against *dress-hards*. But the fact is we are afraid to denounce this vice, for perhaps some of our very near relatives might appear in a manner that would not exactly exemplify our sermons. Dr. Richardson said the other day, that if the ladies only knew anything about anatomy they would never think of going about on stilts. I pity the ladies myself; they move about in sacks, and they cannot even put out their legs. Let us have something practical. We clergymen have a particular dress, and I do not see why our wives should not have a particular dress also. If our wives set the example to our congregations, we should not see so many dress-hards. If some lady would devise a nice, suitable costume for a clergyman's wife, she would be conferring a great benefit on others. I must thank the lady who has sent us her able paper (Miss Hopkins), and also the gentleman who has read it so well. I once heard it laid down that one lady was worth thirteen gentlemen, and having sat out all this discussion, I have no hesitation in giving my verdict in favour of the lady. While we are talking of penitentiary work, and the Church, let me make one remark, or rather one practical suggestion. To bring sermons to the Church Congress is like carrying coals to Newcastle, and nearly everyone who has stood up, whether clerical or lay, seems to have thought it necessary to sermonise. If we could light this sermonising up by a little talking, as we would talk to a neighbour, we would do good work. And my advice about this sermonising at Church Congresses is—reform it altogether.

CONGRESS HALL, WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON,

SEPTEMBER 29TH.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP of CARLISLE took the Chair
at 2.30 o'clock.

INTERNAL UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE THREE GREAT SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT IN
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND UPON EACH OTHER AND UPON
THE CHURCH.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of DURHAM.

WHAT is our ideal of a Church? By this question, I do not mean what notion have we formed of the company of glorified Saints, the spotless Bride of Christ, the Church keeping her Eternal Sabbath. The enquiry has a more immediate and practical bearing. What is

our conception of the Church in her working garb, amidst her week-day occupations? What ideal have we formed for the historical Church, the militant Church?

Here is an answer :

“The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind.”

If we have watched such a net drawn to shore or hauled into a fishing boat, we shall have no difficulty in realising the force of the image. Here is a confused mass of living beings—hideous and grotesque forms, motley and changing hues—skate, dog-fish, cuttle-fish—great ghastly eyes glaring out of the abdomen—long slimy hands and feet protruding from the head—every monstrosity of shape and colour. From the bottom of our hearts we pity poor perjured Clarence in his terrible night-mare, confronted with those ugly sights, as he sank amidst the gurgling, rushing waters. And yet this is the image of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The authority of the teacher is unquestioned. The tenour of the lesson is plain. And yet the history of the Church teems with examples of its fatal neglect. Like the companion parable of the tares, the figure speaks distinctly, but speaks in vain. It would seem as if men found a zeal for God and a fervour of religion incompatible with the patient waiting which it inculcates. The bravery, the steadfastness, the self-sacrifice, the devotion, the heroism of the Master's example, are fully appreciated; but the moderation and forbearance, the *ἐπιείκεια* of Christ, find fewer followers among ardently religious men.

The most obvious illustration is the Donatist schism. No one now has a good word for the Donatists. Sitting in judgment on the past, zealous Churchmen would not for a moment hesitate in the choice between the spirit of S. Augustine and the spirit of Donatism? Is this always quite consistent? Do not the same men who condemn the Donatists use language and laud principles which are the very embodiment of the old Donatist spirit? Let us try to put ourselves in the position of a Donatist? What scorn, what pity, what abhorrence did he not manifest towards the lukewarmness, the indifference to truth, the temporising with worldly exigencies, the dalliance with the civil powers, the giving to Cæsar of the things that are God's, which distinguished the main body of the Catholic Church? With what fervour of language and what strength of conviction did he not quote the Scriptural precept—“Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing”? “What has the Emperor to do with the Church?” cried Donatus. “The principle expressed in these words of Donatus,” writes Neander, “that Church and State should be kept wholly distinct from each other had at that time . . . become universally recognised among the Donatists.” How perfectly admirable is the typical Donatist, if zeal and courage and intensity were everything. Yet Donatism was doomed. It had forgotten the counsels of Divine forbearance, “Let both grow together.” The fatal schism within was followed by the barbarian invasion from without. This is the almost invariable sequence in the history of Churches. The Vandal

follows on the heels of the Donatist; and then what becomes of the African Church? "He that hath ears to hear let him hear."

The ecclesiastical history of Africa in the earliest centuries has furnished one illustration; the ecclesiastical history of Scotland in these latest ages will supply another.

Was it not a magnificent sight—a manifestation of conscientious self-sacrifice and zeal for the purity of the Church on the grandest scale—the exodus of those four hundred ministers, leaving homes and endowments, going forth they knew not whither, placing their future altogether in the hands of God? It was magnificent. Who can deny it? But was it war? Did it show that generalship, that patience of imperfect instruments, that tolerance of temporary inconveniences, that foresight of consequences, which is not less necessary than zeal and courage in the campaign against the powers of evil? Did it not too much resemble that brilliant cavalry charge, of which the bravery indeed was transparent and can never lose its moral effect, but wherein the loss of life was ruinous, and which everyone condemns now as a military blunder of the gravest kind? For what is the result? Here you have face to face two Churches, absolutely at one in their doctrinal formularies and their ecclesiastical polity—even to the most minute points—not kept apart now even by the question which was the cause of disruption—yet (so it would appear) hopelessly and irreconcilably estranged from each other:

They stand aloof—the scars remaining—
Like cliffs which have been rent asunder,
A dreary sea now flows between.

Again, I say: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

The drift of these remarks will be obvious. The Donatist schism in Africa, and the disruption in Scotland, arose out of relations which were, or were supposed to be, unsatisfactory between Church and State. It is undeniable that at the present moment there is much uneasiness on this very point among English Churchmen. No doubt there are many anomalies in our position with regard to the State. There is much which requires patient forbearance and delicate handling before the tangle can be unravelled. Many ardent spirits are eager to cut the knot at once, instead of trying to untie it. To zealous, chivalrous natures, more especially, there is a sort of attractiveness in the prospect of the gigantic sacrifice which this course would involve. They do not see, or do not reflect, that, though the sacrifice would be great to themselves, it would be greater still to their successors, and greatest of all to the Church of which they are members. The magnificent unworldliness of the Donatist threatens to be repeated once more, with all its fatal consequences. The Donatists hailed with satisfaction the advent of the great enemy of the Church, the Emperor Julian, through whom they hoped to secure their independence. Patient working and patient waiting, till God in His own good time should disentangle the meshes and loose the fetters—this was altogether beyond their range of vision. "Let both grow together" was a precept unheeded and unheard. The tares must be rooted out at all hazards.

I have spoken of unity as affected by our outward relations with the State. Let me consider it next as affected by the state of opinion within the Church itself.

The existence of three schools of thought—I prefer so to speak of them, rather than as three parties—in our Church, has now become the tritest of common-places. It is more important to observe that they had their prototypes in the Apostolic age; that, where a Church is vigorous and active, they must almost of necessity co-exist; that their co-existence is a guarantee of the fulness of teaching; that the loss of any one would be a serious impoverishment to the life of a Church; and that therefore it is not expedient to attempt to thrust out, or to starve out, any one of them, while at the same time adherence to the fundamental principles of the Catholic Creed and loyalty to the Church in which they minister must be demanded of all alike.

Pleading, as I do to-day, for toleration, and even large toleration, I am bound to emphasize this demand as a fundamental qualification. At this time more especially the obligation is the stronger, because some seem to think that a Church can do very well without a Creed, or at least without a Creed to which its ministers are required to subscribe. Though I have the deepest sympathy with the motives and aspirations of some who hold this view, though I hold it a privilege to reckon them among my personal friends, I have not, and never had, any sympathy with the view itself. I do not understand a Church without a Creed. I do not understand a clergyman standing up to teach in a Church, without first asking himself definitely what he is going to teach. I can see no other prospect before such a Church but vagueness, irresoluteness, inanity, confusion, decay. The motive power is gone. The bond of cohesion is snapped. Dissolution—rapid dissolution—is the inevitable consequence. So far as I have read history, no body ever has held together for long under such conditions as these.

If in the sequel I should find myself using the epithets “High,” “Low,” and “Broad,” I shall only do so because they are convenient and recognised terms. But they are not good in themselves. The distinction of High Churchman and Low Churchman—so long as these two terms alone were current—was intelligible enough. It designated the greater or less stress which the person so styled laid on the Church—the collective body, the corporate life—as compared with the individual in the economy of the Gospel. But the introduction of the term “Broad” has thrown everything into confusion. From the point of view indicated no third term was possible. The breadth of a Broad Churchman refers to something else. Thus the three terms have no common measure. Let us rather look at the three directions of thought, and try to see their significance.

The Gospel—the special message of God to man—may be considered in three different bearings; in its relation to the individual man; in its relation to the Church, the collective body of believers; and in its relation to all that lies without, to mankind and to the universe.

Having stated these three relations, I have in effect stated the characteristic features of the three great schools which the Church

of England at this moment comprises. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon this. In the revival of the English Church the Evangelical school was the earliest in time. The stress of its teaching was laid altogether on personal religion, the relation of the individual soul to God. Then came the Tractarian movement. The history, the constitution, the ritual, the laws, the continuous corporate life of the Christian body, with the corresponding duties of the individual as a member of that body—these were the special study of this second school. The range of vision was thus extended. But a wider field was still open for the contemplation of the Christian and the Churchman. All these problems of social and political life, all these unconverted heathen throughout the world, all these past ages of human history, all these manifold processes of nature—most simple, yet most intricate—most minute, yet most vast—boundless in time and space—what do these mean? What is their relation to the Gospel, to the Christ, to the Church? The Christian, the Churchman, must become Cosmopolitan also.

In God's good providence these three schools have followed each other in the order which was most conducive to the well-being of the Church. I remember some quarter of a century ago listening to a sermon from the great Missionary Bishop of our Church and age, then in the zenith of his fame. To others, he may have been best known as the Bishop of Lichfield; but to myself he shall always be the Bishop of New Zealand, for as such he left his impression upon me. In this sermon he applied, somewhat quaintly, but with striking effect, the summons of the Apocalyptic Messenger—"The Spirit and the Bride say come"—to the two lessons which the two schools of theology, then prominent in the Church, were commissioned especially to teach—the direct inward communion of the individual soul with God and the functions and destiny of the Church as the spouse of Christ. If my memory serves me rightly, he went on to say that the order in which these two messages were delivered to the Church of England was providential—first the Spirit, then the Bride. It was essential that the lesson of the responsibilities of the individual soul should be impressed upon her first. Otherwise the doctrine of the Church would assume a hard, stiff, mechanical form. It would tend to petrification, not to life. We may extend this train of thought to the third school—third in point of time as well as in logical sequence; which, when Bishop Selwyn spoke, had not yet attained to the consistency of a school, so as to claim a place by the side of the others. It might have been perilous to the firm grasp of Christian truth within the English Church, if her members had indulged too freely in speculations on the relations of the Church and the Gospel to the external domain of thought and life, before she had mastered definite conceptions of their relations to the individual soul or to the Christian society. But the time at length came when these problems were forced upon her notice. The more intimate acquaintance with the wide-spread religions of the East—the fuller researches of history and archæology—the rapid succession of conquests in the domain of science—the multiplication of social and political questions owing to the intensified activity of public life in

all its forms—all these were factors in the world of thought and action with which the Church must reckon. We may thank God that men were found within the pale of the English Church ready to face such problems. Here is the true *breadth* of Churchmanship. It is not laxity, not dilution; but it is comprehensiveness of vision.

I have already said that these schools had their prototypes in the Apostolic Age. Of all the great centres in which the Apostles laboured, the city of Corinth, with its manifold interests, most nearly represents the intensity and variety of modern life. Hence it is just here that we find what we seek. "I am of Cephas." Here speaks the man who clings with fondness to the Church of the fathers, to the principle of historic continuity, to the traditions of the past. "I am of Paul." Here is the utterance of another to whom the whole Gospel is summed up in the conception of a personal relation to God, of a justifying faith. Lastly, "I am of Apollos." Alexandria was the converging point of all the streams of human life and thought in the ancient world. The function of a learned Alexandrian was to reconcile all these diverse elements in Christ. Apollos was the prototype of a Clement and an Origen and a Dionysius. He who said "I am of Apollos" was the Broad Churchman of his day. S. Paul tolerated all these schools of theology at Corinth. Shall not we tolerate them among ourselves? Only his proviso must be ours also; that Christ be not divided.

Tolerate them. Is this enough? Ought we not rather to welcome them? Ought we not to thank God for them? What is it that makes this Church of England, with all her faults and amidst all her perplexities, the most influential Church among the more highly civilized nations of Christendom? What, except that, while holding firmly the central truths of the Gospel, she has not broken with the legitimate thoughts and aspirations of any section of society? She is committed to no syllabus; she is pledged to no condemnation of political developments or scientific ideas which to-day has proved, or to-morrow may prove, to be useful or true.

Very many in this room are old enough to remember when the names of Maurice and Kingsley were looked upon with suspicion and dislike, almost amounting to horror. Perhaps a few are conscious that, if they had had their own way, these men would have been branded and cast out of the English Church as heretics. How is it now? There may be some things in the teaching of either to which you or I could not yield assent. But on one point, I venture to think, there will be no difference of opinion; that these two men have done a work of incalculable moment in influencing the social and scientific aspirations of their age, and thus retaining them in subjection to the Gospel of Christ and in loyalty to this our dear mother Church of England.

And not only is the beneficent influence of each school exerted on the Church at large. It is felt very appreciably by the other two. It is impossible to enter the Church of an Evangelical clergyman—however pronounced may be his opinions—without finding everywhere on the building, on the furniture, on the music, on the ritual, the impress of those principles of decorum and reverence in public worship, which it was the function of the High Church movement

to inculcate. It is equally impossible to take up the writing of any intelligent High Churchman and compare it with some corresponding work written a quarter of a century ago, without tracing in the improved tone adopted in the treatment of social or scientific topics—the labour question for instance, or the epochs of geology—the marked influence of the Broad Church school. This is another reason why, if you are wise, you will not attempt to cast out these influences, but will suffer them to work like leaven within. So long as they remain within the pale, they moderate, and are moderated, by contact one with another.

But why different schools, when the truth admits no difference? Schools are one-sided and partial; schools imply extravagance. The answer is, that we hold this treasure—the truth—not only in coarse, fragile, earthen vessels, but in vessels of limited capacity also. But the truth—the truth of the Gospel—is wide, is manifold. You or I, this or that school, cannot contain it all. If perchance we are mentally so constituted as to take comprehensive views, this comprehensiveness is only purchased in our case at the cost of some firmness of grasp. We do wisely therefore, to tolerate divers types of thought and opinion within the pale, though by so doing we should tolerate some extravagance and even some error. The price is trifling compared with the gain. The lessons are more direct, and the extravagances are tempered, so long as they come from within. By casting them out we magnify the evil and we minimize the good.

But it will be said: “By your consecration vow you pledge yourself with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God’s Word.” I do not forget this. But experience has shown that to expel the teacher is not always the best way to expel the doctrine. Experience has shown that the erroneous doctrine often springs up with greater luxuriance where the ground has been cleared by the removal of the erroneous teacher. Experience proclaims that a patient forbearance, a discriminating toleration, a sympathetic effort to appreciate the good and moderate the evil, is often a far more effective instrument of repression than the anathema or the excommunication.

So, then, after eighteen centuries, we return once more to the old lessons which, taught then by the highest authority, have been confirmed now by the longest experience: “Let both grow together until the harvest;” “The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you.”

The EARL of CARNARVON.

(This Paper was read for the Earl of Carnarvon by the Rev. G. R. Portal,
Rector of Burghclere.)

I HAVE, to my great regret, been prevented by an early departure from England, which has altered all my plans, from attending and taking personal part in the subject of discussion; but I propose, in

the following paper, briefly to indicate some of those considerations which, had I been present, I should have endeavoured to enforce.

I shall not touch upon the theological aspect of the question beyond this—that, assuming always a loyal belief in the supernatural facts and the cardinal doctrines of revealed religion, the three great parties in the Church have legitimate functions to discharge; that each of them represents a true principle; and that all in combination are necessary to the inclusiveness and the active life of the Church. With this assumption, I prefer to cast my few observations into as practical a form as possible; and, for the sake of clearness, I will lay down two propositions of a very homely nature and will follow them up by three inferences of the same kind. They are not new, but, if true, they are not the worse for having been said before.

My first proposition then is that, on the whole and fairly considered, these three great parties enjoy within the pale of the Church of England—some of them more, some of them less, but all of them considerable, freedom. Each in turn complain as they become conscious of restraint. Each are subject to occasional disadvantages or hardship, and each will, in such circumstances, probably take exception to my proposition; but, on the whole, I know no other Church where, assuming always that the essential limits of spiritual truth are not invaded, so much liberty of thought and action exists.

My second proposition is, that never in the life of a single generation have changes so large and so much debated been accomplished with so much ultimate acquiescence by the various opposing parties. Let those whose memory carries them back to the great revival of Church life in Oxford, more than forty years ago, recall the bitter and apparently irreconcilable controversies, which divided congregations and set households at variance, not so much on doctrinal differences as respecting matters essentially of form—the use of the surplice in the pulpit, the length and character of the services, the use of hymns and choral service, the ornamentation of churches, and such like—and let them compare the feeling and state of things then and now. Can they deny that a change, amounting to a revolution, has been accomplished, amid many risks, often amid bitter contention, but yet without material injury to the structure and fair fabric of that Church, which was called by one of her most eloquent divines, the “glory of the Reformation, the surest bulwark of Protestantism, and the express image of the purest antiquity?” And do they not recognise in this the old saying that “all things come to him who knows how to wait?” Do they not see that the natural drift of events and of English thought will, if they have but patience, accomplish much, if not all that they desire? Vast therefore as this change has been, changes as great are probably before us. All round us the signs of the times indicate the transitional, and almost revolutionary, phase through which we are passing; but, to use an ancient illustration, the Church, like the moon, wanes for a time only to wax afterwards in size and splendour, and our wisdom just now, I am convinced, consists rather in watching and waiting upon events,

and in accommodating ourselves to them, than in attempting to anticipate or to force them. Such then being the facts, what are the inferences to be drawn from them ?

I. Let us not fall into the error of undervaluing what we have, because we cannot get all that we want. The work which is doing at home, in country parishes, in crowded towns, by missions to low populations, by fearless argument with every form of educated unbelief, the resurrection of a long-buried and well-nigh inanimate Convocation, the relations of an almost patriarchal headship growing up between the Church at home and her hundred daughters on Anglo-Saxon soil abroad ;—all these are in great measure due to the faith, liberality, and self-devotion of Churchmen. But a large proportion also of this work can only be done by an Established and Endowed Church. Let us not deceive ourselves on this vital point. There may be compensations to be found in a Church untrammelled by the State, though Cavour's favourite idea of a "free Church in a free State" has never yet, in his sense, passed from the region of words to that of fact. Perhaps, even the stream of individual liberality would be quickened by the loss of State support, but the blow to the daily work of the Church would be, in some respects, irreparable.

The Church of England would probably become more and more the Church of the wealthy and respectable ; and many of the poorest and lowest of our population would cease to hear the Gospel. Let not, therefore, anyone dream that, in substituting a voluntary for an Established Church, they can escape the greatest of national calamities. The Colonial Churches, with their comparatively small populations, and the vast resources of those young communities, present wholly different conditions ; whilst in the United States, many of their best Churchmen marvel to see the hot impatience with which some of us are ready to sacrifice the incalculable advantages which we now possess.

My second inference, addressed, perhaps, to a different school, is that none but the most shortsighted will look to legislation as a remedy for our present difficulties. There are some who fancy that there is virtue in an Act of Parliament, and who, on the chance of the Act being drawn in their favour, would embrace it, and would even clamour for it. But the conditions of Parliament, as now constituted, are incapable of wise and just legislation on Church questions. There is scarcely a line on this subject in the Statute book of recent years, which would not be better out than in it ; and, whatever our difficulties and even our contentions, the less we have of Parliamentary interposition the happier shall we be.

And my third and last inference is the often reiterated moral, in which all will agree, but which few will observe, that we should exercise somewhat more forbearance towards each other in the necessary differences which must characterise the relations of a Church so comprehensive as ours ; and this on grounds of worldly wisdom as much as of Christian charity. As between enemies or opponents it is of course idle to preach forbearance ; but as between men who have common objects, whose common safety depends upon common action, and who are divided by difference

which bear so small a proportion to the points of agreement, and which, as compared with the aggressive influences of modern infidelity—must I not add of often virulent political antagonism?—are at least of a secondary order, there forbearance is a maxim of simple prudence. Let us at least neither magnify our disagreements by the acrimony of our controversies, nor justify the sneer of the historian, that, like the Greeks of Constantinople, we dispute over differences of form, whilst the enemy is at our gates. No part of the Constitution of this ancient realm has shown a greater elasticity in accommodating itself to the changes of time than the Church of England; none a larger power in evolving fresh forces; none, even historically considered, a nobler record of literature, of intellect, of actual work achieved. And none, too, has so vast a field still open to it.

Men have envied her grandeur, and prophesied her fall; her foes go round her walls and mark her battlements; but temporal and religious assaults have alike fallen idle. No weapon that has been formed against her has prospered, and even the tongues that have risen against her have been condemned. But the true peril—none can doubt it—is from within; and if parties become factions, and they who should be our strength divide our household, that which neither the rivalry of Rome, nor the opposition of Dissent, nor the ceaseless fret of political warfare, nor the bitter hatred of atheistic philosophy could effect—

Quos neque Tydides nec Larissæus Achilles,
Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinæ—

our own dissensions may bring to pass. And, therefore, to sum up my practical conclusion in a few words, it is for all parties in the Church, but especially for the Bishops, to recognise the distinct and, as I hold, the legitimate schools of thought which exist amongst us, and with a generous construction of motives, and a liberal exercise of the discretion happily entrusted to them, to give free and fair play to different congregations and parties in the practice and externals of divine worship.

The man has outgrown the clothes of the child, and the strict uniformity which was once perhaps desirable, and even necessary, is, under our altered conditions, no longer possible. But, by some sacrifice of uniformity, substantial unity may be secured; and by the lessening of friction—to use an illustration not unsuited to the circumstances of a manufacturing town—the manifold and complex machinery of our lives, as Churchmen and citizens, may be made to work for the common weal.

The Rev. T. P. BOULTBEE, D.D.

WE may at once assume the fact that there is, because there must be, some mutual influence exercised upon each other by the various schools of thought in the Church of England. The very stones are acted upon by the common atmosphere, and, if forced into collision, round their corners by attrition. Men cannot isolate themselves if

they would. The atmosphere of thought, like the air we breathe, is redolent of the influences through which it has come to ourselves.

Church history sometimes forgets this manifest truth. Yet which of us is prepared to say how far, for example, the Montanist principles of the vehement Tertullian tinged imperceptibly the African Church, and so through its great teachers influenced the whole of Western Christendom? Or what shall be said about Gnostics and Manichees combatted, repelled, defeated; yet, it may be, leaving a taint of materialism and bodily asceticism which in idea and in practice abides in some quarters still?

There were "schools of thought" of old, at least as strongly marked as any we have now. "Their influence upon each other and upon the Church" has not always been duly weighed. Certainly all is not primitive or Catholic which can be traced to the early centuries. The mind of man is always working changes, and even doctrines the most steadfastly maintained are modified somewhat in tone and colour.

The contemporary view of this subject is now before us. It must be understood from the principles of our common human nature manifested in the facts of history. It is, perhaps, more theoretical than practical. It asks rather how we have come to be what we are in this Church, than what we ought to be. Yet practical men must remember that theory, when true, throws light of the most valuable kind upon practice, and on the hidden springs which lead to practical results:—a consideration, by the bye, which people who undervalue doctrine ought most seriously to consider.

It would be a most unworthy treatment of such a subject to handle it with an eye to mere party applause. We are asked calmly to survey the actual facts of our present history. Yet the time is so limited that details are almost forbidden. We have to view the Church of England as containing in her capacious bosom the three great schools of thought, which are unquestionably sheltered there. And we have to ask how and in what degree they influence her and influence each other.

It would not be difficult to point out the elements even before the Reformation from which these three schools have arisen. Certainly since that era they have always been present in our Church, though not in the same distinct array in which modern activity has marshalled them, or which it has forced them to assume. In speaking of them further I am compelled to use descriptive names. And I shall use these three, failing any others which would be as well understood. *High Church*, *Broad Church*, *Evangelical*. I avoid the term which temptingly completes the trio, *Low Church*, not from sensitiveness as to its being either appropriate or deserved, but because it leads to a historical fallacy. It is the well known title of a party of the days of the English Revolution, of which Bishop Burnet is the type. Everyone who has read his Exposition of the Eleventh Article knows that he is not an Evangelical. For this reason I adopt the title Evangelical for that "school of thought." However they came by it (and I cannot learn that they chose or assumed it) the appellation is sufficiently recognised, and fairly describes their main characteristic.

And now, if this "influence" is to be traced, I must attempt a delicate thing. I must try to indicate what to me at least seem the main characteristics of "the three schools." There are many things in which they differ, but there must be a central principle lying at the heart of all their ramifications of doctrine or practice. I submit the following notes of each to be as definite as such brevity allows.

The central doctrine of the real Evangelical is the necessity for individual conversion of the heart by a direct operation upon it of the Holy Ghost. That operation is not regarded in necessary connection with the Sacrament of Baptism. Thereupon follows the justification of the sinner by that faith which the Holy Ghost, and not the act of his own reason, has imparted.

The central idea of the High Churchman I take to be that he finds in the Sacraments and Ordinances of the Church the channels by which the Grace of God reaches the heart of man, primarily for regeneration, subsequently for all which the spiritual life requires.

The Broad Churchman relies more on natural enlightenment and the power of the individual conscience. The necessity of an absolute conversion is thrown into the background, and there are more lax views of the inspiration of Holy Scripture and a freer mode of interpretation than the other two schools would sanction.

Historically, these schools have had their periods of predominance. The Evangelical in the reign of Elizabeth, the High Church under the two Charleses, the Broad Church after the English Revolution. And in our own day each of them has received marked development, and stood out before the world in conspicuous array. I have noted only the central principle of each. There is not time for more. I have omitted entirely the logical inconsistencies with which men may mix incoherent fragments of them. I have also left out of sight any excesses which may adhere to the fringe of any of them. We are here an assembly for the most part of sober-minded earnest Churchmen, with varying doctrinal sympathies no doubt, but loyally and sincerely loving our Church, and desiring for the moment calmly to consider the influences of the principles which have been for centuries at work among us.

They show themselves in our day in amazing vigour. They meet in Convocation, in Congress, in Synod, in the Press, and in Society. They are always jostling, colliding, attracting, repelling. They gain and they lose adherents. They have supporters eager, aggressive, sharply defined in phrase and attitude. There are others indolently floating between them; languidly objecting to something in each caring little for any.

How do they influence each other? Between man and man there are at least two modes of influence—attraction, repulsion. Men are often driven further away by the very act of resistance. Let me illustrate what I mean by an example from the side most familiar to myself. Thirty or forty years ago there was a great struggle on the baptismal question. In the famous Gorham case it was attempted by force of law to fasten on the Regeneration Clauses of the Service for the Baptism of Infants an absolute, invariable, unconditional

meaning. If I have given a correct view of the central principle of the Evangelical school it will be seen at a glance that this would have been fatal by necessary logical consequence to the position which for 300 years they had held in the Church of England.

I want to illustrate from this the influence of repulsion. Thereupon grew up in men of the Evangelical school a great, I had almost said excessive, caution in their mode of speaking of Baptism. Words which to the former generation, to Charles Simeon, or Edward Bickersteth, for example, would have been natural, were avoided through fear of being misunderstood in the dreaded direction.

But why need I dwell on this? Reactions, whether political or religious, are sufficiently familiar phenomena of thought and movement.

But on the other side, that of attraction, may we expect any process which may gradually so bring these three great schools together, as to blend them in some neutral mixture? It is, I believe, vain to expect it, and unwise even to desire it. When the neutral tint pervades the landscape, when one cold grey covers earth and sky, light and life alike seem darkened. No deep shadow, no broad sunlight, no flitting clouds, no signs of tempest—yes, but no gleams of coming brightness! Little fear! but ah, little hope! No, we cannot blend. One school may more or less prevail, and acquire adhesions from the others or from the outside multitude; individuals may waver, hardly understanding their own theology; but the three schools must in the main abide as modes of thought exercising itself on the phenomena of spiritual life and experience, on Church organisation and worship, and on the relations of conscience with Holy Scripture. Principles must abide. In this, to borrow is to perish. There are three primary colours. In mixing they vanish.

But though principles must abide, something may result from their meeting. There may be, I think there is, an abatement of harsh and extreme dogmatism, as we come to understand more of each others' difficulties. This does not mean less certainty, but more courtesy. Not less clear dogma, but less rashness of statement. And I think something of this may be seen. But I see no sign of that weak amalgamation of contradictory principles which some people desire, but which men of earnest belief must dread as ushering in a reign of torpor and spiritual insensibility.

Surely we may all welcome such an abatement of harsh extremes. In Elizabeth's days the Puritans had two leading opponents. The vehemence of Whitgift, archbishop though he was, lies hid in mouldering volumes. The calm judicial defence of Hooker, looking forth over the field from the massive entrenchments of solid principles, is studied from generation to generation. Something of this moderated tone may perhaps now be recognised. I, at least, may not ungracefully acknowledge a more fair and honourable estimate of the labours of the earlier Evangelicals, if not of our living selves, than controversy used to allow within our own memory. And if this does not lead to weakness, should it not be

welcomed? "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God."

But I must ask more individual questions. Has the influence of the Broad Church school done nothing? They will pardon me if I am not willing to give the palm for exact learning and sound criticism to their school. But if their principles admit a freer play of criticism on the sacred page, they must either by attraction or repulsion have drawn men of other schools to follow or to anticipate them in such studies. They must have stimulated the more exact, as distinguished from the more spiritual, study of the Word of God.

And, somehow, an unspeakable change has come over the great field of Bible criticism. Look back on the shelves familiar to my youth—the Patrick, Whitby, Hammond, Scott, Bloomfield, Horne. Look at your shelves now, groaning under the weight of the most detailed and elaborate results of vast learning brought to bear on the text, history and exegesis of Holy Writ. What the Biblical scholar of the next generation will have to encounter I tremble to imagine. The load of sound learning—I say nothing of unsound—becomes too heavy for any shoulders but those of a giant.

Who of competent learning will hesitate to recognise a sense of security, of strengthened faith, as upon the whole resulting from manifold labours of illustrious scholars of varied schools of thought? They pass away, that motley array of assailants, rapidly fading into dim shadows of vanishing human thought. They pass away, mutually destructive, that Strauss, Renan, Colenso. Their objections fail, their theories die, but "The Word of God endureth for ever."

Again, doubtless the great High Church school has in our day been prominent in care for varied acts and forms of outward worship and organisation. I am not speaking of extreme men and extreme practices. They are out of my subject. I do not regard them as any true portion of the great historical school which looks back with filial regard to Sancroft and Ken and their compeers.

Doubtless he must be blind who does not freely admit the vast influence in this direction of the High Church school. Yet, were there time, one might discuss how much may be due to them, and how much to the spirit of antiquarianism, to the love of artistic conceptions, to the revived study of music, to the restless power of fashion sweeping away the more mobile sections of humanity. But I must pass these and many more.

And has no influence gone forth from Evangelical thought and labour? They look forth over the whole Church, and they think they see it everywhere. Younger men do not know what the Church of England was. Fifty years ago, to stand on the platform of a religious meeting as Evangelicals alone did—to hold cottage meetings—was to incur obloquy and contempt, if not something more. To sing hymns instead of Tate and Brady was next door to heresy. To send Missionaries to Africa was blind fanaticism. To encourage the pious laity, men or women, to speak for their Saviour to the lost ones to whom they could obtain access was the most censurable irregularity. Extempore prayer was a mark of virtual dissent. I have lived to see a meeting at Lambeth of some sixty clergy of all the *three great schools*, and to hear the Primate

himself call upon members of *each* to address their Father in Heaven without premeditation, and to hear each in full spiritual harmony calling then upon Him.

No tongue can well describe the change I have lived to see, coming, as I believe, and as many others confess, in no small degree from the influence, upon the Church, of the Evangelical "school of thought." And they rejoice to believe that, if the world gave to them the designation of Evangelical, they have no monopoly of the Gospel.

They think that through their faithful testimony for many generations a more spiritual conception of the Gospel is very widely received and taught among many who are not of them. And if this be so, however little they may feel it possible to merge great principles and amalgamate inconsistent systems, "if Christ is preached they rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

J. G. TALBOT, Esq., M.P.

LEAVING to others, much more qualified for the task, the historical part of this great subject, I shall confine myself to its practical side, and shall try and put before you a few thoughts which occur to the lay churchman and the politician. First, how do the three great sections of the Church act upon each other, and how ought they to act?

I think that it is not taking too sanguine a view of facts to maintain that the members of the Church who take different views of what Churchmanship means are coming to understand and therefore to respect one another better than they did. I believe that one cause of this happier state of things is to be found in the more frequent opportunities of meeting which Churchmen now enjoy. The Diocesan Synods and Conferences, the Ruri-Decanal meetings, the Devotional gatherings in which, as I know, clergy of very different "views" are sometimes accustomed to unite, and (as in this place I am especially bound to add) the Church Congress, all these have brought together Churchmen, and particularly the clergy, who in former days were wont to nurse, in the isolation of their separate homes, the feelings of hostility which it is only too easy to entertain toward those from whom we differ. The increased efforts of the bishops to bring their clergy and laity together should here be thankfully acknowledged; nor can I in this connection omit to mention the power of veto, which the Fathers of the Church possess under a special section of a recent Act of Parliament, with regard to prosecutions for departure from uniformity. As an example of this more tolerant spirit, I cannot omit to refer to the admirable tone of a discussion between two leaders of the Church, of very different views, on the awful mysteries of Eschatology.

It is impossible to discuss such a subject as this without adopting, more or less, the current phraseology. And, therefore, I must use the terms "High Church," "Low Church," "Broad Church," and if we *must* have distinguishing names (I deplore the necessity) I

prefer *these* to any which associate the different parties with the names of men. Such designations always seem to me too near the Corinthian examples to be safe from the Apostolic censure which those incurred. If, then, we may hope that the hostile influence of each of the three great sections of the Church upon one another is diminishing, if there is less tendency than there was to "bite and devour one another," how is the High Church party affecting the Low, and how the Broad? I think it is beneficially influencing each. To the Low Churchman, that is the man who is inclined to ignore Church order and discipline and to dwell exclusively upon the personal side of Religion, I believe the influence of the High Church party has been of service, in suggesting a nobler conception of the great Body to which all belong, and in leading to a higher respect for those outward forms of worship through which, in all ages, the spirit of man has been helped to aspire. It is a matter of common observation that even the Dissenting bodies have learnt, by the example of the Church, to value the amenities of Religion, and have seen how through them, as through the other amenities of life, great results are achieved, and an *à fortiori* argument will assure us that this effect is even more seen in the case of the Low Church party. To the Broad Churchman the influence of the High Church party has been of value, partly in the same direction as that just indicated, partly in impressing the value of definite statements of religious truth.

Or to take another side of the question: the influence of the Low Church party upon the others has been of value—in deepening the sense of the need of personal religion which was only obscurely felt by the older school of High Churchmen, and which is still undervalued in the teaching of many Broad Churchmen, in bringing home to the conscience the fundamental truths of the sinfulness of sin, and of the inestimable value of the Redeemer's sacrifice.

Once more, the influence of the Broad Church school upon the other two has been unquestionably strong. It has aroused, no doubt, perhaps even more than in the former cases, a keen sense of antagonism, and sometimes an uneasy feeling that the foundations of the faith were being sapped. But when the first irritation has subsided, I believe that those who are least disposed to call themselves Broad Churchmen would admit that their own views of the limits of toleration have been enlarged by contact with this growing school of thought. They have been led to examine more closely the grounds upon which their own convictions rest, and whether this examination has led them to a firmer confidence, or taught them to modify some views which had hitherto seemed impregnable, the result has surely been beneficial, and in many instances has been felt to be so.

If I am right in this view of the present action of the different sections of the Church upon one another, I should like to go on to consider what *ought* to be their mutual influence. This is a more difficult question and I am deeply sensible here, (as, indeed, throughout this paper), that I am assuming the character of an Instructor, with regard to many at whose feet I ought rather to sit. But if a layman is to speak at all on such subjects, this is, I suppose,

inevitable. I think, then, that I should say on this matter, as indeed is true with regard to so many subjects on which we are obliged to differ from one another (notably in politics), that it is a primary duty to understand the point of view taken by those who differ from us, and without compromising any principle of our own to aim at fully recognizing theirs. This may sound like a truism ; but, if so, it is one strangely ignored in practice. To illustrate my meaning, probably one or two concrete examples may suffice. I shall mention no names, but my hearers will be able to say whether the examples have actually occurred, or at least are likely to have occurred. A leading member of the Low Church party is reported to have said—“If any clergyman likes to preach in a surplice, or has the Lord’s Supper weekly, or has Saints’ Day services, or daily Matins and Vespers, I have not the least wish to interfere with him, though I cannot see with his eyes.” Now such a remark seems to me to betray a complete ignorance of the point of view from which these matters are regarded by the High Church party. They claim, in the regard they pay to such observances, to be carrying out simply the rules and orders of the Church to which they belong ; and whether it be allowable or not for others to dispense with them, it is surely little less than an insult for those who have agreed upon a system of self-dispensation to talk about “not interfering with” those who carry out strictly the law which is equally binding on all.

I think a similar want of appreciation of the motives of others is too often to be observed in other points connected with religious observance. It is too common to hear the observance of Sunday denounced as Pharisaism, when it happens to be a little stricter than that to which we are accustomed : and, in fact, this “Pharisaism” is a word which has become altogether too fashionable. I have sometimes noticed that those who are most opposed to what are called “isms,” and would claim for themselves to represent the true spirit of liberal Christianity, are rather prone to heap upon those who differ from them such names as “Religionists,” “Pharisees,” “Sabbatarians,” “Sacerdotalists,” without pausing to inquire whether this readiness to pile upon others such names of opprobrium is not indeed itself a strong mark of the spirit reproved in the Pharisees, who stood by themselves, and classed those who were less scrupulous (externally) than themselves, under the odious (if comprehensive) name of “sinners.” If the Low Churchman is apt to create a little Church of his own, into which none can enter who do not adopt a certain phraseology and exult in special personal revelations ; if the High Churchman is too ready under the name of “good Churchmen” to include none but those who value to the extent he has been taught the outward ordinances of the Church ; I cannot help fancying that the Broad Churchman is apt to construct a community which is too narrow to include any who will not be “Broad” in his sense.

These are, of course, the extreme instances in each case ; but it is only by mentioning such that we can test the dangers which surround us.

I should say then that the “Schools of Thought” ought first to understand one another (and this I have already said I believe they

are increasingly doing), and then to welcome, each from the others, what may be lacking here and perhaps redundant there. Truth, we know, though one, is many sided, and it is probable that no one presentation of it is sufficient. This is one of the glories of the Holy Scriptures, that they present to us no dull uniformity of teaching, but the beautiful diversities of Truth, which combine, like the colours of the rainbow, to set forth the One Light. Carping critics have busied themselves in finding discrepancies (as they call them) in the Bible, and have exercised a poor ingenuity in setting the teaching of one Apostle against that of another. But the devout Christian, I am persuaded, is delighted with the different sides of Divine Truth which he finds presented to him: and to him the sacred teaching appears a harmonious whole. Not otherwise is it with the Church. I do not press the analogy so far as to say that each "School of Thought" is as right as the others, but I do maintain that the Church of England would be poorer, if one of her great Divisions could be forcibly suppressed. The High Churchman will not hold less firmly to the Sacramental doctrine which he finds in the Prayer Book, if he admits that without the Low or Evangelical School he might have thought less of personal piety and the freedom of the soul's direct intercourse with God. Nor, again, will he less reverently insist upon the decency and order of Divine worship, because he is reminded by his fellow Churchmen of different mould that there is a danger in formalism, and that the Roman Communion has still a very real fascination for some minds whom (but for this caution) he might be training in a direction dangerous to them, if not to himself. Similarly, the Churchmen of both High and Low Schools will not contend less earnestly for the Faith as it has been handed down to them, if they recognise in the more sober part of the Broad Church School a disposition to approach the "difficulties of the day" in a more tolerant spirit than would have occurred to themselves, and if they learn from such men that it is as dangerous to insist upon what is not essential as to surrender what is.

I pass on, secondly, to consider the "influence of the Three Great Schools of Thought" upon the Church of England herself. It may seem an over-refined distinction of language: this attempt to distinguish between the Church herself and the "Schools" of which she is composed. But I think not: for I doubt very much whether any such division is exhaustive or complete. If it were desirable, I don't think it would be possible for any one to do what was unwisely suggested the other day in the House of Commons as an objection to a "Religious Census," viz: that if we took note of the various religious denominations, we must do the same for the various sections of the Church. To such a course there are many objections, but the only one on which I care now to dwell is that it is impossible. There are, if I mistake not, many amongst the clergy, I am sure there is a great multitude of Lay Churchmen, who would give no other answer, if asked as to their religious profession, than that they belong to the Church of England; who would distinctly decline to rank themselves with any of the "Schools of Thought," not because they do not care about Religion, but because they prefer the comprehensiveness of the whole body to the unnecessary definitions,

as they would deem them, of any of its sections. And it is important to observe that (with regard to one at least of these sections) some of those who are popularly known as Broad Churchmen have definitely repudiated any description which would limit them to any party description. A notable instance of this was the late Bishop Thirlwall whom, I suppose, it would have been impossible to describe except as a "Broad Churchman;" yet these are his words, "Let others interpret it" (the title "Broad Church") "as they will, to me it does not appear an appropriate description of any existing 'school,' party, or body, held together by a common set of theological tenets. I understand it as signifying a certain stamp of individual character, which I would describe as a disposition to recognize and appreciate that which is true and good under all varieties of forms, and in persons separated from one another by the most conflicting opinions." And further on he says "It would be monstrous presumption, and utterly inconsistent with Broad Church principles, according to my view, for any school or party to pretend to the monopoly of this title, as if there were no Broad Churchmen to be found out of its own little circle. I hope and believe that there are numbers who have a rightful claim to it, among those who only profess to belong to one or other of the two great sections of the Church." May it not be that there are also some who are confidently ranked as High Churchmen or Low Churchmen, who do not recognize the ties of party in any sense, beside the great multitude who neither are, nor can even be said to be, followers of any special school? The Church then is larger, probably much larger, than the aggregate of the Three Great Schools of Thought, so that it becomes no unpractical nor unimportant question to ask, What effect do these schools have upon the whole body? It would be flattery to pretend that the general effect was uniformly good, and indeed, in so far as these produce divisions and lead to bitterness, they must be ranked amongst the elements of weakness that mar the work which the Church is doing and might but for them do more effectually. To anyone who observes the effect already produced in this country by the revived work of the Church, the conclusion expressed by Dr. Osborn, speaking at the recent Wesleyan Conference, will not appear exaggerated: "Looking at its origin, effects, tendencies, and results, there is nothing in ecclesiastical history that can be put side by side with it." And sometimes to the Churchman who believes that the Church of which he is a member is the divinely appointed means of spreading light and happiness and culture throughout England, and not only so, but through her many dependencies, and even, by the powerful influence which she possesses, in some measure throughout the world, the reflection is almost overwhelming, "If so much is done in the present imperfect state of the Church, hampered by her 'unhappy divisions,' what might not the Church do united?" And, perhaps I may be allowed to say from my own Parliamentary experience, that if the Church is really united upon any matter, either of demand or defence, its strength, even in these days of rebuke, is almost incalculable: but, of course, by "the Church," I mean the Laity as well as the Clergy. It would not, therefore, I repeat, be honest for anyone

dealing with this subject to take only the bright side, and to ignore the positive harm which the divisions of the Church have effected. Bitterness and rancour within bear their natural fruit in weakness without : and the unbeliever or the misbeliever have their obvious retort, when urged to accept the system of the Church, "First agree upon your own differences, and then ask us to join you." I cannot in this paper enlarge upon this topic, but I would respectfully commend this view to those of my hearers who may perchance be so much engrossed in their own party organisations that they are apt to forget how much greater are the Church and its interests than those of any separate part of it. But I must not conclude without a word of encouragement, which, having qualified it in this way, I can most honestly give. It is one of the strongest convictions which I have gained from experience that the points of agreement amongst Churchmen are more, and more important, than the points of difference. Very often, I am persuaded, these last are due to misunderstanding of phrases employed, often also to the difficulty of using limitations in popular language, often to the prejudices of ignorance and the misrepresentations of malice. But when the central truths are in question, I am persuaded that the Church is in a very true sense united, and that the description given by one of those to whom you have lately listened of the early Church, is true of the Church of England now,—“The solidarity of the Church is the one striking fact unmistakably revealed to us.” More than this, I will gladly admit that the habit of dwelling upon the different aspects of truth, which are characteristic of the various Schools of Thought, leads to the harmony of the whole, or, to quote the words of S. Irenæus as cited by the Bishop of Durham, that “the difference of the usage establishes the harmony of the Faith.” This ancient Father was speaking of the varieties in the observance of Easter, and he, doubtless, means to say that however Christians might differ as to when to “keep the Feast,” yet they agreed, nay even their very anxieties and differences as to the season proved their agreement, in that most fundamental doctrine which Easter celebrates. And so I think we may believe that it is with regard to the various sections of our own Church. The very vigour which is displayed in the setting forth of various sides of its teaching betrays the energy with which that teaching is in its main characteristics held. To the member of one school it, perhaps, seems as if only one view of the Truth really set forth the whole ; and so he pursues it with a determination which seems to others, differently constituted, to be relentless. “Judge him not,” I would say to his critics, “he is doing your work as well as his”—and when the work comes to be measured up, it will be seen to be so. Human nature is so imperfect that it is a matter of the greatest difficulty for any man to present to himself, much more to others, the fulness of any truth. We will rejoice, therefore, that what one man or one set of men cannot do is done by the independent action of various sections of a great body such as the Church of England. And as of the many divisions, which distress and to some degree weaken the Universal Church, it may be truly said that they serve to illustrate the universality of certain great truths which are embraced by

men so widely differing in their disposition to the Truth ; so of the Church of England I will not hesitate to say that the Schools of Thought which divide her and weaken her, and even at times distract her, yet combine to attest her Catholicity.

Nor let her enemies doubt that when the time of crisis shall come for which they are looking, it will not be with the High, the Low, or the Broad Church party they will have to reckon, but with the United Church of England, strong with a reserve of strength little imagined in prosperous days, and justifying the glowing panegyric of the great poet :

“ Founded in truth ; by blood of martyrdom
Cemented ; by the hands of wisdom reared
In beauty of holiness, with ordered pomp,
Decent and unreprieved.”

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. CANON FARRAR, D.D.

It would be affectation to doubt that the phrase, “the three schools of thought,” is a synonym for the parties which are popularly called the “High, Low, and Broad Church parties.” We may regret their existence as “parties,” but as “schools of thought” I will at once express my conviction that it is good for the Church that each one of them should exist ; that their influence upon the Church and upon each other has been most beneficial ; that if they had not existed, the Church would have been less Catholic, less vigorous, less adapted to meet the wants of her children than she is ; that they have provoked each other to study and to good works ; that they have helped to rescue each other from the tyranny of shibboleths and the falsehood of extremes ; that if they will only work together in mutual amity and mutual toleration they will, even in these days, form a threefold cord which will not easily be broken. And I think thus because I see that, in all periods of progress, unbroken uniformity is impossible, and that artificial uniformity—since it can only co-exist with the silence of terror or the sleep of ignorance—is not desirable. Limits, indeed, there are to the possibilities of corporate union ; limits—

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

If any one transgress these we neither judge nor hate nor persecute him, for we hold, with the Emperor Maximilian, that “to offer to domineer over the conscience is to assail the citadel of heaven ;” but we say that then he cannot remain a member of the visible Church of Christ. But within these limits there is still large room for liberty and for charity. The Apostles themselves, though they all taught the same truths, yet looked at them from different points of view. The separate type of the theology of each was the synthesis between his own individuality and the common truth revealed to all. Round each of them—James, Paul, Kephas—gathered their groups of followers. The school of Antioch differed from that of Jerusalem, and the school of Jerusalem from that of Alexandria. Nay, more—then, as now, there were those who wished to import into these differences all the arrogant fierceness, all the bitter intolerance of partisans. But this was the point of difference at which the Apostles and all good men interfered. They laboured for charity ; they left to each other their several spheres ; they gave to each other the right hand of

fellowship; they never spoke of each other without mutual honour and mutual respect.

But while they exposed the sin and the peril of partisanship, yet they never attempted to crush individuality. Their terms of fellowship, as you may read them in St. Paul and St. John, were wide as the universality of the Gospel, broad as the commandments of God. They knew that the absolute truth, the truth in all its fulness and many-sidedness, is for God alone. They knew that as the colours of the rainbow are sevenfold though light is one, so there are sevenfold diversities of gifts and operations inspired by the one Spirit of God. And since the terms of fellowship are thus as catholic as the Church of God, it is clear that railing restrictions of fellowship within the narrow limits of a party are un-Evangelic, un-Apostolic, un-Christian. To those who tried to make such restrictions then St. Paul indignantly exclaimed, *Μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός* "Has the Christ been parcelled into fragments?" Will you dare to inscribe His name on the ignoble fluttering pennons of a party, or will you all march beneath that Name as it shines on the eternal banner of the Church? But when the Church, in the days of her power, strove to substitute a compulsory uniformity for this high spiritual unity, then began the darkest pages of her history. Then began false types of goodness and false types of orthodoxy. That was the secret of the Inquisition, of Albigenian crusades, of Smithfield martyrdoms, of religious tyranny and religious persecution in all its most hideous forms.

What was the result? Uniformity, indeed, but a Laodicean uniformity—the uniformity of ignorance, of stagnation, and of death. It was the uniformity which warred against all progress and all freedom; which, to take but two instances—in the mediæval Church, again and again, with rack and flame put down the beginnings of the Reformation; which, in the deadest days of the Church of England, showed—if I may quote the language of the late Bishop Wilberforce—"a semi-vitality, or rather an anti-vitality, when she drove from her sympathy that saint of God, John Wesley." It was the uniformity which, by crushing inquiry, ruined the cause of truth; which made men afraid to speak, or afraid to speak above a whisper; or which, if they spoke, made them careful "to steer through the channel of no meaning, between the Scylla and Charybdis of yes and no." There is nothing so revolutionary, because nothing so unnatural, as such mechanical uniformity. It is the attempt to keep men's thoughts fixed, when all things, by the very law of their being, are in eternal progress.

I say then that the friendly co-existence of three active schools of thought in the Church of England is a proof of her vitality. To trace those three schools back to their ultimate roots, in the very nature of the mind, is of course impossible. Practically we may say that the school which is called Low Church, and which prefers to call itself Evangelical—the party whose glory it is to have the possession, and whose temptation it is to claim the monopoly, of Gospel truths—the party which rightly and nobly upholds the claim of the individual judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, owes its revival to the great outburst of religious life in the days of the Methodists. The party which is called High Church, and which prefers to call itself Anglican or Catholic—the party which rightly and nobly lays a deep stress on the Church and the sacraments—dates its revival from the great Oxford Movement of which some of the leaders still live in honoured age. The party which is called Broad Church, and which prefers not to be called a party at all—which in point of fact is not a party—which has no party interests, no party organisation, no party shibboleths; which would be false to its own most cherished principles if it strove to enlist either for its friends the loud eulogies, or for its opponents the envenomed depreciations of party newspapers—dates its revival from the Cambridge Platonists. It has no shadow of enmity towards the High Church party. Like them, it attaches deep value to the historic

continuity of the Church ; like them, it has no jealousy of symbols ; like them, it delights in art and music as consecrated handmaids in the service of religion. It has no shadow of enmity towards the Low Church party. Like them, it claims for every soul immediate access to God through Christ ; like them it accepts reason and conscience as more sacred than any outward authority ; like them, it wholly relies on the one offering for sin once offered. But, with the Cambridge Platonists, it would turn men away "from fierceness of opinions ;" it desires to put on reason as the sacerdotal breastplate of its priestly habiliments ; it holds fast to the truth that the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord ; it does not believe either that all wisdom died with the fathers, or "that the Reformers locked the doors of religious truth and flung away the key for ever." And surely such a party may claim for itself the tolerance which it most cheerfully concedes to others, when, in ancient days, it may claim the great names of Origen and St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Gregory of Nazianzus and the school of Antioch ; and in modern days the names of Bacon and Hales and Jeremy Taylor and Tillotson and Coleridge and Arnold and Whately and Thirlwall. Would the Church have been better without such names ? Would it have been better without the High Church names of Hooker and Ken and Keble and Pusey ? Would it have been better without the Low Church names of Ridley and Hooper and Cecil and Newton and Simeon and Wilberforce and Venn ? Does not the very existence of such differing views among holy men show that if "diversity without unity is discord," on the other hand, "unity without diversity is death ?"

I hold, then, that these schools have been of inestimable service to the Church. The Low Church party revived the earnestness of spiritual religion ; the High Church party rescued forgotten truths, stimulated slumbering energy, renewed the order, the beauty, the reverence of worship. Broad Churchmen, ever ready to work with both, devoted themselves with no little success to the study of exegesis, and did no little to co-ordinate the data of revealed truth with the discoveries of advancing knowledge. This has been their influence upon the Church ; and what has been their influence upon each other ? It has been to widen, to stimulate, to harmonise ; to prevent those truths from being obliterated which each severally maintains ; to prevent the tyranny of ignorant narrowness, sacerdotal arrogance, and latitudinarian indifference ; to save each other from the common blight of Pharisaism—the Pharisaism of loveless religionism ; the Pharisaism of exaggerated observances ; the Pharisaism of doctrinal laxity, or intellectual disdain.

In conclusion, three parties are inevitable, but partisanship is always wrong. Uniformity is impossible ; unity is a sacred duty. Sympathy, tolerance, candour are incumbent on all alike ; jealousies and revilings are always and in all men a grievous sin. The Jewish schools were rent asunder between the followers of Shammai and Hillel. At length, says the Talmud, the Bath Kol—the Voice from Heaven—decided their rivalries. "Both," it said—(and oh ! how often might the Bath Kol so decide our controversies also)—"both are right ; but the Halacha"—that is, the right rule—"is with Hillel." "Why is this ?" asked the Rabbis. And the answer is, "Because the disciples of Hillel were gentle, courteous, and forbearing ; while those of Shammai were fanatical and fierce." What is this but the decision of St. Paul at the moment of his loftiest inspiration ?—"And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greatest of these is charity."

The Hon. C. L. Wood.

IN speaking of the later history of the Church of England, a distinguished French Ecclesiastic once remarked, "That the damsel was not dead, but sleeping : " a less friendly critic might have taken a different

view of the situation. Her spiritual energies drained by the loss of the Nonjurors, Religion in high places corrupted by gross Erastianism and coarse infidelity, zeal branded by the odious name of Enthusiasm—the Church of England, during the greater part of the last century, had fallen into a torpor which might well have been taken for the precursor of impending dissolution. How dark that time was may be understood by an incident recorded in the life of Bishop Butler, the author of the Analogy, who is said to have declined the Primacy with the remark that “It was too late to try and support a falling Church.” Happily, the Bishop, in this point at least, was mistaken. There was a stirring among the dry bones. He who had never left the ship made his voice heard in the darkness, and, in the persons of the early leaders of the Evangelical movement, the Church of England awoke. It was a great awakening, but greater still were the consequences which were to grow from it. Apart from the Sacramental system and the Divine organization of the Church, Evangelical fervour to our Lord cannot in the long run—all experience proves it—maintain itself. Without the fervour that marked the early Evangelicals, there may be a use of the Sacraments quite compatible with very little real love to God and man. But join the two together, and you are in possession of the power that has moved the world. For if their divorce is ruin and decay, their conjunction is nothing less than the realization of the ideal of the Catholic Church, to the charm of whose voice mankind has never yet proved insensible. And this it was that the Oxford movement accomplished. It found the two separate; it has left them united. It has taught the English people that Evangelical truth is incomplete without the Sacramental system. That there can be no opposition between the two, but that the one is the instrument through which the truths taught by the other are perpetuated and applied. When the heart of man has been stirred up to feel after God, if haply it may find Him; when, with David, man exclaims, “My soul is athirst for God, even for the living God,” he can never be satisfied with a system that can point only to the sight of a ruined Altar and the teaching of an absent Christ. He requires to be told that God, in the pursuit of His fallen creature, has condescended from Heaven to the Manger, from the Manger to the Cross, from the Cross to the Altar, and from the Altar to man’s breast, there to abide as friend abides with friend. And this teaching it was that the Oxford movement supplied. In a word, it completed the work begun by the Evangelicals, and if history relates, as it assuredly will, that they were the precursors and pioneers of the Catholic Revival, it will also relate that among the glories of that Revival, which under the leadership of such names as Keble, Pusey, Newman, has transformed the face of the Church of England, is the fact that it completed the work begun by such men as Cecil, Charles Simeon, and Mr. Wilberforce. It will be said perhaps, that such a statement is hardly consistent with our existing divisions. No one can be more conscious than I am how serious those divisions are, but, as an acute writer in a recent number of *Fraser’s Magazine* has pointed out, “There is an underlying principle connecting the Evangelical Revival and the Oxford Movement, which is destined, under the pressure of external assaults upon the faith and position of the Church, to assert itself.” For the moment the two may seem to be opposed—but the opposition is often more apparent than real—often it is the result of mere misunderstandings easily removable by mutual explanation, and often—the Evangelical party will forgive me for saying so—it is the result of the little trouble they sometimes appear to take to ascertain what the teaching of the Church really is in regard to disputed questions. It is Cardinal Newman, I think, who has somewhere said that most of our controversies could be shown at once by defining terms to be superfluous or fruitless. If some among us would lay that remark to heart, and consider—take one crucial instance, the careful phraseology in which Cardinal Newman has, in a recent note to his “*Via Media*,” defined the doctrine of the Real Presence—I believe that many of the difficulties which

they feel with regard to what they fancy to be the teaching of the Church on this particular point would disappear. One thing at least seems certain, that nothing is so likely to promote such a return to the unity of the faith as the indirect influence of those who, claiming for themselves a special breadth in their religious opinions, are popularly known as Broad Churchmen. It is difficult to speak of a party as a whole, of whose members it may be said with no injustice "*tot homines, tot sententiæ*." Yet of them, too, it seems to me, that, among much else, history will relate that they had their share in the great Church Revival. They have helped to destroy the Calvinism which at various times has so nearly choked the Church of England, and though they have often suffered from the reaction of such teaching themselves, they have, in regard to one matter very much before the public mind at the present moment—I refer to the subject of prayer for the departed, and a purification and growth in holiness after death—paved the way for a sounder theology than their own. In a word, they have acted as a solvent on many prejudices, and they have done one thing besides. They have shown by their writings, and—if Mr. Stopford Brooke might have been taken in any sense as a representative of their opinions, by the logic of events—that the Creeds of the Church, and notably the Creed of St. Athanasius, are no mere string of metaphysical subtleties, which may be discarded with impunity, but the very present barriers against Socinianism and unbelief. Let me add—for in the present day, the expression, "schools of thought," appears to be a fashionable euphemism for downright heresy—that schools of thought have no place in regard to the faith. They may concern themselves with speculations and tendencies outside that Faith; but in regard to the Catholic religion, and what has once been defined, they have only to accept and submit with the humblest and most uninstructed Christian. In conclusion, let me very earnestly press upon this Congress that it would be a very incomplete way of dealing with such a subject as the "internal unity of the Church," not to touch upon what is the necessary crown and completion of the great Church Revival—I mean the reunion of the Church of England with the rest of Christendom. It was the paganism and moral corruption of the Renaissance that made the schism of the sixteenth century possible. One would fain hope, therefore, that the revival of personal religion, developing into a full acceptance of all Catholic doctrine and practice, must surely result in reknitting the ties, so rudely and so ruthlessly shattered three hundred years ago, that bound us to the rest of the Catholic Church. When we see, as we are learning to see more and more every day, how much fault there was on both sides among those responsible for the quarrel, it is surely not being too sanguine to re-echo the hope expressed by the great German theologian Mohler, "That the mutual confession of guilt cannot fail to be followed by the festival of reconciliation." On this subject, may I draw the attention of the Congress to some words of the Most Reverend the Primate of All England, in the Charge which he himself tells us is addressed to a wider audience than his own immediate diocese. As the Archbishop addresses the whole episcopate in visible communion with Canterbury, and glances with satisfaction at the filial relations which unite them to the chair of St. Augustine, his words, if they supply a striking illustration of the way in which the position of the Roman See develops itself, are no less conclusive as to the necessity, in his Grace's opinion, of some central authority for the Anglican communion. But if such an authority has its place in the Anglican communion, comprising, as it does, all diversities of race and character, equally so must it have its place in regard to the Church at large. May his Grace live long enough to carry out his conclusions to their logical results! And may it be the crowning honour reserved for his primacy to reunite the Church of the West by restoring those filial relations that formerly existed between the successors of St. Augustine in the See of Canterbury, and that chair which is now occupied by the successors of St. Gregory the Great!

The CHAIRMAN.

WE have now concluded listening to the selected readers and speakers. I have as many as ten cards of volunteer speakers before me; but in the 25 minutes that remain a full discussion is out of the question. I can give a few speakers five minutes each, and that will give them just the opportunity of opening their mouths and shutting them again; but here is one—a Bishop, who has come from the other side of the world—who might fairly complain if he did not have at least five minutes to express his views, and I will, therefore, call upon him first.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF TASMANIA.

I HAVE hardly yet learnt the art of compressing much into five minutes. We from the Antipodes can fight your English cricketers very creditably, and do many other things well, but I must say we have not yet learnt to compress our thoughts on such an important subject into five minutes. I have crossed 16,000 miles of ocean; and if I had only come to see this meeting, I should be well repaid. I find that Low-Churchmen and High-Churchmen, whatever may be their differences, have the same object at heart, and this afternoon we have seen such a harmony of feeling as it is delightful to contemplate. When a High-Churchman or a Low-Churchman came forward to speak, there was clapping of hands from the members of his peculiar party present; but when a Broad-Churchman came forward I noticed that the hands of all parties were at once employed. As a Broad-Churchman myself, I am glad to see that, and I hope in a few years we shall find the Broad-Church to be a common platform for all parties. We have heard a great many useful things to-day, and my old friend Dr. Boulton, with whom I acted in concert some sixteen years ago, has been represented to have diverged somewhat from the views we both used to hold. The same has been said of myself; but I find, when we meet face to face, how much we are agreed. I did not altogether follow him when he told us that we should have a neutral tint, for it is a law of heavenly light that objects in nature should reflect two out of the three of the solar ray. Our constitution also seems to require that we should absorb two of the natural tints of revealed light and reflect the third. Cannot this great Church with its three schools or varieties of red, of violet, and of blue, combine in a great battalion against the world, the flesh, and the devil? There is one reason for greater tolerance, and that is to be found in the fact that every outward form and symbol alters in its meaning with the age, and represents the views which men take of truth rather than the truth itself. Symbols also may themselves be changed, and if preserved, when they cease to be a real thing and their proper use has passed away, they become superstitions, *i.e.* they survive the object of their institution. Whether that thing be a creed or a formulary, as soon as it has lost its original use, then it becomes a superstition.

The Very Rev. the DEAN of MANCHESTER.

I CONGRATULATE the Chairman and the meeting on the tone of all the papers which have been read to us; and I have received from them nothing but consolation and strength for my work. I should, however, like to ask the Bishop of Durham a question about the simile he took of the net cast into the sea as the

Kingdom of Heaven. I do not understand that we can now speak in that way of our National Church. At first, no doubt, the net was cast into the sea of the world; but now the case is different. When the Church is conterminous with the nation I know it is not safe to press too closely these parabolic illustrations; but it seems to me as if the Bishop meant that the State net had brought us all together. I cannot forget that every person in this country can claim to be a member of the Church, and that all have a right to the parish churchyards. We have lately seen that right claimed for the whole nation. I believe that our Church is the true branch of the Church Catholic, and all who place themselves outside are voluntary Seceders and Nonconformists, whether they are Romanists or Quakers. Within ourselves we must tolerate all who remain, but with a discriminating toleration. It is very difficult to exercise this wise toleration, for we hardly know where toleration ends and where conscience begins to whisper that we are not holding fast to the revealed word of God. I wish to tolerate anyone who acts honestly; but I must here say that toleration does not involve co-operation. There is one thing in which I differ from the Broad Church Clergy—I cannot join in religious work with Dissenters. I can do better without them, and they without me. I do not wish to interfere with them or hinder them. I would gladly co-operate with them in social and benevolent schemes, where our religious convictions cannot clash. I was brought up with evangelical views, and I am now a High Churchman. I quite agree with the opinion that High Churchmanship is the legitimate development of Evangelicalism. I welcome the Broad Church party, because they have taught me to be more liberal, and to review conventional phrases and cherished convictions, and examine whether they are in accordance with Catholic truth and sound philosophy.

The Rev. BROWNLOW MAITLAND.

My little contribution to this discussion at its close shall be the suggestion of three words to denote the special characteristics which differentiate from each other the Three Great Schools of Thought, as they exist side by side within the English Church. To the High School I assign *objectivity*, to the Low, *subjectivity*, to the Broad, *relativity*. But I would first express my conviction, that the ground common to all three is almost infinitely wider in extent than that which is peculiar to each. For all alike take their stand on the comprehensive foundation of faith in a heavenly Father, who has manifested Himself to mankind in His Son, and by His Son calls them into a redeemed brotherhood within which the Divine Spirit of the Father and the Son makes them sons of God, sanctifies them through faith, and prepares them for eternal life. Thus what may be fairly called the entire spiritual substance of Christianity is possessed by all three. But, when we pass to that special feature and office which each has in addition to the common basis and profession, the three terms I have mentioned help to make the distinctions between them clear to our minds. The High School gives prominence to the objective side of Christianity, and bears witness to the historic continuity and divine order of the visible Christian society, the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the Low School lays stress on the subjective side of Christianity, and testifies to the spirituality of religion, and the direct individual relation of every soul to God. These testimonies are of equal and undying importance, for all times and conditions of the Church, guarding it on the one side against visionary mysticism and quackery in religion, on the other against a lifeless formalism and petrified orthodoxy. Of the Broad School the special witness and office are of a different kind, not superseding but supplementing these. What it lays stress upon is the relativity of theological dogmas and formulas to human knowledge and modes of conception; what it

testifies is the fact, too often overlooked in theological controversy, that the terms and phrases, the definitions and dogmas, which make up the body of systematic theology, are not so much absolute and ultimate expressions of divine and spiritual truth, as symbolic approximations to it, the result of the endeavour to represent it to the understanding by clothing it in such forms as from time to time may most intelligently set it forth. It is this tenet of the Broad School that I take to be its most distinguishing mark, this tenet of the relativity of theological dogmas in general to the contemporary condition of thought and knowledge. And it obviously prevents this school from forming a distinct class or section in the sense in which the other schools are separate and contrasted. Between these the difference lies more on the surface, in palpable oppositions of dogma and ritual; whereas the characteristic of the Broad school lies in a deeper region, behind dogma and ritual, so to speak, and is found in a different conception of the relation which dogmas in general bear to the spiritual and eternal realities imperfectly expressed by them. Hence a Broad Churchman may ostensibly belong to either of the other schools, if we class him by the theological formulas which he adopts or sympathises with, as being on the whole the best expressions, for himself or for his age, of spiritual truth; what makes him Broad is the way in which he regards his dogmas and formulas, the separation which he makes in his thought between the spiritual realities and the forms under which the mind apprehends and expresses them. He may be Broad High or Broad Low: it is not the dogmas of either school which characterize him, so much as the tenet of the *relativity* of all dogma, instead of its *absoluteness* which others implicitly ascribe to it. Now I take it that this feature of the Broad School fits it for the great task of keeping Christian theology in harmony with the advancing knowledge and intellectual and moral culture of mankind. In this work, so needed in our time and for the immediate future, those who hold the absoluteness of dogmatic formulas cannot easily participate. Their theology being unchangeably fixed in forms derived from the past, the tide of thought and knowledge tends to sweep by it and leave it behind. But the Broad Churchman, without abandoning one jot of ultimate and absolute truth, is able to accept new forms of expressing it which shall be in harmony with new gains of knowledge and culture. This he can do by virtue of his principle of relativity—a principle applicable even to the forms of revelation, as well as to ecclesiastical dogmas and theology in general. For if spiritual truth cannot be intelligibly expressed to the human mind except in forms of thought and language with which the mind is conversant; and if those forms change, as they certainly have done continually, in consequence of new gains of knowledge, new modes of conception, and wider views of the universe; it must follow that both revelation and theology must contain an element relative to the contemporary state of the mind, and changeable as the mind changes and grows in its gradual advance and conquest of truth. I would say then that the peculiar functions of the Broad School, resting on its principle of the relativity of dogma, is to discern between the essence and the form, between the spirit and the letter, between the inner reality and the mental conception and verbal expression of it; and to be ready to take up and incorporate in its theology such new light as God may be pleased to give in the course of His providence and divine leading of mankind. Of the importance of this function to the future of Christianity it would be difficult to speak too strongly. By discharging it wisely and cautiously—and the utmost caution and wisdom are certainly needed—this school will be able to keep theology well abreast of the advancing intellect. Holding fast the inner substance of truth, the spiritual essence of Christian dogma, it will still be able to assent to such modifications in the phraseology of theology as will keep it in harmony with human progress. It will abate the bitterness of theological differences, by recognizing a unity in the truth between those whose formal creeds may differ con-

siderably. It will dare to acknowledge holiness of spirit wherever found, even when clothed in what seem to be very unorthodox vestments. And what is of signal importance, it will be able to allow the growing moral consciousness its legitimate office in moulding theological beliefs, and bringing them into fuller agreement with the character of the Father of mercies and God of all grace, whose nature and whole name is Love, and whose will is less apprehended by the logic of the understanding than by the affections of the pure and humble heart.

The CHAIRMAN.

I HAVE still seven cards left, and as it would not be possible to divide the remaining moments between them, I will make a few concluding remarks. I congratulate the Church Congress on the tone which has prevailed at this meeting; but permit me to put an emphasis on the great importance of not assuming that, because there are three great schools of thought in England, therefore every man must be labelled as belonging to one or other of them. I am justified in calling attention to this point, if for no other reason at least for this, that there is a large and therefore important portion of humanity who do not belong to any "school of thought," because they do not think at all. But there are others who do think yet who do not belong to this or that so-called "school of thought." We began this meeting with a most noble paper which received the earnest attention it demanded. Now I have no notion to what school of thought that paper belonged; and I would ask you all to take home with you this problem, to what school of thought does the Bishop of Durham belong. I have known the Bishop for many years, and I declare honestly that I do not know how to class him. But what is more peculiar is, that I do not know to which school of thought I belong myself. I do not believe that any school will claim me. I ask you, therefore, not to be too ready to label your brethren as belonging to particular schools. When all human schools of thought have come to an end, we trust there will be a place found for us all in the common Home of our common Father, if we have all here had our places in the one School of Christ.

**TEMPERANCE HALL, WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON,
SEPTEMBER 29TH.**

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 o'clock.

REFORM IN FOREIGN CHURCHES.

**SUBJECT:—EFFORTS TOWARDS REFORM IN FOREIGN CHURCHES, AND
THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TOWARDS THEM.**

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

BEFORE I call on the appointed readers and speakers to address this meeting, I have a few words to say by way of preface, and I have come to say them in the earnest hope that the result may

be the preventing of what might otherwise prove a very regrettable incident in a Congress which has hitherto been a remarkably peaceful one. I understand that objection has been raised to the presence here of one of the appointed speakers, and I have even heard—although I trust that on that point I have not been correctly informed—that it is the intention of some members of the Congress to prevent that speaker from addressing the meeting, at least until he should have furnished certain explanations which they might think satisfactory. Now, the first way in which I wish to put this question before the meeting, is in its simplest and least exciting aspect, as a pure question of order; and, as such, it is of course for the President alone to decide it. The second rule of the Congress says that “all questions of order will be in the discretion of the President or presiding Chairman, whose decision will be final.” That rule I am sure all members here present will consider themselves bound to obey. It occurs to me, however, that it may tend to peace and harmony if, instead of drily deciding the question, I offer a few words of perfectly frank explanation, which I hope will remove all unpleasantness from the minds of all concerned. It appears to me that there are two questions of order as regards the admission of Bishop Riley to address this Congress. One is, whether he comes within the first rule of the Congress, which says that “none but members of the Church of England, or of Churches in communion with it, will be permitted to address it.” Of course, if it could be shown that Bishop Riley is not a member of the Church of England, or of any Church in connection with her, he certainly would not be entitled to address us, and I should be bound to admit that I had made a mistake in admitting him, and to rule that he was out of order. I will therefore begin by reading a statement which has been received from Bishop Riley as regards his antecedents. It is in these terms:—

Bishop Riley was baptised in Chili by the chaplain of one of her Majesty's ships then at Valparaiso. He came to England when a young man, and his preparatory studies for the ministry were superintended by the then rector of St. Mary's, Bryanstone-square (Mr. Dallas Marston). He was ordained deacon and presbyter by the present Bishop of New York, by whom he was appointed rector of the (Spanish) Church of St. James, in that city. He remained in this charge till, with the consent and approval of the Bishop of New York, he went to take charge of the work of the Church of Mexico in 1868. In 1879 he was consecrated Bishop by seven Bishops, six of whom had been specially appointed and authorised for that purpose by the House of Bishops of the American Episcopal Church. The action of the House of Bishops in this matter was submitted by its representatives at the last Lambeth Conference of Bishops to that assembly, by which it was approved, in anticipation of the act of consecration. At the same conference it was resolved that when the consecration of the Bishop of the Church in Mexico had taken place, he should visit Spain and Portugal in behalf of Churches there which had solicited the aid of the Bishops of the Anglican communion, and on Bishop Riley's arrival in England he received letters of authorisation from the Primate of all England for this purpose, in pursuance of the request of that conference.

Now, I would ask the meeting to observe that Bishop Riley

comes strictly within the terms of our rule, as a member of a Church in full communion with the Church of England. He was at the date of his consecration not only a member but a Presbyter of the American Church, and his consecration as Bishop, with the full approval of the entire American Episcopate, could not have deprived him of that membership; and I think we should be paying a most ungracious compliment to the American Church if, on his first appearance amongst us, we should refuse to hear him. I, therefore, rule that Bishop Riley is a member of a Church which is in full communion with the Church of England—namely, the American Church. If any future Church were to be created in Mexico, of which Bishop Riley should accept the canons and liturgy, and thereby become a recognised member of that new Church, and if that Church were not in union with the American, it would be a fair question how far the decision of the Lambeth Conference covered that case; but, as it is, I must rule that, so far as regards the question of legal right, he is fully entitled to address this Congress.

I have, in the next place, to speak of a matter which I view with much regret, but of which I wish to speak as gently as possible. I hold in my hands a leaflet, which I regret to say is anonymous, and which has been largely circulated amongst us. I am not myself much in favour of anonymous publications of any kind; but this paper sets forth certain words which are alleged to have been uttered by Bishop Riley, and certain acts attributed to his friends, and goes on to ask whether "such a man ought to be allowed to speak at a Church Congress." That is a question which, however irregularly put, is really addressed to myself, because, as a question of order, it is at the discretion of the Chairman, who happens on this occasion to be Chairman of the Congress. Now, my first duty as President is to secure the fullest liberty of speech to every person who, being a member of the Church of England, or of any Church in communion with her, comes to address us—and especially to one who comes to address us by the formal invitation of the President and Committee of this Congress. I have to deal with the fact that Bishop Riley has been unfortunate enough to be accused of having used language which has displeased certain members of this Congress; and I have, therefore, to decide the question whether, even if he had used such language, he would lose the right he otherwise would have had to address the Congress, in the absence of any satisfactory explanation.

Now, I ask the strongest opponent of Bishop Riley to consider what would be the consequence if every person, otherwise entitled to address the Congress, were to be held disqualified on account of his having used, or being accused of having used, language offensive to certain members, or even to any large body of members, until he had satisfied them by some sufficient explanation. Not to go further than myself, if that principle were applied to me, you certainly would not have the advantage or disadvantage of being now addressed by your present Chairman; because a great many earnest members of this Congress have been grievously offended at some things I have had the misfortune to say. I have expressed opinions,

as you are probably aware, which are intensely distasteful to teetotallers and to anti-vivisectionists. Am I, therefore, to be prevented from addressing the Congress until I have satisfied certain of its members as to the meaning of my language? If that were so, it certainly would be a long time before the Congress could be addressed by your present President, because, in the first place, I would not give the explanation, and, in the second place, it would not, I fear, satisfy those persons if I did. I do not think, therefore, it would be for the interests of the Congress to admit such a principle.

With regard to this question, however, about the language attributed to Bishop Riley, I am bound to say that if any member after the appointment of a speaker became cognizant of any fact tending to disqualify that speaker, the proper course for him would have been, not to have put forth an anonymous accusation, but to have communicated with the President of the Congress, and to have said to him, "Are you aware of this alleged fact? Will you investigate and decide the matter?" I extremely regret that this was not the course taken. No communication on the subject was addressed to me as President of the Congress. I had my knowledge of this fact simply through the high-minded honesty and gentleman-like feeling of my friend Archdeacon Denison, who, having received a letter which ought to have been addressed to myself, stating that certain language had been used by Bishop Riley, did me the kindness to put that letter into my hands. Having received that letter, I did what I thought was the most straightforward thing to do. I conferred with Bishop Riley, in the presence of Archdeacon Denison, and I am bound to state that the explanation of Bishop Riley appeared to my mind sufficient and satisfactory. That being so, I have also this further to say, that Bishop Riley, in the handsomest manner, placed himself at my disposal as President of this Congress. He said, "If you wish it, I will withdraw altogether, and not speak at all." I said I could not consent to that, as I could never allow any speaker at a meeting over which I presided, to be terrorised into silence. Bishop Riley stated, in the next place, that he was perfectly ready to tender an explanation to the Congress; but, having heard his statement, I did not consider that necessary or proper. Having personally conferred with Bishop Riley and heard his statement and explanation with regard to the matters alleged against him, I, as your Chairman and President, state to this meeting that his explanation was to my mind sufficient. I cannot consent to submit this decisive opinion to the revision of any members of the Congress.

If, after what I have said, this meeting should wish to pass a vote of want of confidence in me, by refusing to hear Bishop Riley, it would then be for me to consider what further step I should take in the matter; but I am persuaded that it will not be in the least necessary for me to do so. I place full confidence in the good sense and good feeling, even of those who may be most strongly opposed to this particular speaker.

I may remind you of an incident which occurred at a Church Congress some years ago. Archdeacon Denison was present at the time. A person, known amongst us as Father Ignatius, appeared

as a speaker at the Bristol Congress in his dress as a monk, and his doing so was the occasion of a violent storm. His presence there was offensive to many, and his previous utterances had been so, too. The meeting at first refused to hear him. The Chairman ruled that by the laws of the Congress he had a right to be heard, and he obtained for him at last an impartial hearing. I cannot think that this meeting will be less disposed to regard the rights of those from whom they may differ, than that meeting was some ten or eleven years ago.

I have only to say, therefore, finally, that I rule, first, that Bishop Riley, by the laws of the Congress, is entitled to address us; and, secondly, that his explanation of language attributed to him, in some respects incorrectly, is to my mind amply sufficient. Therefore, in the interests of liberty of speech, and of the rights of members of the Congress—and I hope I may be allowed to add, in the interests of good-fellowship and brotherhood, which I hope will remain unbroken in the Congress over which I have the honour to preside—I appeal to this meeting to listen without interruption to what Bishop Riley may presently have to say to them.

PAPERS.

The Rev. PREBENDARY F. MEYRICK.

THE Vatican Council served as the drop of liquid which the chemist adds to a composite substance in order to separate it into its different elements. Catholicism and Romanism together make up the Roman Catholic Communion, and the Vatican Decrees precipitated Old Catholicism. Ten years have passed, and what are the results?

In Germany there is a Church consisting of 1 bishop, 53 priests, and 45,000 lay members.

In Austria 4 priests and 10,000 lay members.

In Switzerland 1 bishop, 61 priests, and 50,000 lay members.

In France 2 priests and 1,000 lay members—total 2 bishops, 120 priests, and 106,000 lay members, together with an *entourage* of an additional 300,000, or so, of adherents, who have not yet formally declared themselves members.

These men may be called Reformers in the truest sense of the word, inasmuch as their purpose is to bring back the institution to which they belong to its original principles, and in carrying out their object they have either rejected those peculiarities which distinguish Romish from primitive doctrine, or they are proceeding in that direction with as great a rapidity as any wise man among ourselves would desire.

The attitude of the Church of England towards these efforts has been hitherto more or less undefined. The great part played by Döllinger on a lofty stage drew towards him the eyes of all, and the hearts of many, English Churchmen. But the Church of England, as a whole, is a cumbrous body to put in motion. Under her present

constitution, with which I am not finding fault, a considerable time must elapse before a thought which has touched her brain can find expression in her speech. In this her enforced silence some of her leading prelates, and some of her presbyters and laymen united in voluntary association, spoke for her. So early as June, 1871, a year after the promulgation of the Vatican decrees, and a few months after the issue of Dr. Döllinger's "Declaration," the committee of the Anglo-Continental Society passed a Resolution;—

"That the efforts made by eminent theologians and preachers of Germany and France, ardently sympathised in by many of the clergy and laity of Italy, to resist the introduction of corrupting novelties into the deposit of the Church's faith, merit a warm and affectionate recognition on the part of the rulers of the Anglican Church, at a crisis which may be as eventful as the reformation of the sixteenth century."*

In the following year the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Maryland, the first two acting with the encouragement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the third representing the American Church in its relation to foreign Churches, were present at the Old Catholic Congress at Cologne, where a committee on reunion was appointed: in the same year the University of Oxford bestowed upon Dr. Döllinger an honorary degree; and after the Bonn Conferences had been held, two addresses of thanks were presented to him signed by upwards of 8,000 English clergy and lay-communicants, on the invitation of Mr. Beresford Hope. The sympathy of the Church of England was more formally declared in the Convocation of Canterbury by the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln and the late Prolocutor of the Lower House, and by a Committee of the Lower House, which considered clause by clause the propositions agreed to at Bonn and declared them orthodox.

A similar attitude of informal, but very real, sympathy has been taken up by the Anglican Church, in respect to the Swiss Christian Catholic Church; and this sympathy has been notably exhibited by the presence of the Bishop of Meath at the latest synod of the Swiss Church held in Geneva during the present year, and by the payment of a sum of money for a theological studentship at Bonn contributed by the chief prelates and other leading members of the Church of Ireland.

This informal action of the Church of England towards the German and Swiss Reformers led to more formal relations with the smaller body of French Reformers, represented by Père Hyacinthe. In the year 1878 was held the Lambeth Conference, attended by 100 Anglican Bishops, and to a Committee of this Conference was submitted the question of what should be "the position which the Anglican Church should assume towards the Old Catholics and towards other persons on the Continent of Europe who have renounced their allegiance to the Church of Rome, and who are desirous of forming some connexion with the Anglican Church,

* See Report of the Anglo Continental Society for 1871 and The Foreign Church Chronicle for December, 1880.

either English or American." This Committee reported (and its Report was adopted by the Conference) that "all sympathy is due from the Anglican Church to the Churches and individuals protesting against the errors (of the See of Rome), and labouring, it may be, under special difficulties from the assaults of unbelief as well as the pretensions of Rome." "We gladly welcome," said the Conference, "every effort for reform upon the model of the Primitive Church. We do not demand a rigid uniformity; we deprecate needless divisions; but to those who are drawn to us in the endeavour to free themselves from the yoke of error and superstition we are ready to offer all help and such privileges as may be acceptable to them and are consistent with the maintenance of our own principles as enunciated in our formularies."

To carry the above declaration into effect, a committee was appointed by the Conference, "for the consideration of any definite cases, in which advice and assistance may from time to time be sought," the committee to consist of the two English Archbishops, the two Irish Archbishops, the Bishop of London, the Primus of the Scottish Church, the Presiding Bishop of the American Church, the Bishop of Long Island, and the Bishop of Gibraltar; "to advise upon such cases as circumstances may require." The first person to take advantage of this spontaneous invitation was M. Hyacinthe Loyson, who being in England at the time for the purpose of attending the Farnham Conference, made application for the offered "help" in a letter addressed August 4, 1878, "to the Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, President of the Commission constituted by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion, to consider the relations of the Anglican Church with the Old Catholics and others who have separated from the Roman Communion." The committee, as "the best mode of providing the aid which he requests," referred Père Hyacinthe Loyson to "the guidance and direction of one of their own members, the Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church," and the Primus accepted the responsibility thus imposed upon him, publishing to the Church a grave and thoughtful letter addressed to Père Hyacinthe, in which he promised to supply him with the "provisional Episcopal superintendence which he desired," and associated the Bishop of Edinburgh with himself in the future conduct of the work.

For the last two years, therefore, M. Hyacinthe Loyson has been under the provisional oversight of the Anglican Episcopate, exercised by the Bishops of Moray and Edinburgh as the organs of a committee taking its authority from the Lambeth Conference. This oversight has been exercised by a general superintendence, and by a confirmation, held in M. Loyson's Church by Bishop Herzog, acting in the place of the Bishop of Moray, on which occasion Presbyters of the English and American Churches joined in the celebration of the Holy Communion with M. Loyson and his congregation—an act of intercommunion which was shortly afterwards followed up with a joint partaking of the Lord's supper by the Bishop of Edinburgh, Bishop Reinkens, Bishop Herzog, and M. Loyson. The action of the Church of England in this matter, impugned by some, was vindicated by others, as in accordance with

the principles and practices of the Primitive Church, and Archbishop Tait bore emphatic testimony, in a speech delivered in Lambeth Library in June last, to the movement, as hitherto conducted, being "a carrying into effect of the resolution of the great assembly of 100 Bishops held in Lambeth."

That the attitude taken by the Church of England towards the Old Catholic Reformers, not only in Germany and Switzerland, but also in France, is justifiable, or, rather, that she would have failed in her duty as a part of the Catholic Church, had she not done at least as much as she has done, in holding out the hand to those who call upon her for assistance, appears to the writer of this paper unquestionable; nor can I doubt that anyone who studies the arguments and statements of Bingham and Isaac Casaubon on the subject will come to the conclusion that, according to the principles of the Primitive Church, Bishops are bound to give such aid as they are able to an oppressed minority wherever the faith is endangered by the heresy or corrupt doctrines of those who, in any country or district, form the greater number. This point I regard as settled both by precedent and argument, but there is a further question which I desire to bring before the Church for ventilation now, and for decision by the competent tribunals hereafter, which may affect the attitude of the Church of England towards those reforming efforts that are being made, on somewhat different lines, in Spain, Portugal, and Mexico. It is this: whether the various National Churches which make up the Roman Communion, such as the Church of France, the Church of Spain, the Church of Portugal, have forfeited their claim to be the National Independent Churches of those countries by the acceptance of a dogma which substitutes for their authority and traditions, the authority and tradition of one man external to themselves. The case contemplated by Gregory the Great has arisen. To clench his arguments against an Universal Bishop of the Church, he says that, in that case, should the Universal Bishop fall, the whole Church would fall with him.* In the Roman Communion, not only is there one Universal Bishop who has fallen into divers heresies, but every Bishop in that Communion has bound himself by oath to regard the formal utterances of that man to be true on all points of faith or morals. Is there, then, any longer, in the various National Churches, that liberty of maintaining the faith as handed down in their own localities which qualified them to be witnesses for the truth? The voice of free men testifying in different parts of the world to that which they had received, is valuable, but of what value is the voice of slaves, bound to swear to their master's word? Can the slaves of a man, regarded by themselves as infallible, be the free ministers of God? With their loss of freedom, have not the Bishops of those National Churches lost their claim to jurisdiction? If so, are not purer branches of the Catholic Church bound to establish congregations under Episcopal control, wherever occasion arises, without regard to the forfeited claims of the present territorial Bishops, or if not

* Op. tom. ii. p. 771—773. Paris, 1705.

bound to establish them, are they not at least justified in establishing them if they find cause for doing so?

It is enough to have laid these questions before the Church for its consideration. I will only add, as a humble member of the same, that it appears to me that a fatal change has passed over the state of the Episcopate in the Roman Communion, as a result of the acceptance of the Vatican decrees—that while Bishops in Roman Catholic countries are still capable of handing down the Episcopal succession, of ordaining and of confirming, they have lost the most essential and peculiar characteristics and rights of Bishops of the Church of Christ—that they are no longer guardians of the Catholic Faith, but disseminators of the decrees of one of their own number; no longer the vicars of Christ, but the delegates of a Pope; no longer the organs of the mystical Body through which breathes the informing Spirit of God, but the instruments through which the voice of a man may be heard and his arm felt throughout that part of the Christian world that has been subjected to his control. The claims of exclusive territorial jurisdiction exercised by those who have sunk from being Bishops of the Church of God, in the ancient sense of the word, to being the representatives and prefects of an Italian Bishop, may be put aside as untenable.

I hold that our attitude towards Bishops of the Oriental Church, and towards efforts after reform in Eastern Communities, should be very different. The Oriental Bishops have not forfeited their authority by taking an oath binding them to sacrifice their own convictions and the traditions of their Church to the *ipse dixit* of a supreme Lord. The only infallible judge and director with them is Holy Scripture, interpreted, where it needs interpretation, by the Œcumenical Councils and the witness of the Ancient Church. There is therefore nothing to prevent internal reformation in the Eastern Churches, and in the East the attitude of the English Church should be one of encouragement of whatever efforts are made for internal reformation, and of discouragement of separation from the various National Churches. That such efforts are made within the Greek Church we are thankful to recognise. The reforms proposed by the Bishop of Heraclea, late metropolitan of Chios, have regard to practical manners and morals rather than to doctrine; but in Greece reform in discipline, by restoring spiritual life, is the path to reform in doctrine. The Bishop's fiery assault upon the formalism of orthodoxy which makes Christianity "a dead mechanism" instead of "a moral and spiritual regeneration wrought by the Grace of the Holy Spirit," and his earnest advocacy of "a right education" calculated to dispel the spiritual darkness of his countrymen, is full of hope.* The manifesto of the present Patriarch of Constantinople, though confined to matters of discipline, looks in the same direction.† Nor is the appointment of a committee, which is now sitting, for the reduction of the voluminous service books of the Eastern

* See *Foreign Church Chronicle* for 1878.

† Ditto, Sept., 1880.

Church into a shorter compass, without its significance.* The friends of spiritual enlightenment at S. Petersburg, and a similar society established by Professor Damalas at Athens,† for spreading information, and, we may hope, a spirit of tolerance, are helping in the same good work. With all this we can heartily sympathise and should co-operate. But I venture to deprecate the action of those American Protestant Missionaries whose purpose seems to be to disintegrate the ancient Churches of the East instead of helping them to reform themselves, and I cannot but regret some aggressive action which members of the Anglican Church appear to have been occasionally guilty of, whether in Jerusalem or in Armenia. In the action of Dr. and Mrs. Hill at Athens, since the restoration of the independence of Greece, we have an instance which proves the superiority of friendly co-operation to hostile aggression. Had Dr. Hill selected for himself the less charitable course, urged upon him by some of his countrymen and some Englishmen, his schools would have become the centre of bitterness and faction, whereas now in his honoured old age the whole of the Greek people, and the wiser Englishmen and Americans, are ready to stand up and call him blessed for the work of regeneration which he has wrought for Greece, and for the kindly feeling and good understanding which he has brought about between the Greek and the Anglican Churches.

The sum of the question placed in my hands for consideration appears to be the following. In the Eastern Churches there are efforts being made towards reform, but at present they are taking the shape rather of reform in discipline and of the deepening of the spiritual life than of reform in doctrine. With these efforts the Church of England is bound to sympathise and co-operate, but she may not encourage schism from the National Churches, nor may she hold communion with such as have separated themselves unless the latter can prove to her satisfaction that they have been excommunicated for maintaining and teaching orthodox doctrine. In the West the Churches which form the Roman Communion have so bound their own hands and tongues and souls by the formal acceptance of the two dogmas of the Universal Bishopric of the Pope, and of the Infallibility of the Pope in matters of faith and morals, that there can no longer be any stirring of reform within them. In order to breathe, in order to speak, in order to act, a reforming member of those Churches must resist the ecclesiastical authority set over him, and that authority must excommunicate him. In case such excommunication takes place on account of the maintenance of the Catholic faith, or for refusing to add heterodox doctrine to that faith, and in case the person so excommunicated appeals to the Episcopate of the Anglican Church for spiritual help in the strait, it is the duty of the Anglican Episcopate, as partaking in that one Episcopate of the whole Church, which is shared by many possessors, but held in its entirety by each one, to give the aid demanded of them to the utmost of their power, as a provisional measure to meet

* See *Foreign Church Chronicle*, Dec. 1880.

† Ἡ ἀδελφότης τῶν φιλοχρίστων founded in 1875. See Report of the Anglo-Continental Society for 1876.

a need. It is further a question whether the acceptance of the Vatican Decrees has not vitiated the position of the Bishops subject to the Roman See, to such an extent as to make them forfeit their territorial jurisdiction in the presence of a purer branch of Christ's Church, wheresoever the latter thinks right to establish itself. This last subject awaits the decision of the Anglican Church in its Synods, and can only be ventilated here. As a present and pressing question, I commend to the sympathies, the prayers, and the material help of those whom I am addressing, the hopeful but as yet feeble efforts made in Germany, Switzerland, and France, to carry out a Reformation similar in principle and character to that which was effected in England in the sixteenth century.

ADDRESSES.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of WINCHESTER.

I HAVE spoken, and written, and read so much, and so many times on this subject, that when I was asked to write upon it and then read my paper, I was inclined to resist. However, I consented to speak, but now I am in a difficulty to know how to begin. I am inclined to go a great way back. Mr. Meyrick has referred to a great many years ago, when seeing the unsettled condition of the Continent of Europe, and the existing dissatisfaction in the minds of many intelligent people on the Continent with the position of their own Churches, he himself founded the Anglo-Continental Society. In this association I took much interest from the earliest days, and when I was consecrated Bishop of Ely I became president, and have the honour to be president still. The principles of the society are these:—We do not say anything about the Christianity of other people, we do not profess to judge the Churches of the Continent, we are very thankful that, on the one hand, we have maintained our Catholicity, that we are a Catholic and Apostolic Church, and we are also thankful that we are a reformed Church. We see on the Continent many Churches which may be Catholic, but are not reformed, and we also see bodies of Christians who may be reformed, but of whose Catholicity we feel some doubts. We know that there are struggles among both classes, among Roman Catholics and among Protestants, and I am not quite sure that a very large number of persons in both are not more or less dissatisfied with their own position. With these people having this dissatisfaction and the desire to make efforts at reformation, it was thought by the society that they could not act more charitably than by showing them what we are, that there existed in England a Church which could trace its descent from the Apostles themselves, without any sort of break either in doctrine or discipline, and yet which had thrown off some of those accretions, which we think errors, and which adhere to other Churches. Moreover, we thought we might thus bring them into friendly union with ourselves, by removing the prejudice with which a great number of Continental Churches regard the Church of England. They look upon the Protestants of their neighbourhood, and they regard them as little better than infidels, and they look askance at us as something of the same sort; and sometimes, I am sorry to say, those members of the Church of England who have visited these countries have done nothing by their moral and religious example to remove the impression. We had reason to think that among a certain number of the more enlightened there was a considerable sympathy with England as possessing a Church which had more freedom than the Churches of the Continent, and subsequent events have proved that the dissatisfaction I have mentioned did exist. As soon as the Vatican

Council was called to affirm the dogma of Infallibility, it was found that there was a very important if not a numerically large body of bishops who entirely disapproved of that usurpation on the part of the Pope; and I believe that if the population of the several dioceses had been polled it would have been found that a real majority were at variance with the Vatican Decrees, and it was only by the number of bishops who represented no Sees at all that this opposition was overpowered. Then, when the Vatican Decrees were passed, there was an anxious feeling among many Roman Catholics, and out of this sprang the "Old Catholic" movement.

In conjunction with my right reverend brother of Lincoln and a very eminent Bishop of America, I went to the Cologne Conference, and we saw that there was a great upheaving on the part of the German Catholics; and I think if they had gone on as they began, the Old Catholic movement would have made great head by this time. But the fact that Prince Bismarck thought fit to persecute the Ultramontane Bishops created so great a reaction that I am afraid the Old Catholic movement was in consequence to a great extent driven back. But still there is considerable dissatisfaction and movement on the Continent, and the question is, What can we, as English Churchmen and Christians, do to help the movement in the direction of reform? In the first place, the principle of the society is not to proselytise. I think that in every way that we reasonably can we should help them by the expression of our sympathy; and, if they want our money, we should be ready with that assistance. I have much more doubt as to the question of interfering with the jurisdiction of the bishops of these countries. It is a very difficult question. I acknowledge what Mr. Meyrick has said about the corruption of the Roman Church, and the unhappy position in which the bishops of the Continent have placed themselves under the will of one man—a single bishop controlling all the other bishops of his communion in Europe; but still I look round Europe and say, "Am I prepared at once to unchurch the whole of these bodies of Christians in communion with the Church of Rome?" They are ancient national Churches, though I fully admit their grievous corruption. I look on the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as approaching very nearly to a heresy against the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and I am sure that the Vatican Decrees have most seriously imperilled and damaged Episcopacy throughout all those portions of Europe where the Roman Catholic Church dominates. Still, there are millions upon millions in communion with these ancient Churches, and I do not feel myself able to say they are not of the Church of Christ at all. Luther was a strong reformer, but yet he never would admit that the Church of Rome was anti-Christian. What he said was that Anti-christ—and by that he meant the Pope—that Anti-christ does not sit in a stable or on a dunghill, but he sits enthroned in the Church of God. He did not, therefore, deny that it is the Church of God; and it is difficult for me to say that I would, by a single stroke of the pen, unchurch all these national Churches. If I may differ from Mr. Meyrick, with whom I almost always agree, I would say we ought *not* to consider them as different *branches* of the Church. I do not like that branch theory. They are different national Churches; and the principle of the English Reformation was the claim of the National Church to the right to reform. We claimed that right, but the Churches of the Continent did not; and we hold that we did not by any act of our own break that Catholic unity by reforming ourselves as a great National Church. Our attitude must still be to acknowledge these as National Churches, however corrupt they may be, and when there are members of these Churches endeavouring to reform them we can give them sympathy and kindly help, but we must be careful how we invade the rights of an independent National Church. It appears to me we are in a tremendous crisis. In all Europe, in all Christendom, there is a great tendency to unbelief. Now most intellectual unbelievers, if inclined to doubt

the soundness of their own unbelief, are almost always attracted to Romanism. It is a strange fact, for those I speak of are not mere fanatics, and the reason I think why they feel this attraction is that they find in the Church of Rome a clear and complete organisation, a definite doctrine without doubts. Can we give to these inquiring spirits something better and truer and purer than this Romanism which attracts them? The only way we can do so is to keep firmly to the faith as it has been handed to us from Jesus Christ, to organise ourselves more closely than we ever were before, and to do all we can to promote that unity which, by our unhappy divisions, has not only been imperilled, but almost broken.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of MEATH.

I TAKE the same view of this question as that set forth in the report of the Lambeth Conference. I should consider myself very heartless, indeed, and inconsistent too, if I were to regard the old Catholics of Germany and Switzerland and the noble Reformers of Mexico, Spain, and Portugal, as schismatic because, in the face of obloquy, persecution, and even martyrdom itself, they are bravely doing the very thing which we ourselves—or most of us I trust—are proud to have done at the Reformation. And I do not believe that Bishop Reinkens or Bishop Herzog or Bishop Riley are violating the laws of the universal Church because they are acting as Bishops in Sees which professedly belong to Roman Catholic Prelates. I am aware of the canon which precludes a bishop from intruding within the See of a brother prelate. But that canon applied to a state of things very different from that which exists now. The bishops and churches to whom it referred were in communion one with another. One imperious church had not then intruded itself within the domains of other independent churches, absorbing them within itself, and thereby destroying that very principle of separate nationality which it was the object of the canon to preserve. That canon would indeed apply to churches with which we are in communion. It might be argued as a reason why a branch of the Church of England should not be introduced within the limits of the Episcopal Church of Scotland; and if I might be permitted to speak a word of brotherly rebuke to two eminent and deservedly-respected members of the Church of England, it might, I think, have been enough to deter Dr. Pusey and Canon Liddon from encouraging the formation of a Church of England schism within the Church of Ireland. But it cannot be supposed to apply to a Church with which we hold no communion, against which we protest, both because of its perilous errors, and also because of its invasion, in violation of this very canon, of the rights of National Churches throughout Christendom at large. But, while our attitude should be one of fraternal sympathy and aid, such an attitude need not involve an effort after fusion or amalgamation. I long and pray for the corporate union of Christendom. But the time is not yet. And meanwhile premature efforts after fusion may beget confusion. They may further this very discord which we seek to avert. Fraternization not fusion, alliance not amalgamation—this is the attitude that we should observe. But how within these limits can such fraternal sympathy be shown? There are I think many ways. The Bonn Conference is an example of what might be thus done. Members of many Churches—of the Eastern, the Old Catholic, the Anglican, and the Lutheran Churches—there met together, and without committing themselves to any abandonment of principle, or any fusion of national characteristics, consulted in a brother-like spirit as to the possibilities of closer union. Again, another example may be found in the visit of the Bishop of Edinburgh to Paris, and the encouragement thereby afforded to Père Hyacinthe, who is so nobly doing battle there almost single-handed with the ultra-montanism and the infidelity which reign almost supreme in

his native land. And lastly, let us refer to the noble action of that American commission of bishops, with the late venerable Bishop Whittingham at their head, who responded so promptly to the appeal from the Mexican Reformers, and boldly consecrated my brother in Christ, Bishop Riley, who now sits on this platform. Let me add that from Spain and Portugal a similar request, accompanied with similar guarantees, has reached our Church, and I trust that it may be met by a similarly prompt and generous response. In conclusion, I have only two further remarks to make. Our sympathy with these reformation movements should be tolerant and comprehensive in its character. Some of us may sympathize more with the Old Catholics than with the Mexican Reformers; but let our sympathy be broad enough to include both. And surely, too, if we would wish either of these churches to approximate more closely to what we deem the right standard, how can we better influence them in this direction than by showing them sympathy and winning their good-will? Lastly, our attitude should be one of hopefulness. It is true that many of these little bands of reformers are few in number, and that not many wealthy or mighty have joined their ranks. But the fact that in so many different parts of Christendom, without concert one with another, they have, within the last quarter of a century, been springing into life, is a very significant and hopeful fact. If I might apply to Christendom the eloquent words used by your lordship with respect to the Church of England, I would say that these many separate movements towards reform witness to a "motive and vivifying power spreading itself widely and deeply throughout Christendom, and stirring it all over with fresh impulses, as the rising sap stirs bark and bough and tree after their long winter sleep." Yes, if the husbandman looking forth on his vineyard sees but one tree putting forth luxuriant foliage, while everything else is bare, he may attribute it to the application of some exceptional artificial culture; but when he sees the fig tree and all trees putting forth their shoots, and the tender blade forcing its way above the hard ground on every side, then he knows that spring has begun and that summer is nigh. And when we see these things come to pass, is it not time for us to look up and lift up our heads, and hope that the redemption of Christendom is even now drawing nigh?

The Right Rev. the BISHOP of the VALLEY
of MEXICO.

I HAVE come before you to-day to give you some information regarding the work our communion is encouraging in Spain and Spanish America, and I do this as one baptised in the Church of England. I ask you to patiently listen to the facts I have to state before you prejudge them. In the year 1878 one hundred of our Bishops assembled at Lambeth to consult with one another in the interest of the faith once delivered to the saints. These hundred Bishops had a touching petition presented to them through the Archbishop of Canterbury, on behalf of some churches in Spain and Portugal. In response to that petition a resolution was unanimously passed by the Conference, suggesting, that when a Bishop should have been consecrated for our little sister church in Mexico, he should visit Spain and Portugal and do what might seem to him practicable and advisable for the churches that had petitioned our bishops to take action on their behalf. The Lambeth Conference having asked a Bishop of the Mexican Church to visit Spain and Portugal, what he has to state about the work of the Church in those countries may not be uninteresting to some of your number.

Spain had a Church, much like the Church of England, for ten centuries; a Church quite independent of the Italian, with her own Liturgy; that

recognised no authority over her communion on the part of the Bishop of Rome. There are still those in Spain who regret that the independence of the Church of their forefathers should ever have been forfeited, and that the purity of its faith should ever have been lost, and who look forward to the re-establishment of the once pure national Church in Spain. At the head of this movement there are former Roman Catholic ecclesiastics. They have churches, schools, and an ably conducted periodical, and thoroughly deserve the sympathy of the English Church. But what about our little sister Church in Mexico? In Mexico the Inquisition was enthroned in all its dreaded power. For three centuries the open Bible was cruelly kept from the people in that land, but at last—after a struggle of forty years—a political party triumphed that favoured liberty and progress. Friars, nuns, and Jesuits were told to disband, and 300 of their formerly splendid churches were offered for sale at a nominal price. Amid this political revolution, hundreds wandered away from Christian Communion. The Government were excommunicated; but, amidst all the turmoil and excitement, there was a band of earnest Christian men and women who tried to keep together a pure community of Christians in Mexico. At last they gained the sympathy of the Government, which lent them some splendid churches, and then they began to look for sympathy from abroad. In response to this wish, I found the means of landing there, and received a warm welcome from the President, who placed a grand old stone parish church at my disposal. I also found a superb church building in the centre of the capital, from which the friars had been driven because they converted the convent connected with it into an arsenal for political purposes. For years their Church was used as a stable, until the little Mexican Episcopal Church turned out the cattle and converted it into its own Cathedral. A Dominican friar abandoned the persecution he had led against us and used his splendid eloquence on our behalf, became our first Bishop-elect, and at last we gathered into our circle more than 50 congregations. Men of influence have learned to love this Mexican Branch of the Church. Several of our workers have been murdered in cold blood simply because they circulated a few Bibles sent to them from Great Britain. Yet the survivors never once faltered or lost heart, and at last awakened even the sympathy of the President, who boldly headed a subscription list on behalf of our schools. But these struggles with Rome are in a great degree a thing of the past among us. We have now to combat the ignorance and immorality around us, and we ask sympathy from this land of the great Reformation in aid of our work. You, from Great Britain have sent the Bible into Spain and Mexico. You, under God, are responsible for the good that has followed, and in the name of these Churches I thank you for doing it.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP of GIBRALTAR.

It appears from the speeches and addresses which we have just heard, and from the manner in which those speeches and addresses have been received, that in the opinion of many persons here towards Churches of the Roman Communion we ought to assume an attitude very different from that which yesterday we were recommended to assume towards the historic Churches of the East. “*Reformatio fiat intra ecclesiam*” was our motto yesterday. It was acknowledged that reform was needed in those Oriental Churches; but the reform was to be made within the Churches, and by the Churches themselves; and the way in which we were to help in the work was by spreading knowledge, by promoting education, by endeavouring to exhibit in our own services and in our own conduct the principles of a Church at once reformed and catholic, and by kindling through such exhibition the spirit of reform in those ancient and

stationary communities. But in dealing with Churches of the Roman Communion it seems to be considered that we should promote reform by supporting outside the existing Churches other and rival Churches, into which members of the existing Churches should be drawn. In the one case we are not to proselytise, nor to encourage proselytism; in the other case, if we are not ourselves to proselytise, we are to help others in the work. In the one case we are to reform without destroying the existing Churches; in the other case, if we are not to destroy the existing Churches, we are to destroy the existing organisation. The modern Vatican Church is to be swept away as an intruder; and the old Catholic and National Churches in France, in Germany, in Spain, are to be raised from the grave in which they have long been buried, and restored to new and independent life. Now, are we acting in conformity with the principles of our Church in adopting this bold and exceptional course? This is the question which we have to consider. It is a question of grave and solemn importance. It is a question requiring extreme caution. It is a question demanding most anxious thought, and I think that I must add, far more anxious thought than it commonly receives of English Churchmen at home. The Church of England is now bursting the shell of its insularity or isolation, and is opening her eyes to the fact that there are Christian Churches outside the shores of these islands, outside the shores of our colonies, outside the shores of our sister America, and that towards these Christian Churches we have distinct and important duties to perform. Now it is of great moment that, before we cross the lines within which we have hitherto been content to walk, and enter upon this new, untrodden, unexplored ground we should cautiously feel our way and not allow ourselves to be drawn into any rash or ill-considered course. There are apparently persons here who tread fearlessly. They feel the ground to be perfectly safe beneath their feet. They have no scruples; or if they have any, they shelter themselves behind an old precedent of the Catholic Church: they shelter themselves behind that principle on which orthodox Bishops acted centuries ago in their conflict with Arianism: they shelter themselves behind those words of St. Cyprian, who affirms that there is but one Episcopate, held in common by all Bishops, and possessed in full by every individual Bishop. Every individual Bishop according to this principle has extra-diocesan, extra provincial powers: every individual Bishop is a universal Bishop: the whole world is his diocese: if the truth of Christ be in danger, if the salvation of Christ's redeemed people be imperilled, if the love of Christ constrain, there is no corner of the earth where a Bishop is not free, or rather is not in duty bound, to exercise his powers. This is a very startling principle; but startling as it sounds, it is one on which Christian Bishops in early days, when necessity compelled, not unfrequently acted. But it must be remembered that there is another precedent, principle, or canon, of equal authority, and of very different purport, which prescribes that no Bishop or Priest shall exercise his functions in the Diocese of a foreign Bishop without consent of that foreign Bishop. To justify a return to the earlier precedent, it seems to me that two things are essential; the circumstances must be exceptional, and they must be pronounced by competent authority to be exceptional. If every Bishop were free to step into another Bishop's Diocese, and every Clergyman were free to step into another Clergyman's parish, whenever such individual Bishop or Clergyman were personally of opinion that the true Gospel was not being preached, there would be an end of all order and discipline within the Church. Some persons seem to consider that the Hundred Bishops of the Anglican Communion who met two years ago at Lambeth pronounced judgment on this question. We no doubt stated in the Letter which we issued on that occasion that all sympathy was due from the Anglican Church to such persons and communities as protested against the usurpations of Rome, and were drawn to us in the endeavour to free themselves from the yoke of Roman error and superstition: we stated also that

we were ready to offer all help to such persons and communities, and such privileges as we could offer consistently with the maintenance of our own principles, as enunciated in our formularies. But as we were merely a consultative assembly of individual Bishops, without any definite constitution; it may be doubted whether we were competent to deal with practical questions such as these which have been brought to our notice this afternoon. But though neither such a Conference of Bishops as met the other day at Lambeth, nor we ourselves assembled to-day in this Congress at Leicester, have authority to settle this question, there can be no doubt in the mind of any one who has travelled in the countries of Southern Europe, and has seen with his eyes, and heard with his ears, that the circumstances of the Roman Church in these lands are very exceptional, and would seem to justify us in adopting a very different policy in regard to that Church from the policy which yesterday we were advised to adopt in regard to the Church in the East. Consider for example the position which the Greek and Roman Churches respectively assume towards ourselves. While the one always gives us a hearty welcome when we visit eastern lands, always treats us as brethren, never dreams of proselytising, the other not only arrogantly rejects our communion, but by the system of proselytising which it adopts, sows seeds of discord and schism in our congregations and in our households, marring the peace of our homes, separating pastor and people, parent and child, husband and wife. As I crossed the Adriatic the other day from Corfu to Brindisi, after a long tour among our Oriental Brethren, I felt, as many a member of our Branch of the Church must often feel on passing from eastern to western Christendom, that I was quitting a land of Christian Brotherhood, for a land where I could look for no such recognition, but, as far as the Church of the country was concerned, must expect to be regarded as an alien and an intruder. Such provocation, of course, if it were the only ground, would not of itself justify an entrance into a foreign Diocese, except for the special purpose of providing for our own people who were neglected in that foreign Diocese. An act which is in itself schismatical, would not cease to be schismatical, because done in retaliation or in self-defence.

But there are other grounds. Consider the position which the Church of Rome and the Churches of the East respectively assume in regard to the Holy Scriptures. The distrust with which the Church of Rome regards the Holy Scriptures, the dread it evinces of their authority, the reserve with which it allows them to be read, are in striking contrast to the treatment which they receive at the hands of the Eastern Church, which shows no such distrust, no such dread, no such reserve. The members of the Eastern Church may not read the Holy Scriptures very diligently; there may be, or appear to be, a discrepancy between the teaching of the Holy Scriptures and some received doctrines of the Eastern Church; but this Church herself is not aware of any such discrepancy, and always appeals to the Holy Scriptures in support of her doctrines. Consider the position which the Roman Church and the Oriental Church assume in regard to reform. While the authorities of the Eastern Church acknowledge the need of reform, and the first act of the new Œcumenical Patriarch was to issue a Manifesto urging reform, the authorities of the Roman Church proclaim that their Church is infallible, and therefore irreformable, and that anyone who declares it to need reform is anathema. It stands to reason that a Church which claims to be infallible cannot reform without repudiating such claim. By confessing itself to need reform, it confesses itself to have taken steps which need to be retraced; in other words, it confesses itself to be a fallible, and not an infallible Church.

These, as it seems to me, are reasons, and many more might be added, why, in dealing with the Roman Church, we are justified in abandoning our general policy of abstention, and in giving our sympathy and, so far as the principles of our Church allow, our support to such isolated congregations as are anxious for reform, and themselves ask us for assistance.

Christianity occupies a very critical position in Southern Europe at the present moment. While Vaticanism still retains its hold on the ignorant and credulous, the manly and thoughtful are falling away into scepticism, and the masses are drifting into indifferentism. None can travel in those sunny lands without seeing that, though the Roman Church may still nurture, as we hope, many a bright example of simple faith and earnest piety, yet, so far as the intelligence, the progress, the life of those countries are concerned, it has proved a failure, and that the failure is all the greater in lands like Spain, where it has ruled under the most favourable circumstances, and with undivided empire. In France it is scorned by the strong manhood of the nation, who not only reject that type of Christianity which it presents, but are now actually marshalling their forces in open and direct antagonism. There is one and only one way of saving men from these three evils—Vaticanism, scepticism, indifferentism—and that way is the revival of national and independent Churches, Scriptural in their doctrine, Apostolic and Primitive in their discipline and forms of worship. But how are such Churches to be revived? This is a question requiring most careful consideration and the utmost caution. We must not make rash experiments. We must not plant exotics. We must not support systems which are not of native growth. We must not help work which is merely destructive. We must not disturb and unsettle, unless, in place of that which we withdraw, we have a solid faith and a true Church to offer. In all appeals that may be made to us the Rulers of our Church should scrupulously examine the special circumstances of each case, and see whether they have assumed a size and importance which would justify the Church of England in interposing. We must not act on insufficient information. We must not embark on enterprises which would lower the dignity of our Church, or bring into question her wisdom. These cautions are given not to damp enthusiasm. They are given to provoke enquiry. They are given to ensure circumspection.

Before I bring my words to a close I will name an enterprise by which a spirit of reform may be awakened in the Roman Church, and to which we may all give our sympathy and help without fear or scruple. We are just losing the building, in which hitherto Englishmen have been content to worship outside the walls of Rome, and are erecting a new building within the walls more worthy of our Church and Nation. We want to have at Rome an edifice which would exhibit the Church of England in her true aspect. We want to have an edifice which would show, by its architectural features, as well as by the character of its services, what the doctrines and worship of our Church really are when they are faithfully represented. A truly representative church erected in the very heart and centre of the Roman Communion, though its clergy might abstain from all attempts to make converts, and never touched on controversy except in self-defence, would probably do more to quicken a desire for reform than any one of those plans which we have just heard so ably and eloquently advocated. It would show, by a living example, that a Church may be at once reformed and Catholic; may meet the demands of the present time, growing with the world's growth, and yet retain unbroken its links with the past; may shake itself free from the errors and superstitions which the course of ages has gathered, and yet rest on the old foundations of Apostolic order and primitive usage, and ground its teaching on Holy Scripture. This, as it seems to me, is the quietest, the most charitable, the most brotherly, and, at the same time, a very effective, way of producing that internal reformation which we all have at heart. Whatever differences of opinion there may be amongst us respecting the other plans which we have just heard advanced, respecting this plan we must all be at one; and as the work is of national, and not of mere local importance, towards its accomplishment I ask you all to lend a helping hand.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Hon. A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.

IN that rash confidence which men feel when they first enter a meeting, I handed up to your lordship my card; but as soon as I had heard my right reverend and most venerated friend the Bishop of Winchester, I repented me of my temerity. What could I say but ditto to him? And why stand up in this room to say ditto. But then, afterwards the thought came that on the list of appointed speakers, while there were one Prebendary and four Bishops, there was not a single layman, and that, however unequal I might be to the task, and however inferior might be my handling of the subject to that of the Bishop of Winchester, it would not be right to let it go forth to the country that sympathy in England with the Old Catholic movement was merely a clerical and not a Church sympathy. My friend, Lord Plunket, said, with great good humour and great Irish humour, that it was open to every man to have more sympathy with one side than with the other. I own that my sympathies have been with the Old Catholic Movement in Germany. Prebendary Meyrick has referred to the Episcopate in Germany. But how is it that the Old Catholics of Germany have a Bishop? Bishops do not grow like trees from the earth. The fact is, that Bishop Reinkens' episcopate is of the ancient territorial episcopate of Holland, in which he may claim a fixed position that is independent of any system, as far as owners go. I sympathise heartily and deeply with this Old Catholic Movement, because it seems to me to be so admirable an example of that most rare of all feelings—moderation at a time of great excitement—the time of the Vatican Council. In the history of such movements, the great difficulty has always been to know how far to go and where to stand. How far to go and where to stand is the great crux and difficulty of all Churches. It was the great trial and temptation of the Sixteenth Century Reformation; it is our trial and temptation now; and it will be the trial and temptation of every religious movement of coming centuries of equal importance. And when we see an example of that kind so nobly carried out in a movement, which is for the good of heroic friends of the Old Catholic Church, we ought not to be chary in showing them our hearty sympathy. In speaking of the Old Catholic Movement, I cannot refrain from mentioning its great central figure—the venerable Dr. Döllinger, a man whom I have had the honour of conversing with, and whom I have the privilege of reckoning amongst my acquaintances. And when I tell you of two men on whose letters of introduction I dared to seek the great divine in his home at Munich, you will admit that those names are no bad testimonials to the Catholicity of the man. These two men were Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, and Canon Liddon. Bishop Forbes was to the day of his death heartily in sympathy with Dr. Döllinger, and I have reason to believe the great Canon of St. Paul's is still of the same opinion. The Old Catholic Movement wants material help; and we all know that such help is not so easy to give. But give it if you can, and give your moral sympathy. Do not let the old Catholics think that sympathy for their movement has died out in England. I was very sorry indeed to read in the *Guardian* the other day that, while six American Bishops had written letters of sympathy to them at their Conference at Bonn, only one English Bishop presented himself by letter. I hope it will not go out that English sympathy is lost to the Old Catholics. We have so many grievances just now at home, it is quite conceivable that the circumstance may be due to mere oversight, or it may be due to pure blundering; but it is a pity it was in the *Guardian*, and it will be the pity of pities if our good German friends, in their good matter-of-fact Teutonic way of looking at things, should take it to mean something different from what it really does. I hope it will go out to them that at Leicester that sympathy was

expressed by word of mouth which the Post Office forgot to those who were congregated at Bonn. Do not let the Old Catholic Movement die out. Do not let mere misadventure, mere idleness, mere accumulation of work elsewhere, make it appear that English Churchmen, who by thousands and thousands signed that address to Dr. Döllinger which it was my privilege to carry out to him at Munich, are lacking in sympathy with the movement of their Old Catholic friends on the Continent. I hope that movement will live; but, if it fails, do not let it be said that it was from any carelessness or apathy on our part.

The Rev. A. LENDRUM, Rector of Blatherwycke.

As your lordship, at the commencement of the proceedings, made some remarks which apply to me, perhaps I may be allowed to say a word in explanation. I refer to what your lordship said as to my having written a letter with reference to Bishop Riley, which you thought ought to have been addressed to yourself. Now the fact was that the matter was brought under my notice in such a way that I felt I should have been unfaithful to God's truth if I had not brought it before the members of the Congress. Having consulted a number of clergy and laity, it was unanimously agreed that a committee be appointed to lay the matter before your lordship; but Archdeacon Denison, coming in at the time, he most kindly undertook to bring the facts under your notice. To prevent any mistake, I therefore wrote to him explicitly, stating what those facts were. As to anonymous publications, your lordship knows that I am not ashamed to append my name to any opinions I may publicly express upon religious subjects, more especially if any reference is made to the conduct of others. I am not in the habit of writing anonymous letters. When I have anything to say about what is going on in the Church, I put my name to it, being ready to incur the responsibility, and having no desire to detract from that responsibility. As to the object of my letter, I felt that the course I took was justified by the facts that were brought to my knowledge. Having said all I wish to say on that subject, I will proceed to make a few remarks on the question under the special consideration of this meeting—"Efforts towards reform in foreign Churches, and the attitude of the Church of England towards them." I think there is a great deal here that calls for serious thought. We must think of spreading the Gospel in the right way, and not in the wrong; and it is of great importance that we take care not to create schisms while endeavouring to promote the truth and the honour of our Blessed Lord. It appears to me that certain parties in the Church of England are acting on very erroneous principles with regard to this most important work. In the charge lately delivered by the Primate of our Church, his Grace has spoken in such a way as to imply that he wishes to patronise and superintend all those Churches and sects everywhere which claim a kind of relation to our Church because designated Protestant. I regard such principles as decidedly wrong, and calculated to bring about schisms rather than unity, as well as to lead men to undervalue the grand truths of the Gospel. For we see in Germany, as well as at home, how fearfully divisions in the Church tend to spread infidelity. In our efforts to regain intercommunion with the Churches of Rome and Greece, we must not begin by breaking them up into an endless multitude of sects, but must lead them, on the principle of love, to realise their departures from true Catholic principles. And with a view to this, I think the way to gain access to the Church of Rome legitimately would be for our Primates and Bishops, speaking in the name of the Anglican Church, or through the medium of the great Pan-Anglican Synod, to propose to the Vatican Council that a committee of the most learned men, formed equally from the two bodies, should meet to consider how re-union could be effected

on genuine Primitive^d and Catholic principles. It is open to us to do this in a manner consistent with the principles and honour of the Holy Catholic Church; but when we go and set up a schism, as I hold that this Mexican institution is, it seems to me that this is the way to alienate and not to unite. The Church of England, if her principles are fairly carried out, I hold to be thoroughly Catholic; but such a line of action must destroy her influence, and make her merely a leader of sects. What we want is to spread true Primitive and Catholic principles and so promote unity, not to widen the breaches by propagating principles the very reverse of these. Take an illustration; take the case of Bishop Toke in this country. Our Bishops have unanimously condemned that man as a schismatic. But what is the difference between his case, and that of this new Mexican schism. He finds some fault with the Church of England and sets up a schism, and Bishop Riley follows in his footsteps. Surely that is not the way to bring the several portions of the Holy Catholic Church into practical union one with another. It will rather lead on from one schism to another. We have somewhere about 170 sects in this country; and Dean Stanley has printed a letter in the newspapers in which he proposes that all these sects—Shakers, Quakers, Jumpers, and so forth—are to be admitted as constituent parts of the Church of England; and that is what has been said by more than one speaker in regard to the foreign communities. Others have spoken, I think, with more wisdom and judgment, when they urged that we must “draw them with the cords of love” to value and embrace “the faith once delivered to the saints.” If we would do this in the right way and not by multiplying schisms, a great and most important work might be done. Some smile when I speak of consultation with the Vatican Council as to the appointment of a joint committee to arrange terms of union. I am not ignorant of the great difficulties, but when Rome looks around upon this ever growing division of Christendom, and begins to realize the fearful evils resulting therefrom, we may hope that in time it will see the need of listening to, and co-operating with, us. We must at least feel that we have made the right and legitimate move; and I cannot help thinking that inch by inch, step by step, progress might thus be made towards bringing all back from the false principles which have gradually grown up in a multitude of ways, so that all might hereafter live in “the unity of the Spirit and in the bond of peace.” Surely this must be the heartfelt desire and prayer of us all.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of LIVERPOOL.

THE movement in favour of reform in the Church of Mexico, at the head of which is Bishop Riley, has been denounced from the one side as being too High Church and Ritualistic, and from the other as being too Low Church, Evangelical, and Protestant. Probably the truth lies somewhere between the two. It seems to me that these attacks from opposite quarters constitute a grand testimony in favour of Bishop Riley's work. With regard to the charge of “schism” so often brought against those who secede from an Episcopal Church, I think that the right principle is contained in the maxim, *Schismaticus est qui separationem causat, non qui separat*. On any other view it might be difficult to justify our own Reformation. Do those who object to Bishop Riley's movement want the Mexicans to swell the ranks of the Presbyterians, or Independents, or Methodists? I begin to think I am really much more of a High Churchman than those who make these objections. What the Church of England wants is more elasticity. Long ago Lord Macaulay pointed out that if John and Charles Wesley had appeared in the Church of Rome they would have been allowed to found a new order. Archbishop Cornwallis, however, and Bishop Lavington talked all manner of foolish things about them, and drove them out of our pale. If we had had such prelates then as

Archbishop Tait or Archbishop Thomson, the Wesleyans would be with us still. Do not let us turn the cold shoulder to such a work as that of Bishop Riley. Do not let us throw cold water upon it. Hold out a kindly hand to it; do what you can to help it forward, and it will prove a blessing to all who speak the Spanish tongue, from one end of the world to the other, in generations yet to come.

The Rev. Dr. FORBES, of Paris.

HAVING resided for 21 years on the Continent of Europe, I can heartily endorse what the Bishop of Winchester has said with regard to the Old Catholic movement now going on there. The question before us is what should be the attitude of the Church of England towards those Churches, whose efforts are now being so strongly put forth in the direction of reform. I think the attitude of the Church of England should be that of the strong swimmer who, having reached the rock himself, holds out a hand to those who are still struggling in the waves below. The Church of England occupies a most important position at this time. They are looking to her from Germany, France, and Switzerland for support. I cannot forget the view which Bishop Hall took of these Churches on the Continent in relation to the Church of England, when he said that in all essential things they are her sisters. The Church of England ought to be a kind of centre of opinion around which all those Churches may rally. There are many eyes turned towards the Church of England, and God forbid that she should witness the struggles of those sister Churches on the Continent and not hold out a helping hand to them in the hour of their need.

CONGRESS HALL, WEDNESDAY EVENING,

SEPTEMBER 29TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 7 o'clock.

THE CHURCH AND DISSENT.

**THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS DISSENT, WITH
SPECIAL REGARD TO HOME RE-UNION.**

PAPERS.

The Rev. PROFESSOR PLUMPTRE, D.D.

It must, I fear, be confessed that the prospects of home reunion, in the sense in which I have to deal with it, are neither very definite, nor very bright. One might almost sum up the conclusion of the whole matter by saying, with the traditional brevity of the chapter

on the serpents of Iceland, that there are none. It is, I fear, but too probable that if many churchmen, clergy, and laity were to utter the thoughts of their heart, as in a palace of truth, without concealment or conventionality, they would speak in some such strain as this: "We are face to face with a resolute and energetic foe, and we must at last take our stand on a policy of No Surrender. We have seen the thin end of the wedge dexterously inserted, and driven in with reiterated blows. The Nonconformists of England have had the fullest and truest toleration given for their worship and their opinions. They have invaded our corporations, our legislature, our schools, our burial grounds. We have abolished Church rates and accepted the Conscience Clause. And still they advance with serried front and united counsels, and the Liberation Society has not dissolved itself, and the cry of Disestablishment is heard, in no faint whispers, on the hustings and in Parliament. We are sick of the policy of compromise and conciliation. We have no faith in the wisdom of 'buying off the barbarians.' We look on the false brethren who counselled that policy as speaking smooth things and prophesying deceits, crying 'peace,' when there was no peace. We may be in a minority, but we will, at any rate, use the rights of a minority, and be obstructive. Calmer counsels from weak-kneed brethren shall have no power to restrain our righteous indignation. We will evade, as far as we can, Acts that we cannot openly resist. We will yield, if we must, under protest, sullenly and ungraciously, that we may at least, liberate our own souls, and wash our hands of responsibility."

That, it will be admitted, is not an unfair anthology from the leading articles and correspondence columns of our Church newspapers during the past four or five months. I half expect that there will be echoes of it this evening. It implies, I need not say, an attitude of mind eminently unfavourable to prospects of Home Re-union. Though I do not use that language myself, nor take up that attitude, I cannot ignore it as one of the *data* of the problem. Can we hope, with this before us, that the time will ever come when the widening breach will be bridged over, when Ephraim shall no longer vex Judah, nor Judah Ephraim? Must not the prospect of a Home Re-union be relegated, like that other and wider hope of a Re-union of Christendom, to a golden age in some future too remote to touch us? Must we not look upon it as an Utopian ideal to be realized only, as that adjective implies, in the land of Nowhere?

The difficulties are aggravated, it must be added, by the fact that we have to deal not with a single and compact body, with whom it might be possible to negotiate a treaty of peace, or terms of amalgamation, but with one which embraces widely different elements. Wesleyans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Quakers—these may be united for a time in their action—for the most part, we think, a hostile action—in relation to the Church, but they are as far from union with each other as from re-union with her. Ephraim and Manasseh, to fall back on the old familiar analogy, may join together to vex Judah, but if the victory were won, the old hereditary feuds which smoulder now would break out

afresh. If they had occasion to rejoice as those that divide the spoil, it is but too probable that they would quarrel over the division. In any case they would still be separated from each other by wide differences of doctrine and of discipline. The very downfall of the beleaguered city would bring dissensions into the camp of the invaders, to say nothing of its embittering the feelings of enmity between the besiegers and besieged. We cannot look to Disestablishment,—even if we welcome its approach, as some of us seem to do, as bringing with it the hope of greater freedom, and emancipation from State control, and higher spiritual activities,—as a measure that would bring us one step nearer to the far-off goal.

I may seem to take a needlessly gloomy view of the state of things around us, and to speak as in the accents of a desponding pessimism. I have no desire to rest in that despondency. And there is a word in the thesis which lies before me in which I find something like a gleam of hope, not because it lays a flattering unction to our souls, or tempts us to rhetorical platitudes on the blessings of unity and concord, but because it is as a lancet that cuts deep into the sore which cannot be healed by spells and incantations, which does not admit of being “bound up or mollified with ointment.” In the thought of the “*responsibility* of the Church towards Dissent,” I find that which ought to cut off the succession of recriminations and mutual bitterness and suspicion, and point to the more excellent way of penitence and self-abasement, of confession and, so far as in us lies, of restitution. The relations of the Church of England towards Dissent are not altogether unlike those of the people of England towards Ireland, and *mutatis mutandis*, what is true of the one is true also of the other. As the wisest and best of our statesmen, from Pitt and Peel to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster, have been guided in the treatment of the vexed questions of Irish policy, by the conviction that there was a long score of grievances to be redressed, an “ancient tale of wrong” to be set right, centuries of oppression which could not be blotted out from memory or from history by the legislation of a single session; so should it be with us as we trace the history of the Church and of Dissent during the last two centuries. That conviction has, we know, made these statesmen patient under disappointments, tolerant of wild license of speech, till a righteous indignation at last found utterance, not baffled by unreasonable obstruction, or disheartened by apparent failure. They have not been content, as so many of us practically are, to take refuge in the proverb, that “the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and that the children’s teeth are set on edge,” but have called others to join with them in the confession, “We are verily guilty concerning our brother,” and have determined that they, for their part, will eat no more of the clusters of that evil vintage. If I am not mistaken, we ought to look on plans of Home Re-union, based upon the surrender of the Church’s privileges, as they look on the schemes of Home Rulers, wild, it may be, and impracticable, but yet the natural outcome of the past, requiring to be dealt with in the spirit at once of a wise forbearance, and of the firmness which can

sympathise with a clamorous demand, even while it refuses to concede it.

I can scarcely expect you to accept that proposition as a self-evident axiom, and I must attempt, within such limits as I have, to prove it. The survey of that long history is not a pleasant task, and involves the condemnation, not of one side only. The responsibility which weighs on us is inherited as from a long line of ancestors, and it is not easy to fix on those who were the first creators of the entail of bitterness. Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in the matter if, putting aside the persecutions in opposite directions under Mary and Elizabeth, we start from the dominant and, so to speak, Ecclesiastical Calvinism of the time of Whitgift and Abbot, repressing Puritan scruples as to ritual on the one hand, and, on the other, trying to stamp out the witness for the Divine Righteousness with a persistency which makes us look on Laud as the representative of the cause of freedom of conscience, and welcome the Royal Declaration prefixed to the Articles as the first witness for a comprehensive, latitudinarian interpretation of formularies confessedly ambiguous.

When Laud rose into power, he bettered the instruction, and the changes of ritual which he enforced by the pains and penalties of the Star Chamber, the policy of "Thorough" in the pursuit of Uniformity in the Church, as of Absolutism in the State, roused the people of England to a white heat of exasperation. The measures of the Presbyterians, and even of the Independents, when they gained the ascendancy, were after the same pattern. The Prayer Book was set aside, its use forbidden under pains and penalties, and those who clung to it in deep affection or strong conviction were compelled, as the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn show us, to meet, if not in the dens and caves of the earth, yet in the holes and corners of their houses. The clergy who would not accept the Westminster Directory were ejected from their livings, and the scanty pension assigned to them paid irregularly, or not paid at all.

It was but too natural that the day of triumph of the Royalist party should be the day of vengeance for such acts as these. Whatever wisdom there might be in the statesmen by whose advice King Charles II issued the Breda declaration, with its promise of a broad and sympathising comprehensiveness, was overpowered by the temper of the country squires and the clergy. The Prayer Book was revised after the sham conference at the Savoy, in the temper of the younger counsellors of Rehoboam. Not one concession was made to the scruples of the Puritan party, and, whether by accident or design, the Ornaments Rubric, against which they had protested as bringing back the vestments, was left as the *damnosa hæreditas* of later generations. Then came the Act of Uniformity and the day of black Bartholomew, and the ejection of two thousand clergy from their homes, left with no fixed provision for their maintenance, and deliberately excluded from that work of education which would have been their most natural resource. We all know the other stages of that legislation, how by the Corporation Act the whole body of Nonconformists were shut out from the common rights of citizens, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper turned, for that purpose,

into a qualification for aldermen and common councillors, "an office key, a picklock to a place" (13 Car II, c. 1); how by the Conventicles' Act the presence in any house of five persons, besides the family, joining in prayer to God, involved the whole party in fines, imprisonment (and in such prisons!), or seven years' transportation for the third offence (16 Car. II, c. 4); how the Five Miles' Act banished all Dissenting Ministers who would not take an oath of passive obedience from residing in or near any corporate town, and imposed a fine of £40 or imprisonment on each exercise of their ministry (17 Car. II, c. 2); how like fines were imposed by the second Conventicles' Act on any persons holding such meetings in their house, or teaching or praying in them, and empowered justices of peace to break open the doors of any house in which worshippers were so assembled.

The weapons were sharp enough in themselves, but think of the hands by which they were wielded—of the judges, magistrates, and mobs, who found as much sport in worrying a Dissenter as in baiting a badger or a bear. Think of Baxter bullied by Jeffreys, and of Bunyan in his Bedford prison, of chapels destroyed, and congregations hustled and pelted. Add to these the social snubs which made the Nonconformist feel at every turn that he belonged as to a Pariah class, his exclusion from our public schools and universities, his enforced acceptance of marriage and burial under conditions which must have galled him, his liability to distraint and imprisonment for the non-payment of rates which were levied for the maintenance of a Church in which he had no interest, and then ask whether I was not justified in speaking of the "ancient tale of wrong," which has left its evil memories in our history.

It is, of course, true that one by one these grievances have been removed, but it will scarcely be contended that the clergy of the Church of England have taken any very active part in their removal. The Toleration Act of William and Mary, though it removed many of the pains and penalties of the legislation of Charles II, was limited to such ministers as would sign the Thirty-nine Articles, with some specified exceptions. The Lower House of Convocation opposed a stubborn *non possumus* to the plans of a Royal Commission for a Revision of the Prayer Book in the interests of comprehension, and was backed by the squirearchy of the House of Commons. The Acts of the 10th of Anne made it penal for any person holding office, high or low, under the Crown to attend a meeting for worship, other than that of the Church of England, at which more than ten persons were present. Later Acts in the same reign enforced the restrictions on education, and practically debarred all Nonconformists from anything but the three R.'s and a trifle of mathematics. (10 Anne, 12 Anne.) The extraordinary popularity of Sacheverel's Sermon on the Perils of False Brethren was due to the fact that he had attacked the whole policy of toleration since the Revolution as a series of treacheries against the Church. It is not too much to say, though there have been at each stage honourable exceptions,—chiefly in the persons of Bishops, who were content to brave the obloquy and suspicion of their clergy,—that every step in the

redress of grievances,—the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828,* the Dissenters' Marriage Bills, the Abolition of Church Rates, the operation of the Conscience Clause prior to the Education Act of 1870, the removal of restrictions at schools and colleges, the Burials Bill, which is now at last an Act,—has been received with a resolute opposition from the great body of the clergy and those who represented them in Parliament, with protests against them as dangerous innovations, and with prophecies of coming evils. There are, I can scarcely doubt, many still among us who, if they could, would gladly see the nation retrace its steps; who, if they repudiate the severer forms of persecution by which our history was disgraced, have hardly gone beyond the stage of those who said of old that if they "had lived in the days of their fathers" they would not have been "partakers with them in the blood of the prophets."

The treatment of the Wesleyan movement, which added to the Nonconformist body its last great reinforcement, presents, I need not say, analogous features. There was a time when it might have been guided, directed, incorporated with the Mission work of the Church. Accepting her main doctrines, with few scruples, or none, like those which keep other Dissenters from communion with her, anxious at first to continue in her ministry and to attend her worship, they were viewed with disfavour and distrust, as dangerous, disturbing, enthusiastic.† Treated with wisdom they might not only have brought into the Church an energetic life which was then much wanted, but might have served as a bridge by which the existing Nonconformist bodies, with whom they had so many points of sympathy, might have crossed the widening chasm which divided them from the Church. As it was, another great opportunity was thrown away, and the Wesleyan body, with its numerous outgrowths, took its place outwardly at least, with whatever yearnings and regrets and lingering feelings of attachment, among those who are not for us, and whom therefore we count against us.

What, then, are the duties involved in these inherited responsibilities, with which, in proportion as we read the history of the past aright, we must feel ourselves so heavily weighted? What hope is there that the future may be better than the past? I confess that I have very little hope of any Home Re-union as the result of formal negotiations. I cannot picture to myself any successful issue of a conference between Bishops and Church Theologians on the one hand, and the representatives of Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists on the other, sitting round a table and manipulating the Articles and Prayer Book till they have reduced them to a colourless residuum which all would be willing to accept.

* The operations of the Acts in question had, it is true, been modified from 1727, by annual Acts of Indemnity. These, however, it is obvious, were no real redress. The principle of exclusion was still retained, and the Nonconformist who applied for his indemnity had to do so under false pretences.

† See the language of Bishop Warburton's "Doctrines of Grace," and Bishop Lavington's "Enthusiasm of Papists and Methodists Compared."

I may think, indeed, on the principle of Bacon's axiom, that if "wisdom and experience do not alter such things for the better, time alters them for the worse," that those documents would be the better for a revision adapting them to our altered forms of thought and life, "according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners;" and the effect of such a revision might, I believe, attract many who are now without her pale, but I cannot bring myself to advocate a revision undertaken primarily for the purpose of including communities who are so widely separated from the Church and from each other. As far as one can forecast the contingencies of the unknown, the history of the Savoy Conference and of the Commission of 1689 would, in such a case, be acted over again. Fresh seeds of discord would be sown, the sour grapes would once more set on edge the teeth of a future generation, and the last days would be worse than the first.

What cannot be done, however, by formal acts of this kind, may in part, at least, be effected by an alteration in the attitude which, for the most part, we have taken up in relation to Dissent, in the *animus* which has hitherto characterised our words and acts towards Dissenters. We cannot ignore the wide differences which divide us from them. We may deplore the loss of effective action which results from those "unhappy divisions," as we deplore those that exist within our own body, or those that separate us from the venerable Churches of the East or West, or from the Protestant and Reformed Communities of the Continent. But there remains, as we have been lately reminded, in the Primate's Charge,* the thought of a *Christendom* which includes all those bodies, and from which we dare not exclude any who "profess or call themselves Christians." That thought,—while it leaves us free to hold fast to the forms of faith, of discipline, of ritual, which we have inherited, or to modify them as may best meet our own necessities; while it gives us a fresh reason for maintaining the connexion of the Church with the nation's life, as the best witness, so long as the connexion is a reality, for that wider brotherhood, which exists in spite of outward differences and interrupted communion—should at any rate modify, in large measure, the feelings of bitterness and hostility which have found, even of late years, such frequent utterance. Look at the great body of Nonconformist literature, Nonconformist hymns, and Mission work, and evangelising agencies, and schools, and colleges, and ask whether the men who represent them are to be looked on as servants or enemies of Christ, elements of strength and nobleness in the nation's life or only and wholly of evil? Can we say that the animus or the guilt of schism belongs to those who have inherited a position which was forced upon their fathers, in part, at least, by the unwisdom and oppression of our own? Is it not our wisdom and duty to welcome every opportunity for courtesy,

* See Report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Charge at Croydon, in the *Times* of September 1, or the *Guardian* of the same date, now republished in the "Church of the Future."

kindness, friendliness, for co-operation, where to co-operate is possible? I, for one, look with unmixed satisfaction on the fact that Nonconformist scholars of many different denominations are engaged with our own bishops and divines in the work of the revision of the Bible, or appear side by side with us in commentaries under an episcopal editorship, or in the pages of theological reviews, or in works of philanthropy and public usefulness. Whether these are as the dawning of a brighter day, in which the entail of evil shall be cut off, and the English nation shall be once again Christian with an undivided Christianity, a day in which men will cease to quarrel about the "infinitely little," and the Church of England, in her widened comprehensiveness, shall attract those who are weary of the narrowness of Dissent, and by the reform of the evils which now attach to her system of patronage and endowment, shall disarm the objections which are made to her connexion with the State; or whether dark days lie before us, in which, after discord has done its work, the servants of Christ shall stand face to face with a nation secularised and non-Christian, so that a common peril shall unite those who have hitherto been warring with each other,—I dare not venture to forecast. It is enough for us to be content with the day of small things, and to do our "little possible" in the pathway of justice, and charity, and peace, by acts of kindness and courtesy in the churchyard, or the School Board, or in social life. So may we at least inherit the blessing of the peacemakers, and take our place among the "healers of the breach and the restorers of paths to dwell in." So, sowing the good seed in the morning and the evening, we will wait, though the skies are dark and our labours end in apparent failure, for the far-off harvest.

ADDRESSES.

EARL NELSON.

FOR a proper consideration of this question, it must be clearly understood what the speaker or reader who is addressing you considers the Church of England to be.

Dissenters of the more modern school strive hard to maintain that she is only a sect among sects, or, as they would be more pleased to call it, a Church among Churches, and there are a few among ourselves who talk as if there were no distinctive marks of Christ's Church, and as if it were a matter of small moment what particular views were held as belonging to Christianity, so long as the holder of them professed to have deduced them from Holy Scripture, while there are others who look on the Church as a mere department of the State, and who would conveniently ignore all its history prior to the Reformation.

The Church of England of which I speak is not the whole Catholic Church to the exclusion of all other Churches, but a true branch of the Church of Christ, and that especial branch of it which has been connected with this country from the beginning. I gather this from no mere theorising, but from hard matter of fact;—based (*a*) upon her own claims as shewn by her formularies and the authoritative acts of her rulers; (*b*)

upon the authentic history of past times ; (c) upon the marks of Catholicity which are her heritage. Let us briefly consider a few of these facts.

(a) It is well known, that at the time of the Reformation Archbishop Cranmer appealed to an Œcumenical Council of the whole Church so soon as it could be had ;—that her Reformation was based upon a return to primitive teaching and practice, distinctly repudiating anything new ;—that she accepted the orders of the great Eastern and Western Churches ;—that in her services she maintains her Catholic position, baptizing her children not as members of the Church of England, but receiving them into the Body of Christ's Church, while in her ordination service she ordains her priests not as priests of the Church of England, but to exercise their office in the Church of God. And she prays not for the members of the Church of England only, but for the good estate of the Catholic Church, that, guided by God's Holy Spirit, all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life.

(b.) From history we may trace our first reception of Christianity to very early times. Eusebius and Tertullian in the second century specially refer to the fact. Three British Bishops were present at the convent of Arles, A.D. 314, 300 years before Augustin's mission to the Saxons. History further shews that the greater portion of the Saxons of this nation were converted by direct missions from the Old Celtic and British Church. From the time that Archbishop Theodore consolidated all these missions into the one Saxon or Anglican Church, that Church has been intimately connected with our Constitutional History—leading the way to the formation of one kingdom with representative institutions, preserving and restoring those liberties in Norman times, ever earnest against foreign aggression, reforming herself after the old lines of her past history.

(c.) And during all this time she has never lost the distinctive marks of the Catholic Church, which she has held from the beginning, in her Apostolic ministry, in the Creeds and Sacraments, and as the keeper and interpreter of Holy Writ. In a word, unless we are prepared with the Roman Catholic to unchurch her altogether, because she has broken with the See of Rome, she stands before us as the mother Church of the whole English people who have been baptised and thus have acknowledged and received Christianity.

As such she has until very lately been accepted by the whole Wesleyan Body, and by many among the other so-called orthodox bodies of Dissenters. In this position she has vast responsibilities towards all the baptized Christians of this land. Whether they will hear or whether they will forbear—we ever have—and ever must have—influence over them for good or for evil. The worldliness and indifference, the party quarrelling and strife, the sound teaching and the spiritual zeal of the Church equally react upon them for good or for evil. One proof of this is manifest from the way in which the orthodoxy of the Church's teaching in her creeds and formularies has so mercifully preserved our Dissenters from the infidelity which has overwhelmed so many Protestant bodies on the continent. This should be a warning, and shew us that the first and foremost way of fulfilling our responsibility towards them, is to maintain earnestly that form of sound words that has been committed to our keeping, and all those distinctive marks which unite us with the Christianity of other nations and of the ages which have passed away.

It is a wonderful safeguard for our English Christianity to have such a connection with the Church of the past, free from the errors with which such a witness is surrounded in other churches. And yet there are some who in their zeal for re-union would ignore all this, unmindful of the damage they would thereby do to the faith of the Dissenter, and of the injury such ignoring of the past would cast upon the progress of Christianity. If it is really to be maintained that the Church of the first 15 centuries and our own and other churches since were wrong in the

maintenance of those distinctive principles which have ever been the marks of the Church of Christ; of what avail are the boasted triumphs of Christianity over the wisdom of infidel Rome, or over barbaric ignorance? How, in a word, if we are prepared so to ignore the past, can we prove Christianity to be a reality at all? There is even now going on in the midst of us a terrible drifting from old beliefs among the Dissenting bodies, and none know better than the earnest religious minded men among the Dissenters the dangers that would result to the general progress of Christianity, if in this infidel age the Church were to let go any of the old standpoints of the past out of a false endeavour to conciliate them.

Let me take by way of example the question of Episcopacy and Apostolic order, which is one of the chief things that some among us would throw over to conciliate the Dissenters. I will allow that in so many words Episcopacy is not clearly laid down in Holy Scripture, and that it is rather by analogy and deduction that it can be shewn to have been the true form of Church government for the Church of Christ. But surely the same witness of the Church which we accept for keeping Sunday on the first day of the week, and for infant baptism, may be accepted here, and we have undoubted proof that Episcopacy was generally existent in the Church before the New Testament Canon was fully completed; and we have an unaltering testimony from all, everywhere, and in all times, with the exception of the Protestant bodies, to Episcopacy as being the true and only form of Church government. And among the Protestants who deny it as of divine right there are fresh testimonies cropping up every day as to the importance and beneficial influence from such a form of Church government.

But there are other responsibilities which we are bound to fulfil towards the Dissenting bodies around us; and, making this first standpoint clear and firm, we may fearlessly endeavour to fulfil them. There is no doubt we have been too essentially political in times past, and must acknowledge no small part of the blame of the original schism; and it behoves us now towards the successors of those first seceders to be very careful to remove all possible stumbling blocks. I have no time to go into the question of establishment further than to say that it is impossible to get free of State control so long as we hold any Trust property, and that it is impossible to shew from Scripture or the history of the past that there is anything essentially wrong in a connection with the State, so long as it does not interfere with the free exercise of the Church's spiritual functions. But there have been many evils from our being too Erastian; and there are some still remaining which are stumbling blocks to those outside us, and look uglier from the outside. The sham about the *congé d'élire*, the sale of livings, the entire absence of Church discipline, may be mentioned as some which we should labour to remove for their sakes as well as for our own.

There is another responsibility resting upon us. While we may lament the evils and imperfections and injuries to Christianity from the unhappy divisions outside our churches, it is impossible for us to ignore the holy lives and self-denying labours of many among the Dissenters, and the direct good that in many cases they have been permitted to accomplish. It rests upon us to encourage what is good in them, to give to every true witness for Christ the honour due to it as from Him, though coming from extraordinary out-pourings of His Holy Spirit, or by means of unauthorised ministrations. And we may do much in making Dissenters more distinctly religious and less distinctly political by acknowledging all such direct work for Christ, and by our own example separating politics as far as possible from religion. In this spirit I think it is our duty to act with the Dissenters in all directly social improvements, Church of England Temperance Societies, and the like. In our relations towards Dissenters, it is further necessary that we should bear in mind that our past antagonisms immensely exaggerate the differences of our religious beliefs, not only causing us to form mistaken

views of our different opinions, but from the fact, that as we are both on the defensive for the principles we hold dear, we necessarily give an undue prominence to them. Under the normal state of true Christian unity this state of things would at once cease, each truth keeping the other from undue prominence when blended together in the full belief and practice of one undivided Church. For example, some amongst us are always bringing into prominence our Apostolic orders, while the Dissenters glory in the free ministrations of the Spirit, and hence it is often supposed that a belief in the one necessarily denies the other. A real re-union would shew us, as in primitive times, a duly ordained ministry working in all its fulness side by side with the overflowings of God's Holy Spirit among all the true members of Christ's Body. Let us then maintain our privileges in no boastful spirit, but show our estimation of their value by endeavouring to live more truly up to them day by day; for rest assured there is no nearer road to re-union than a daily endeavour on the part of each and all to approach nearer to that perfect example of humility and purity and love, that is ever set before us in Christ Jesus our Lord.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of LIVERPOOL.

DISSSENT from the Established Church of England is a great fact. However much men may disagree about its cause or its cure, the good it does or the harm, one thing is perfectly certain, Dissent is a huge standing fact. And let me boldly remind you that it is useless to expect English Governments to ignore the existence of Dissent, or English Parliaments to refuse to listen to its claims, however much we may dislike them.

Now to what are we to attribute English Dissent? Is there anything radically unsound or unscriptural in our Articles, Creeds, or Formularies? I answer boldly, Nothing at all. Our great Confession of faith, the thirty-nine Articles, may safely challenge comparison with any Confession in the world. Our Prayer Book, with all its imperfections, is a matchless manual of public worship, and is growing rather than declining in favour with mankind. Is there any general abstract dislike to Bishops, and liturgies, and surplices in the English mind? I believe next to none at all. Give the average Englishman the pure Gospel of Christ in the pulpit, a holy conscientious minister to preach it, a hearty lively service to accompany it, diligent week-day pastoral work to follow it, and the vast majority of Englishmen are content and want no more. We must go further than this to discover the cause of Dissent.

My own solution of the problem is short and simple. I believe that the first seeds of Dissent were sown by the narrow intolerance of the Church in the days of the Stuarts. The wretched attempt to produce uniformity by fines, and penalties, and imprisonment, "drove wise men almost mad," and made them say "Can any good thing come out of a Church which sanctions such things?"—I believe, secondly, that the utter deadness and apathy of the Church in the last century did even more to drive men and women out of our pale than the intolerance of the Stuarts. Bishops who scandalously neglected their dioceses and were everything that Bishops ought not to be,—parochial clergymen who did nothing for souls, preached no Gospel, performed hasty, cold, slovenly services, in dirty Churches full of high, square pews like sheep-pens, and lived terribly worldly lives,—these unhappy representatives of our Church filled the country; these were the real founders of Dissent, and caused half the Chapels to be built in the land. I declare my own firm conviction, that, if the Bishops and clergy of the last century had done their duty and understood their times as well as many do now, an immense proportion of English Nonconformity would never have existed, and John Wesley and his companions would never

have seceded from the Church of England. We reap what our forefathers sowed, and it is no use to complain. In short, Church apathy has created English Nonconformity, and to speak angrily and contemptuously of those whom we ourselves have made Dissenters is, to say the least, most unjust. That old saying is too much forgotten, "*Schismaticus est qui separationem causat, non qui separat.*"

The precise amount of good or harm which English Dissent has done, or is doing, is a wide and difficult question, and much may be said on both sides. I have only time to say a few words in order to strike the balance.

On the one hand I have not the slightest sympathy with those who regard Dissent as an evil, and only evil, and would hand Nonconformists over to the "uncovenanted mercies" of God. I believe this to be an entirely untenable position. I shall never hesitate to declare my conviction that in thousands of parishes Dissenters have done an immense amount of spiritual good. They have supplied the Church's "lack of service." They have brought to Christ myriads who were perishing in ignorance and sin. They have taught the elements of Christianity to multitudes who would otherwise have died without God and without hope. These are facts which it is impossible to deny. I may be excused for regretting that the good work they have done has not been done within our own pale, and by our own soldiers. But the work has been done; and I hold with the great Apostle of the Gentiles, "if Christ is preached, I rejoice, yea and will rejoice." Above all I cannot forget that remarkable passage in the Gospel when John said to our great Master: "We saw one casting out devils in Thy name, and he followed not with us; and we forbade him, because he followeth not us. But Jesus said, Forbid him not: for there is no man which shall do a miracle in My name that can lightly speak evil of Me. For he that is not against us, is on our part."—Mark ix. 39, 40. In short, when I look at the mass of infidelity, heathenism, and immorality which exists in the world, I must and will thank God for the work done by Trinitarian Dissenters. The enemy is coming in upon us like a flood; I welcome any volunteer who fights on our side, however strange and rough his uniform may be. Human nature is like a wreck on a sandbank; I welcome any oarsman who will help to launch the life-boat, and rescue souls from a watery grave.

On the other hand it is vain to deny that the inconveniences, not to say the evils, arising from English Dissent, are very many and very great. The divisions of Christians are always an immense source of weakness to the whole cause of Christ in the world. An enormous amount of time, money, and energy, is wasted on separate machinery and organization, which would be saved if we were one united body. We supply the infidel with an argument which it is extremely difficult to refute. "When you can agree among yourselves," he says, "it will be time enough for me to believe." Collisions are continually arising between Church and Chapel, and especially in small parishes, where either party thinks its interests are in danger. The common cause of Christian education takes damage all over the country from the morbid fear of many that distinct religious teaching will injure their own particular denomination. Above all the bitter crusade of Liberationists against the Establishment, which, if successful, would only paganize the rural districts, and do its promoters no good, is rapidly creating a breach between Episcopalians and their rivals, which will never be healed. All these I say are evils, grievous evils, and I pity the man who has not eyes to see them, or seeing them does not long to devise means by which they may be lessened or removed.

This brings me at last to the crux of the whole subject: Can nothing be done to improve the relations of Church and Dissent? The present state of things is painfully unsatisfactory. The divisions of Christians who hold such an immense amount of truth in common, about the Bible, the Trinity, the Atonement, the work of Christ, and the work of the Holy Spirit, about repentance, and conversion, and faith, and holiness, and heaven and hell,

and resurrection and judgment,—these divisions, I say, are scandalous and deplorable. They are enough to make an angel weep. Can nothing be done to ameliorate the existing condition of things, and bring us closer together? I will offer a few plain suggestions from the standpoint of a Churchman.

I dismiss, as utterly unworthy of notice, the newborn (Dean Stanley's) idea that the Church may be nationalized, and Church and Dissent brought together by turning our parish churches into pantheons, and throwing open our pulpits to preachers of all denominations. Anything more absurdly Utopian or unpractical I cannot conceive. I will not waste the time of this Congress by dwelling on it. It is liberality run mad. It would never work. I will confine myself to practical things.

1. For one thing we should always remember that we must draw a *broad line of distinction between Dissenters and Dissenters*. If we suppose, for example, because some wild men are incessantly telling the public that the Established Church is a Babylon which ought to be destroyed,—or that all Prayer Books ought to be burned,—or that the union of Church and State is an adulterous connection,—or that all clergymen ought to be stripped of their endowments and turned into the streets,—or that Anglican Ministers are mere serfs and slaves who are paid out of the taxes,—if I say, we suppose because *some* Dissenters talk this rubbish, that *all* Dissenters agree with them, we are quite mistaken. I believe, on the contrary, that the vast majority of serious God-fearing Nonconformists have no sympathy with this kind of language, and thoroughly dislike it. Although attached to their own chapels, they have no wish to quarrel with the Church, and are willing to “think and let think.” The empty tubs always make most noise. We must not condemn all Dissenters on account of the extravagant words of a rabid minority.

2. For another thing we must *cultivate the habit of treating Dissenters with kindness, courtesy, and consideration*. Let us not deal with them as the Jews did with the Samaritans. I am firmly convinced, after studying Dissent for about forty years, that many Dissenters are what they are from downright ignorance. Cradled and nursed in the midst of Nonconformity, taught from their earliest years to see all religion through the spectacles of the chapel, trained from their youth to read nothing but non-episcopalian literature, accustomed every Sunday to hear nothing but a Methodist, or Baptist, or Independent sermon, they often know nothing whatever of the Church of England, its worship, its history, its theology, its claims to attention. In fact, they are almost entirely ignorant of the communion from which they keep aloof. And when you add to all this the painful fact that sometimes the only parochial incumbent whom they have known, has not adorned his profession, and has seemed to be a man determined to know everything except “Jesus Christ and Him crucified,” we really must not be surprised at the prejudices of Dissenters, and must make great allowances. In short we must deal gently and firmly with them, and not forget the circumstances under which their position was first taken up.

3. For another thing we must not waste time and energy on the pleasant but Quixotic idea that we can ever bring about a *wholesale re-union of Church and Dissent*. I am sorry to throw cold water on the charitable plans of some of my brethren. I freely admit that nothing is impossible. But of all improbable and unlikely things, I see none more improbable and unlikely than a fusion and amalgamation of Methodists, Independents, and Baptists with the Church of England. Whatever may happen in isolated cases, it is not reason to suppose that trained and educated Dissenting Ministers, as a rule, will ignore their own orders, and seek to be re-ordained. Nor is it reason to suppose their congregations would follow them. And unhappily this is not all. Our own internal divisions place an insuperable barrier in the way of re-union. We do not approach the subject with clean hands. So long as our own beloved Church of England is infected with semi-Romanism on the extreme right, and with semi-unbelief

on the extreme left, and cannot cure or expel the disease, so long, we may depend on it, our Nonconformist brethren will never embark in our ship. So long as the principles of the Reformation appear in peril, so long the disciples of Owen, and Doddridge, and Gill, and Dr. Coke, and Robert Hall, and Angell James will never re-enter our pale.

4. For another thing if we would improve the relations of Church and Dissent, *we ought to co-operate with Dissenters whenever we can.* It is vain to deny that there is much common ground on which we can work together without the slightest compromise of principle; and I contend that we ought to be always ready to occupy that ground in a brotherly spirit, and not to stand aloof, and turn the cold shoulder on possible allies. The great controversy with Infidelity, the cause of Scriptural education, the maintenance of Sunday, the improvement of the dwellings of the poor, the grand temperance movement, the translation and circulation of the Bible, all these are points about which I advise every Churchman to work with Dissenters whenever he can. I, for one, rejoice heartily in the constitution of the Committee for the Revision of the Authorized Version of the Scriptures. That Committee, you will remember, contains not a few Dissenters as well as Churchmen. I thank God for it. It is a step in the right direction. If men can unite for revising the translation of God's Word written, why should they not unite for distributing it. I myself expect much from this Revision Committee. I am not afraid of its results, and I have no doubt it will make the meaning of Scripture more plain. But if it does nothing else, it has proved one thing. It has proved most conclusively that Churchmen and Dissenters can work together, and respect one another. I grant that this is not union, but it is a long step towards it.

I bring my suggestions to a close here. I have touched them briefly, though they admit of expansion, and I only give them as seeds for thought. You may perhaps think them small, and trivial, and useless. Be it so. The oil which is dropped on the machinery is a small thing, but without it the mighty steam engine would never work. The water which trickles on the saw of the marble-cutter is a small thing, but without it the great block would never be cut through. We should never despise "little things." Load after load of earth, tipped over the end of the railway embankment, gradually brings the sides of the valley together. Attention to the suggestions I have made will, in my opinion, do much to improve the relations of Church and Dissent.

Let me conclude by expressing an earnest hope that we shall all resolve to honour the "grace of God" wherever we see it. In whomsoever we find "Aliquid Christi," let us respect him, even though he does not belong to our own communion. In high esteem for the orders and worship of our Church I give place to no man. In my own way I am as "High" a Churchman as any one in this room. But we travel towards a world in which possession of the grace of the Holy Ghost will be the one thing needful, and episcopacy and a liturgy will be of no use to us if we have not been washed in the blood of Christ. Let us remember this on earth, and honour the grace of God, whatever be the denomination of the man who possesses it. After all, "the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." "In Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love."

GEORGE HARWOOD, Esq.

If we mean to do any good in dealing with this subject, we must try to be both just and practical. We must confess that Dissent has done much good service in the past, especially to secure religious freedom, whilst we

maintain that all need for such service has now passed away. We must acknowledge that it is doing much good service in the present, especially to encourage religious activity, whilst we assert that the effectiveness of such service would have been greatly increased by the abandonment of the present isolations. We must allow that the principle of competition on which Dissent is based may have some advantages, whilst we feel now that these are far more than counter balanced by the evils of disunion. And we ask any man who hesitates between union and disunion to take up a map of the world. Let him mark with one colour the area of Christianity; let him note that this colour seems now to be spreading over none but the least vigorous races; let him consider that even when it has spread, it must be very pale from the weak hold of our religion, and very blotted from its imperfections; and then let him call up alongside the picture painted of the future over the sparkling pages of promise. I say that the man who, in this year of our Lord 1880, can be contented with such a comparison, has a poor faith in his religion, and a poor conception of its destiny. Surely we must all feel that there is something wrong somewhere; surely we must all acknowledge that one great cause of this comparative failure is to be found in that disunion which is ever the mother of weakness; surely we must all, Dissenters as well as Churchmen, resolve that we will try to bring back a state in which the exclamation "See how these Christians love one another!" should again express a truth and not, as now, a sarcasm. Jerusalem must indeed, as we sang yesterday, be built as a city "that is at unity with herself," before we can expect all the tribes to go up thither. In such an effort the chief work must be done by England as the leading nation of the world, and by the Church of England as having charge of the religious welfare of that nation, and the chief sphere must be found in Dissent, as being the form of disunion both nearest and most hopeful. I take it, then, that the primary duty of the Church in regard to Dissent is to do all that it properly can to get rid of it.

But what can it do? Let me tell you what it cannot do. Well, in the first place, no good can be done by threats. To scold Dissent as morally wrong or ecclesiastically dangerous, is only to get yourselves laughed at. A system which has a history of more than three centuries, which in our own country is supported by many of the most capable men and most vigorous classes, and which throughout the Anglo-Saxon race has associated with it so many more adherents than our own, is not to be treated in this way.

In the second place, no good can be done by treaties, and for this reason. Separation—and let the restive among ourselves remember this—may be easy but re-union is always hard. The cause for which the separation was made may soon cease to exist, but not so the feelings and organisations which have grown up about it. Of schism we may fairly say that, whilst

"The good is oft interred with their bones,"

it is but too true that

"The evil that men do lives after them,"

lives on, not only in material structures, and mental habits, and social associations, but also in the natural feelings of pride for ourselves, and respect for our forefathers. Men will not, indeed they should not, lightly make changes where religion is concerned. As one who has gone through the struggle, and who has brought out of it more than one aching scar, I tell you that you have no right to expect others to do that which you would shrink from yourselves. Therefore we must conclude that there is no hope for any scheme to bring back Dissent bodily to the Church.

Is the task then hopeless? Not so, but success is to be sought, not in compulsion nor in comprehension, but in absorption; and this success is to be found not by talking to others but by acting upon ourselves. We cannot conciliate Dissent collectively, but we may win over Dissenters

individually; we cannot get the regiment disbanded, but we may make it a skeleton one.

And how is this to be done? Let me tell you by an incident. Observing once only one shop of a sort, of which there are always several in such a place, I asked the owner the reason, and he replied "It is because I keep everything everybody needs, and sell better and cheaper than anyone else can."

Here is a hint for the Church. But you will ask if I wish all sorts of variations to be allowed. Far from it. Please observe that I used the word "needs;"—and also that this shop, which was a draper's, did not attempt to deal in hardware or grocery, or in anything but drapery. So the Church must keep to the fundamentals of her religion, but in doing so must allow for varieties of taste. Let the old motto be revived. "*In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit.*"

And the system of the Church must not only be made more elastic by the provision of those wants which have hitherto been the chief cause of Dissent, but it must also be made more vigorous by the infusion of that energy which has hitherto been the chief strength of Dissent. This must be done by making lay influence in the Church much more of a reality than it now is. Many of the best men, of the men who can put vitality into any cause, have been lost, because the Church gave them no real power and encouraged them to no independent activity. These are the men whom I find much less numerous in the Church than amongst the Dissenters; and these are the men who must be brought back, before the Church of England can become fully the Church of the nation. But this can only be done by remedying the deficiencies which have driven them away.

And the system of the Church must not only be more elastic and vigorous, but it must also be freed from its abuses. Dissenters cannot be attracted to a Church which shocks their moral sense by allowing parishes to be disposed of on a method prohibited for regiments, and which offends their common sense by continuing the absurdities of work and pay being so often in inverse instead of direct proportion. The hard-headed men of Leicester, and of England, will never believe in the sincerity, or at least in the manliness, of our religion, whilst we allow any claims of property to prevail over those of decency and fairness; whilst we hesitate about adapting the system of our Church to the changed conditions of civilisation, and making it at least as pure and practical as should be that of any merely secular institution. There is no use in our being excited at these ecclesiastical carnivals, unless we are also willing to exclaim like the Athenians of old—"Let us go forth and fight Philip."

And success is to be won, not merely by making this or that particular change, but still more by catching the right spirit as a whole—which Lord Bacon expressed in words still applicable, "Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness. We can never be wrong in following St. Paul's advice, to try to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

But some of you will say—"All this sounds very well, but Dissent can never be won over, for its enmity will only have been satisfied with the destruction of the Church." Let me, in reply, ask you to bear in mind that there are two quite distinct kinds of Dissent, the political and the religious. Now I grant that political Dissent will never be got rid of in this way, but this can safely be left to get rid of itself, for when that which should be religious has become political, its end is not far to seek. Take care, also, not to believe that the strength of Political Dissent is at all proportionate to the frequency with which we hear of it. It reminds me of a battle-scene I once saw at a theatre. I might have fancied that a

hundred actors were engaged, yet I found that there had only been about a score—but as the manager explained—“You see they kept running in and out.” In these days of organised agitations, those men have a good pull who understand the art of making the most of themselves.

As to political Dissenters, let me warn you not to let what you may think their ungrateful clamour, deter you from giving and doing what is right. Men always cry out who find their occupation going. And we may be sure that bread of this sort, if cast upon the waters, is sure to return at last, though it may only be after many days.

But as to religious Dissenters, I say with confidence, as one who has the honour of knowing a great many, that they are Christians first and Dissenters afterwards, and a long way afterwards. As soon as they can be made to believe that union with the Church will best preserve the welfare of religion, and that the Church is fitted for that union, they will gradually come in. They are doing so now, especially the young, to whom belongs the mastery of the future, and this process must inevitably go on, for here, as elsewhere, we are subject to the law of “the survival of the fittest.” The destiny is in the hands of the Church, and it only remains for us

“To know the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand, and make
The bond of freedom broader still.”

And in considering this question, we must look not only beyond ourselves, but also beyond those who are called Dissenters, until we include the whole nation in our view. And if Xerxes, in surveying his vast host, wept that so few would remain long in this life, how much more may we be distressed to think that so few of the masses about us seem to be using religion to prepare themselves for the life to come. I once read of a General who, finding some of his soldiers quarrelling on the eve of a great battle said to them—“How dare you fight with each other when there is such an enemy still in front?” So we say now that, before even this English nation can be made Christian in reality as in name, there is a battle to be fought which will tax to the utmost our united strength. Let us then not waste that strength by oppositions, nor weaken it by alienations, but let us close up our ranks and fight shoulder to shoulder against the common foe.

And I am sure that I speak the feelings, not only of this great audience but also of Churchmen generally, when I say that, in wishing for this union, we are thinking of no paltry victory for ourselves, but that the only victory we care for is that which will help to realise the longing hope, the Gospel promise—

“Come, Kingdom of our God,
And make this broad earth thine.”

DISCUSSION.

The Venerable **GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON**, Archdeacon
of Taunton.

I HAVE not one word to say either against Nonconformists or against Dissenters. I have fought them both to the best of my power, and can appeal with a clear conscience to my life when I say that I have always most carefully avoided all harsh language towards either of them. Nonconformists and Dissenters have beaten me. They are walking at this moment, not over my dead body, but over the field of battle, and I am not going to say a word against any of them. I have nothing to do with any distinction between Nonconformists or Dissenters, and Churchmen. If there be Nonconformists and Nonconformists, Dissenters and

Dissenters, so also are there Churchmen and Churchmen. Nor am I going to draw any distinction between the political and the religious Dissenter. I do not like it. I say there are political and religious Churchmen just as there are political and religious Dissenters. I have, then, nothing to say against my Nonconformist and Dissenting brethren, for, although I believe that whenever I get up to speak I am supposed to be going to pour forth many sharp and derisive words against them, I never do so. But I have a great deal to say against my Church brethren—aye, a very great deal. I think it is a good thing for a Churchman, that, when trying to draw together Churchmen on the one side and Nonconformists and Dissenters on the other, he is able to find that the chief and true cause of separation is the fault of Churchmen themselves. I am not trying to curry favour with the Dissenters at the expense of Churchmen. I do not believe anybody will tax me with such a motive; but I am trying to express what I believe to be the plain truth, and to put before you an object which, if God spares my life a little time, I will dedicate that time to helping to accomplish. First then, I maintain, that the great reason why Dissenters will not come to the Church of England is the cardinal fact that the Church of England has no discipline. We are a spiritual body, calling upon other spiritual bodies to join us. Now, spiritual union is the union of doctrine and discipline. With regard to doctrine I need say nothing. The Old Church of England is to-day as she has ever been since the days of the Apostles, in possession of the pure Catholic doctrine of Christ. I say nothing about that doctrine; but I have a vast deal, if I had the time, to say about discipline, because I do not see with what reason you are going to ask Dissenters, who certainly do set considerable value upon discipline, much more so than does the Churchman—I do not see how you can expect them to join a body which has no discipline at all. The Church in this country, mind you, as the Church of any country, is God's gift; it is God's gift that the Church should be a national Church that would embrace everybody, and though I deplore many things in our establishment, I do not want at the end of my life to put my hand to anything that would destroy the establishment. It is not my business to destroy that which, if it existed in a proper form, is the greatest boon that could be given to any people. But I want to know how, in a multiplicity of forms, the establishment is to be maintained. It can only be maintained, if it has the respect of those who do not actually agree with it, and if it is able to stand upon such a basis that all can turn and look to it as a great engine of social progress and social good. Now I want to know, How are the Dissenters and Nonconformists to respect a Church which is in the position of having no discipline? Here is a Church bearing witness to the absolute necessity for discipline. I leave aside Scriptural argument. But look at your Prayer Book—your 33rd Article—your Canons. I do not know anything more remarkable in the history of any Church than that which has happened very lately in this Church of England. People take very little notice of what is going on in Convocation; and, as for Parliament, it cannot bear any allusion even to Convocation. What has happened? More than 270 years ago there were certain Canons or rules of the Church of England, and some 30 of these related to discipline. During the last ten or twelve years there has been sitting a committee of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury. I was chairman of that committee for several years, and I do not blame others more than myself. I do not want to be out of the running at all. But what has happened? That Committee has sat eleven years, and it has now reported. It has brought forth its child in eleven years, and it has reduced the Canons of 1603 to 95, and of that number 45 are concerned with discipline. I say then the Church has not got any discipline at all; it is only considering where to get it. Now, these are facts, and I do not know if it is possible to get over them; and when you ask Nonconformists to join us, I do not see how it is possible that they can respect a Church which has no discipline at all.

What has happened within these thirty years I believe thoroughly, from the bottom of my heart, is a just retribution upon us for having sacrificed our discipline. I believe if we had maintained, as the State left us to maintain—for there is no difficulty in the way of its maintenance—the power of spiritual censure and control in the Church, the case would have been different. The public law of England has taken away much that once came under the Canons of discipline. We no longer have any power outside the pale, but within the pale the State has left everything in our hands, and called and invited us to take every possible care that the lives of Churchmen should not be a scandal and offence to the whole people. That is the complaint I have to make against the Church of England, and I do not know that it is possible to make a heavier. It rests entirely with the Church itself to amend the fault, and when it is amended—I shall not live to see it—it may be that it will take a long time to fill up such a gap as has been made in the history of the Church of England—but when the happy day comes, and the Church can go into battle with cleaner hands than she does now, and when she does what she can to mark scandalous living and visit it with censure, or, if not repented of, ultimately with excommunication, when the Church has done that, then I can with reason ask Nonconformists and Dissenters to come into the arms of the old Church of England.

The Rev. CANON TREVOR, D.D.

THE subject of Home Union has been put before us this evening in such a very inviting aspect, in the wise, charitable, and, therefore, Churchmanlike speech of the noble Earl, that it is a great pity to think that there should be any difficulties in the way of its immediate adoption. I should like to give my noble friend a little example which has lately appeared in print, and which ought to be a great encouragement to him. I read in the *Times* of last Friday, that a Russian nobleman, of considerable distinction, was buried at Lucca, in Italy. His wife had previously been laid in the English cemetery, and there was a natural desire that the remains of the husband should be interred in the same place. The funeral was attended by Russian Greeks, Roman Catholics, Anglo-Catholics, and a large concourse of persons, amongst whom I fear a good many were neither Catholics nor Christians. The Church of England Service was read by the Chaplain of the English Cemetery. Now that seems a good instance of Christian union and charity. They buried all differences for the time in the grave; these different kinds of religionists could all acknowledge the English Clergyman as the representative, in his own domain, of their common Christianity. It was no question of a National Church; because the Englishman, like themselves, was there only as a sojourner in the land. It was a simple question of *meum* and *tuum*, and he, being a Christian in common with themselves, read the service and performed the required offices. Some of us will recollect, though memories are now-a-days rather short, that, scarcely a month ago, it was the law and practice in England also to bury our grievances at the grave, with an ancestral rite, common to all, as the men of different beliefs stood bareheaded and re-united by the grave. Christians differing in life recognised in the presence of death a common Christianity. I am afraid the recent change puts a good many difficulties in the way of re-union. Two, in particular, present themselves to my mind. The first is the law of the Church of England, by which the Bishops and Clergy—well, at all events, the Clergy—are expected to govern themselves. On the most solemn day of my life, I was charged to banish and drive away all strange doctrines; and, though Archdeacon Denison says we have no discipline, there is a discipline within which constantly reminds me of that obligation. I belong to the province of York. I

do not know how the Prayer Book may stand at this moment in your lordship's province, but in York that direction of the Prayer Book remains intact. Perhaps it may be altered next Session of Parliament, and we shall be told that we retain the substance which some of us may not be able to distinguish from the shadow. That is one difficulty. Another is the law of the land. My noble friend who has given us such an excellent address, recently wrote a letter to the *Guardian*, which I was highly delighted with, and in which he recommended the clergy to break the new Burials Act, by conceding privileges which the Act does not sanction. I was thinking of breaking that Act myself, but in the other direction. (Question.)

The PRESIDENT—The speaker does not appear to me to be out of order yet.

CANON TREVOR—And he is certainly not going to be out of order, my lord. He knows, perhaps as well as most people, how to keep within the order of a public meeting. I am speaking now of our common Christianity, and the hope of re-uniting those who may differ on some points while agreeing in essentials. I am, therefore, speaking strictly to the question. I think it a great hindrance to such re-union that sectarian observances should be extended into the churchyard where they have never yet been admitted. That opinion has been expressed to myself by Dissenters in my own parish, and if you want a more complete declaration of it I refer you to the *Watchman*, a paper which I am in the habit of reading, and which last week, or the week before, contained an article expressing much disapproval of the Burials Act, and fears that it might lead to greater disunion between the Church and the Nonconformists. That is one difficulty, and I mention it now as a hindrance in the way of union. I am the more thankful to the noble Earl, because from other Peers and Members of the House of Commons whom I consulted on the question, I could get no better answer than that it was necessary to obey the law of the land. The noble lord has struck a higher note than that cuckoo cry. There is a Law above Acts of Parliament. If the Law of Love were regarded in preference to political and party controversy Christians might still find a way of counteracting the evils of this Act, and still bury their differences at least in the presence of death.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of WINCHESTER.

I HAD no wish to speak on this occasion, but as your lordship wishes me to do so I will obey your summons. I do not know that I have anything in particular to say, because one or two of the speeches already delivered have said a great deal of what I should have desired to express, especially the speeches of the two laymen, my noble friend and Mr. Harwood, who have said almost all that need be said on the principle of re-union. With regard to my reverend and right reverend brethren, I thought they took rather a pessimist view of the subject. I confess, indeed, there are many great difficulties in the way of re-union. All Christendom is divided, and as it is one of the most difficult, so also it is one of the most important of all questions. But I believe we have directly from heaven the command to unite. We have from the Lord Jesus Christ himself the command to unite, and therefore, whatever the difficulties may be, however great they may be, I say let us do all we possibly can to promote union. Let us not think it impossible. I know it must be difficult, and the process is sure to be a very long one, but if every one of us in this large assembly were to make up our minds to do everything we could to get rid of all the obstacles which exist in our minds and in those of our neighbours to union, I believe that such a resolution would have the greatest effect on the whole country, as the great thing is that we are really afraid to try, and that we think there are difficulties which are really not difficulties. The Bishop of Liverpool spoke of one difficulty, which I do not think is really a

difficulty. He spoke of disunion among ourselves in the Church of England. Outside they would say, "Settle the differences that exist among yourselves, and then perhaps we will come in to you." But I deny that that is at all a reasonable difficulty, viz: that the Church admits of great variety of opinion within itself. The Church of Christ is not intended to be a narrow sect, in which everybody is to think exactly alike. On the contrary, the Christian Church is intended to be the whole body of those who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and are baptized in His name, and try to serve Him, and hope to reign with Him hereafter in heaven. It does not mean that all these are to agree on every minute point of doctrine, discipline, and practice; and therefore the fact that there is a great variety of thought amongst ourselves in the Church of England is only one of the many proofs that the Church of England is a true portion of the Church of Christ; because what the Church of Christ desiderates, and ought to have, is, not a mechanical union, but unity in variety; and we can never reconcile our Nonconformist brethren to ourselves unless we can make them understand that we tolerate this variety of opinion in the unity of faith. Therefore, do not let us be deterred from aiming at re-union by the idea of a lion in the way. Another point that has been put forward is that we are a National Church; and I do not deny that there is a certain amount of difficulty in regard to that. The Church ought not to be narrowed by nationality and politics. It ought to be Catholic, and ignore everything but the one great Kingdom of Christ, independent of all other kingdoms whatsoever. With politics it has nothing to do—that is the last thing it ought to have to do with. Our citizenship is in heaven, and not on earth. But then it is impossible, as we live in different communities of men, but that we should be more or less divided by our nationalities. And let me remind you that the Reformation all through Europe, in which the Nonconformists and ourselves equally rejoice, was a great national movement. If it had not been a national movement the Reformation would simply have been impossible. It resulted entirely from national Churches declaring their independence of the supremacy of Rome, and it was the assertion of the nationality of every reforming Church, not merely of the nationality of the Church of England, which brought about the Reformation. Well, then, my Nonconformist brethren, will you not with us feel that you are National Christians, and that it is a glory to us all that as a nation we threw off the errors of Rome, and returned to the doctrines of the ancient Catholic Church and of Holy Scripture, and became members and subjects of the true Church of Christ? Do not let us feel, therefore, that our nationality is any bar to union. I do not think, in the next place, that the way to come to an agreement is to agree to differ. I am perfectly willing—and I hope that in my practice I have done so—I am willing to treat my Dissenting brethren as my brethren, with all possible kindness and love; and I used, in my ministry of very long standing, always to treat them as the rest of my parishioners. Still, I do not think we should agree to differ. I believe we should agree, as our Blessed Lord taught us, to become one—not by alliances into which parties often enter who very likely may one day fight. Alliances are between distinct nations, and not unions in one body. What we want is the unity of the Lord Jesus Christ. It must, no doubt, be a slow process, but still, I believe, it will come, if we of the Church of England will reform our abuses, of which we have been told a great deal to-day. Among these abuses are the evils of patronage. The abuse of patronage has been at the root of a great deal of the mischief. The possibility of idleness is another abuse. If we can reform our abuses, and show that we truly represent the Church of Christ, and show to our Nonconforming brethren that they can satisfy all spiritual wants in the Church of England, unity will not be far distant. Do not let us be impatient. It may take a long time to accomplish the work. A few years tell but little in the life of the Church. The life of a Church is not like

the little life of one man. For the present we must be content to work and wait. Let us sow the seed and wait for the oak, even though it may take centuries before it is full grown.

W. U. HEYGATE, Esq.

THE Bishop of Winchester began by stating that the thoughts which occurred to him in connection with this subject had been to some extent anticipated by two laymen who had preceded him; and I have the same objection to make, though in my case the objection is not against a layman, but against a Bishop. I, as a layman, have objection to make that the thoughts which occurred to me when I sent up my card in connection with this question of home reunion have been to a great extent anticipated by the Bishop of Liverpool, whose genial presence, kindly words, and straightforward manner we all recognise, and whom we all gladly welcome and congratulate as an old friend of the Church Congress, as he has ever been. The thought which principally occurred to me in connection with this question is this, that we are too apt to overlook one important point, viz., the actual *origin* and *nature* of Dissent. We are apt to start with the notion that Dissent always proceeds from some definite religious feeling arising from objections to the doctrines or the practices of the Church; whereas, in fact in nine cases out of ten I believe Dissent to be accidental and rarely founded on religious grounds alone. It may be hereditary, it may be political, it may be the result of personal dislike to the parish clergyman, or caused by the neglect or insufficiency of the latter; it is generally, I believe, an instinct rather than a faith. It is in fact the Englishman's favourite privilege of grumbling, and I am confident many Nonconformists would dissent from their own form of religion if it were the established one of the country. In proof of this, look at the very slight difference in point of doctrine or practice which exists between the various Presbyterian Churches of Scotland—the Established Kirk, the United Presbyterian, and the Free Kirk, all as alike as three P's, and yet how warmly do those who are outside the pale of the Establishment oppose the latter! Again, how often it happens in the populous growing towns of England that we see no Dissenting Chapel until after a Church has been built! Doubtless the activity of one Denomination of Christians stimulates the zeal of others, but that alone does not account for the fact; rather, I think, it is to be ascribed to the spirit of opposition which is so common in human nature, and especially in Anglo-Saxon human nature. What, then, is the moral to be drawn from what I have said? First I would say "Don't let us magnify our differences, or tear our hair in despair if we can't reclaim all the Dissenters in a hurry." Of course I recognize how great a hindrance are "our unhappy divisions" to the spread of Christianity; we should all pray for a closer Union with all our hearts; but I am certain it is a great mistake to lay too much stress on the conversion of Nonconformists, and probably the more you run after them the more they won't come. And remember, there are worse things than Nonconformity. We must all admire their zealous exertions and their self-denying liberality, often splendid in proportion to their means. Let us fight rather, in the first place, to recover the sceptic, the infidel, the atheist. If we can reclaim these, the others will follow in due course. And above all, don't let us suppose we shall win over Dissenters by lowering the ideal of the Church of England—rather let us strive to elevate the standard of orthodoxy, and bring our practice up to our theory. Let us strive to make our Church truly National by extending its influence and spreading its ministrations over all the waste places of the country. To my mind the real answer to the question before us is to be found in Church extension. Who can observe the difference in the amount of provision made by the Church in some

of our Southern Dioceses, *e.g.*, Salisbury or Hereford, where population has been stationary for years, and those in the North, like Manchester or Durham, where population has increased far beyond the means of the Church to provide for it,—and not at once recognize that *here* lies the secret of the strength of Dissent and the absence of Home Reunion? I say then, if you wish for the latter (and who does not?), build and endow more Churches, increase your Episcopate in proportion, fill your pulpits with earnest working clergymen, give your people frequent and hearty services acceptable to all, without distinction between rich and poor, and all the rest will follow.

The Rev. J. FOXLEY, Vicar of Market Weighton.

THE Bishop of Liverpool told us that a very large amount of Dissent was due to downright ignorance. I quite think so; but I am not at all sure that the ignorance is all on one side. It is quite possible that I, as a Churchman, before I sit down, may provide the Congress with a specimen of Church ignorance. A country clergyman, living very much alone, is apt to run into theories which cannot bear the test of a meeting like the present. But I must try. It seems to me that, before this question can be well understood, we must bring it to the test of Holy Scripture itself. I find there, or seem to find, that there are two sets of principles, one of which is held by Churchmen and another by Dissenters; that both of these sets of principles are in the Bible, and that both Churchmen and Dissenters must learn to hold them in common. I will not attempt to run into a long exposition of texts to-night. This is neither the time nor the place for that. But there is one Book which I have been led to look very much into. It is that Book upon the reading of which there is a special blessing promised, and for the neglect of which there is a special curse. I seem to find in that Book principles which we Churchmen hold very dear, and principles which Dissenters also hold very dear; but principles which Churchmen and Dissenters do not hold together. First, as to the Church principles, which I find in that Book. I find our Blessed Lord Himself giving directions to the beloved Apostle to write letters in His name to the local Churches—not to congregational Churches, not to Churches of those who preferred Paul to Apollos, or Apollos to Paul, or Peter or his supposed successor to both, but to Churches of towns, Churches of places, consisting of all the baptized persons in the town or place, and not to Churches of parties or of persons. The locality of the Church was the only basis of Church union; and if I had time I might go into the reasons for it, because if ever unity is effected, as the Bishop of Winchester has told us to-night that it ought to be, I cannot for my part see how it can be brought about upon any other than a local basis—a basis of place and not of party. Then I turn to another part of this wonderful Book, and I find, no longer seven separate Churches, but a different and more extended vision. I see one great Apostolic foundation—one Church founded upon all the Apostles alike; any differences of precedence or priority which once existed having been personal and passed away. I find that this great Church is not only local and apostolical, but also national and established. The nations and their kings are to bring their glory and their honour into it. I know it has been the fashion to relegate all that to some distant Millennium. There is one text which I hope the Bible revisers, of whom we have heard to-night, will soon set right for all the great English-speaking peoples. Some unfortunate scribe, at some time or other, misunderstood his Revelation, as I am afraid many have misunderstood it since; and added to the difficulty of interpretation by inserting a clause which St. John never wrote. It is not those nations that are "saved," which walk in the light of the Heavenly City, but

simply *the nations*. That is the ultimate goal of the divine vision. St. John, looking into the distant future—and not a very distant future either—saw that the powers of the world, then arrayed against the Holy City, trying to destroy the New Jerusalem, as they had destroyed or were on the point of destroying the Old, would yet array themselves on its side. He saw that the nations would yet walk in the light of the Holy City; that the Tree of Life would grow beside the River of Life; that its fruit would be for some, and that the rest, who yet needed healing, would find a healing virtue in its leaves. But the President's bell warns me that I must come to the other side of the question. There have been great disputes as to the meaning of the "angels" who were to receive the last epistles of our Lord, whether they were bishops, or what. I think that, somehow or other, those angels must have been representative men. I do not see how a man can be a messenger unless he is sent. There is an old word in the English language which means much the same thing—the word parson. Whom does the parson represent? Is it not, in many cases, only the man who has bought the right to send him? What would the House of Commons say, if its Angel, its Speaker, were appointed as our parsons are appointed?

The Rev. J. McCORMICK, Vicar of Kingston-upon-Hull.

AT a previous meeting the Dean of Manchester said that he could not join with Dissenters in good works. I regretted to hear that statement. I am sure that circumstances would alter the opinion of the Dean of Manchester. For example, if he were made a Colonial Bishop to-morrow, it is not at all improbable he would have to come to the British and Foreign Bible Society, in order to get books printed in the language of the people amongst whom he was going to work. This happened in the case of Bishop Steere, whom no one would accuse of being an Evangelical. When he went out to Africa he found that the British and Foreign Bible Society was the only one which could print the language of the people to whom he ministered, and he took the earliest opportunity of publicly expressing his gratitude to that Society at one of its meetings. If we join with Nonconformists we are sometimes exposed to reproach, hard things are said about us, and we are occasionally put in a difficulty. The late Bishop of Cashel was present at a meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society at a town in England. The Mayor of the town took the chair, and suddenly a priest stood up and said, "Mr. Mayor, may I ask a question?" "Certainly," replied the Mayor. "Well, then, I see on the platform Episcopalians, Methodists, and other denominations. Which of you all should I join if I were to become a Protestant to-morrow?" There was an awkward silence for a moment or two, when thump went the Bishop's stick upon the platform, and he said, "Mr. Mayor, may I answer that gentleman's question?" The Mayor with astonishing alacrity consented; and the answer was: "The gentleman in the back part of the Hall asks, which of us all shall he join if he becomes a Protestant to-morrow. All I have to say to him is this—if he joins the very worst of us he will be better off than he is now." Now, I do not altogether understand some of the observations made by Earl Nelson, who seemed to think that the Church of England recognizes the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches. For my part I would far rather be an orthodox Nonconformist than join either the superstitious or idolatrous Churches of the East or West. ("No.") I am rather astonished to hear persons call out "No," because if they will only look at the Westminster Confession and the Articles of the Church of England, they will find that there is no very great difference between them. ("Question.")

The PRESIDENT—The question before the meeting is the question of re-union. The last statement of the speaker was that there is not much difference between the formularies of the two distinct bodies; and that appears to me to be very closely in the order of the question.

The Rev. J. McCORMICK—Well, I come directly to the question. I thoroughly agree with those who have maintained that it is only a small number of Nonconformists who seem to be making great clamour at the present time. I regret the attitude of some of the Nonconformists. I do not believe that the great fathers of Nonconformity, such as Owen and Matthew Henry, would have held the views with respect to Church and State which are held by some Nonconformist ministers of the present day. I heard some time ago that a statesman had a private meeting in London, at which he consulted Nonconformist Ministers as to whether upon any terms they would be likely to rejoin the Church of England, and not one of them would consent because of the union of Church and State; and we know that this union is by some deemed an adulterous connection. I am sorry for this, and for the action of the Liberation Society, to which large sums are given which would be far better spent in the preaching of the Gospel to the poor. Some of the statements repeatedly made by that society are most unfair and incorrect, and have been refuted over and over again, and, pre-eminently by the Rev. Joseph Bardsley. These are matters for regret; but there are signs of great hopefulness. I would not advocate attempts at proselytising. They would utterly fail. The Nonconformists will be drawn to us, if only we will discharge our duty and treat them in a proper manner, in due time; and one of the most hopeful signs at the present day is the great Church Mission movement, which has impressed Dissenters more than anything else that has happened in the history of the Church of England. They are greatly astonished at our Bishops offering up extempore prayers and doing their share in Mission rooms, in guiding in the simplest manner anxious sinners to the Lord Jesus Christ. There is another hopeful sign in the statements made the other day at the Wesleyan Conference, where it was admitted by some of the most eminent men of the body that thousands of persons had been lost to that communion. They have not gone to other Nonconformist bodies, and I believe that they have joined the ranks of the Church of England. What, then, are we to do in this state of things? It seems to me we never had a better opportunity of gaining the Nonconformists to our side than we have at the present moment. What we must do is, not to abuse them, but to treat them with candour and fairness. We must outlive them, outwork them, outpray them. And pre-eminently we must convince them that we are Protestants; I use that word advisedly, for they associate with it, not only the truth, but their liberties.

The Rev. W. M. CAMPION, D.D., Fellow and Tutor of
Queen's College, Cambridge.

I HAD not intended to address this assembly upon this question, but expressions which I have heard afford some reason why I should put forward what I consider to be the truth. I will ask a question to begin with. Is there no difference between Churchmen and Dissenters? If there is no difference between them and us, then why should we seek to win them? Why should they come in? If there is a difference, why attempt to do away with it? The Churchmen believe that there is a difference; we believe that in the Church we have spiritual advantages which Dissenters have not, and we ask them to come into the Church and partake of those spiritual advantages. We believe that amongst Dissenters there cannot

be celebrated a valid Eucharist, and we ask them to come and partake with us of that blessed gift. I do not think we shall ever win Dissenters by telling them there is no difference between us. We must tell them there is a difference—that we have blessings to impart of which they cannot partake as matters stand—and we must ask them to consider whether they cannot by coming to us attain a higher platform in spiritual matters than they now occupy. I do not speak in any hostility to Dissenters. Many Dissenters are my friends. I can act and associate with them in social matters without entering into religious differences, but I will never consent to sink the differences which exist between a clergyman of the Church of England and a Dissenting minister. They are not the same. I ask them “Where are your orders? Where is your authority to celebrate the Holy Communion?” Let us not sink those differences. If we in the Church of England are on the same level with Dissenters, I see no reason whatever why we should invite them to come and join us. Rather I would say to these Dissenters—“Receive us. We are under many trammels; we are continually complaining that we are fettered by our connection with the State; we are all the same in spiritual matters—all equally powerful—receive us.”

The Rev. CANON HOARE, Vicar of Holy Trinity,
Tunbridge Wells.

I CANNOT but think that this is a very suitable subject for this Congress. In the first place we are here to-day receiving a great deal of Christian hospitality from our Nonconformist brethren. It is right, therefore, that there should be kind words spoken at the Congress. In the second place, we are met at a time of very considerable irritation. There can be no doubt whatever that, never in the experience of many of us, has there been a deeper feeling of irritation than exists at the present time with reference to the Burials Act. I therefore think the subject is a very suitable one for the occasion, and I would only make one suggestion with reference to that Act. It is this. There has been a fair stand-up fight over this measure; and the result is that we have been defeated, and our churchyards have been thrown open. Now, how are we to act? Not, surely, in a nagging, resisting temper, but in a liberal, generous, conciliatory, and Christian spirit. And now, one word with regard to the future. Of one thing I am perfectly certain. It is no use for us to look for union with Nonconformists, if we are prepared to carry out the idea which, I grieve to say, was suggested this afternoon—viz., that our union with each other was to lead up to a union with the Church of Rome. The hope was expressed that we should see the Archbishop of Canterbury shaking hands with the Pope of Rome; but we know that that is not the spirit of Popery. Popery would never admit anything but that we should see the Archbishop of Canterbury bowing down and kneeling at the Pope's feet. But we desire no such union; nor any other, so long as Rome retains its errors. And it is vain to talk of union with the Nonconformists, if it is to lead on to union with Rome. And now, what do we really require? We want the outbreathing of the Spirit of God upon the whole Church of Christ. Let me give a good illustration which I heard the other day. At low tide, you see by the sea-side a number of little pools scattered over the sand, and each of these little pools has in it a number of little fish. There they are, each little fish in its own little pool; and nothing can bring them together. But at length the tide rises, the ocean wave comes in, the pools are all merged into one glorious deep, and the largest fish may swim together without separation. Now, surely, in regard to the question we are now considering, there is a great deal of this little-pool system, and what we want is the rising of the tide: in other words, we want the outbreathing of the Spirit

of God, that the pools may be filled and the ocean tide of His grace flow freely through the whole Church of Christ. Aye, and we must keep our eye fixed on the great gathering before the Throne; for there is a time coming when we shall see eye to eye, though we cannot do so now. There is a time coming when all God's elect shall be gathered from the East, from the West, from the North, and from the South—from the Church of England, from the Nonconformists, and I venture to say, as old Hooker said, even from the Church of Rome. There is a time coming, a glorious time, when every name that is written in the Book of Life shall be brought out clearly before all the angels of God—that time, when the Lord Jesus Christ shall come in His glory, and when we shall all bow before Him in one Universal Church of Christ, ransomed by His blood, called by His Spirit, preserved by His grace, and made meet for His kingdom.

TEMPERANCE HALL, WEDNESDAY EVENING,

SEPTEMBER 29TH.

The Most Rev. the ARCHBISHOP of YORK took the Chair
at 7 o'clock.

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

(a) SUNDAY CLOSING.

(b) LOCAL OPTION.

PAPERS.

The Rev. CHANCELLOR LEEKE.

I HAVE been asked to introduce this evening the question of Sunday Closing, and (1) I consider it a hopeful sign of progress in the Temperance cause that in this 20th Church Congress the subject of Temperance should be set down on our programme in so *definite* a form. It would seem as if "Local Option" and "Sunday Closing" were now pretty generally supposed by Churchmen to have come "within the range of practical politics." And is it not so? No one can read the utterances of statesmen, whatever be their political party; no one can read the various recent debates in our Houses of Parliament; no one can read the evidence given in 1877 before the Select Committee of the House of Lords; no one can read the accounts of various Diocesan and Archidiaconal Conferences held of late, and still doubt that it is more than probable that any Government will find itself compelled within some short period to deal with the question of *some* form of Local Option, and with partial or total

Sunday closing of Public Houses. No doubt there is the greatest possible difference of opinion as to both these questions, but it can hardly be denied that they are within the range of practical politics.

And surely, therefore, it behoves us to look into them both most earnestly. They are questions keenly debated already, and more keenly to be debated, probably, within the next few years; they *have* affected and may soon affect yet more powerfully Parliamentary elections; you may hold it to be an ominous fact, but surely it is a fact capable of being turned to great account by the Church, that the vast majority of those in favour not only of Local Option but of Sunday Closing are on the Liberal side of the House of Commons;—surely, then, it is of vast importance that the clergy and influential laity of the Church of England should study these questions at the present time.

But I am to speak simply of Sunday Closing.

No one can question that *this* is within the range of practical politics. They have had Sunday Closing in Scotland for a quarter of a century; a Sunday Closing Bill was passed for Ireland in 1878; on June 30th of the present year a Bill for Total Sunday Closing in Wales passed the second reading in the House of Commons without a division; whilst (as regards England) Mr. Stevenson's Bill was only rejected in 1879 (on its second reading) by a majority of three in a pretty full House, and in June of the present year a resolution affirming the desirability of Sunday closing in England was passed by a large majority.

Again, we know how violent was the opposition raised by the English Licensed Victuallers to the Irish Bill, and my own experience of public meetings in Cambridge leads me to suppose that "the trade" fears Sunday Closing greatly; for while we had, some years ago, large and orderly meetings both on the Temperance question generally and on the Permissive Bill, I was present at one meeting on Sunday Closing where strong opposition was made to our resolutions, and at another enormous meeting (in 1877) where an organized opposition made it impossible to obtain a hearing for the speakers.

(2). What is the state of things at present?

You will find the state of the case as regards the existing law with respect to Sunday Closing, stated very clearly by Mr. E. Whitwell in his evidence before the Lords' Committee which has been re-printed in a threepenny pamphlet by Eliot Stock. It appears that (whatever were the state of the *law*) the *practice* (except during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell) has been that, up to 1839, the public houses were open on Sundays, except during the hours of Divine service. In 1839 (in consequence of the terrible state of the London streets on the Sunday morning) a clause was inserted in a new Police Act for the metropolis to clear licensed houses from midnight on Saturday till one p.m., on Sunday. It was predicted that this law could never be enforced; but it *was* enforced with such good results that, before 1848, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, and Sheffield had inserted a similar provision in their Local Acts, and in that year a Bill was passed to secure closing from 12 on Saturday

night to 12.30 on Sunday afternoon throughout the whole country, leaving the houses in London and Liverpool closed till *one*.

Six years later, by the Wilson Patten Act, the houses were further closed from 2.30 to 6 p.m. on Sundays, and from 10 p.m. on Sunday to 4 a.m. on Monday morning. This worked exceedingly well, but was repealed in consequence of a panic caused by disturbances in Hyde Park in the following year which had no connection with the Wilson Patten Act but were organized by six East-End traders against Lord Robert Grosvenor's Bill to stop Sunday Trading. This panic enabled Mr. Berkeley to carry an extension of hours for public houses in the country from six hours to eight hours and-a-half. In 1872, Lord Aberdare's Act, while further shortening the hours of Sunday sale, and fixing 10 as the nominal hour of Sunday Closing, gave a certain permissive power to the magistrates, which was taken advantage of by the magistrates of Liverpool, Hull, Chester, and eight other Boroughs, besides 53 licensing districts (including in all a population of 1,600,000 people) to close the houses at nine, whilst there were only three Boroughs (of which I am sorry to say Cambridge was one) where the magistrates fixed the hour of closing at 11.

In 1874, owing to the political strength of the brewers, Mr. Cross took away the discretion of the magistrates, thereby doing great injury to those places which had adopted the shorter hours, as is evidenced by the large increase (nearly 20 per cent.) in apprehensions for drunkenness in Liverpool consequent upon the change in the law.

The restrictions which have been imposed on the Sunday sale of drink during the last 40 years seem to indicate that it is not at all impossible that a much greater restriction could be imposed without going in advance of public opinion.

(3). But now, what is the state of public opinion?

I know how easy it is to discredit a petition or the vote of a meeting or the result of a canvass; you may say that the petition is got up by the parson or others whom the petitioners do not care to offend—that the meeting is a packed one of supporters—that the canvass (besides being open to the same objection as the petition) is only partial; but surely when you find that each of these three methods applied in all parts of the country, and at various times, gives in general the same result, viz: an overwhelming majority in favour of Sunday Closing, some attention needs to be paid to the fact.

I know it will be said that the feelings (I will not say opinions) of the minority are to be respected; but we must remember that the results I have mentioned tend to show that the majority of English electors are coming to the opinion that Sunday Closing is a needful measure. And, even if some earnest clergymen and laymen of our Church may doubt the wisdom of greater restrictions on the Sunday sale of intoxicants for fear of a reaction, or may perhaps themselves fail to see the need of any change, yet, if the steadily growing opinion of working men in a certain direction shows that a change is to come, is it not true wisdom to seek to lead and to guide that public opinion?

I could give you statistics in plenty to show that, not only in Ireland and Wales, but in England, the feeling amongst working men is enormously and increasingly strong in favour of Sunday

Closing, and that the publicans themselves (*not* the brewers) are in most parts not averse to it : but I prefer to tell you of a few simple facts which have come within my own knowledge, which convey (I believe) a very fair idea of the general state of public opinion.

Some years ago in Cambridge, a circular was sent out to the brewers, licensed victuallers, and beershopkeepers in the borough, asking their opinion on total Sunday Closing, or on closing except for dinner and supper beer. There were about 300 papers, and some of us took them round ourselves, and collected them afterwards. We met in most cases with the greatest civility, but less than 100 returned an answer, often through class feeling or from fear of the brewer. Of the answers, about two-thirds were in favour of total or partial closing. The whole body were then invited to a Conference, at which only two or three persons, besides themselves, were present to make a statement, if desired, or to answer questions. About 80 attended, and held a most interesting discussion ; after which they proposed and seconded and appeared almost unanimous in favour of a resolution for a considerable shortening of hours on the Sunday, but at the last moment (at the suggestion of the principal brewer) agreed to an amendment to the effect that things were best as they were, avowedly on the ground that this shortening of hours (though desirable in itself) would strengthen the Temperance interest in the country, and probably only be the first step in a long path of Temperance legislation.

Several years after this Conference of publicans, a meeting was got up in Cambridge by the Central Sunday Closing Association, which has its head quarters in Manchester. Temperance effort had been great in the interval, and feeling ran very high. There was a densely packed meeting of some 1,500 men in the Guildhall, but the publicans (having put out a placard designating the object of the meeting as an " iniquitous proposal," and calling on the " friends of freedom " to oppose it) succeeded in collecting about 100 roughs who effectually prevented the speakers from being heard. Now the result of this meeting was that many respectable tradesmen and others, having no connection with any Temperance society, pressed upon us the importance of making a canvass of the householders. Public feeling was thoroughly roused on both sides, and we may trust the result as a real expression of opinion. Out of 6,876 papers, 2,135 votes were given for total Sunday Closing, and 1,595 for closing except for two hours for sale off the premises, as against 1,321 votes for the present state of things, whilst 1,825 papers were returned without signature or were not returned at all. That is to say, of the very large number (more than 70 per cent. of the whole) who returned an answer, nearly three to one were in favour of not more than two hours " off " sale ; and it is a noteworthy fact that it was the upper and upper-middle classes who voted for the two hours " off " sale, whilst the working classes were, as a rule, for Total Closing.

I believe that the above facts are sufficient to show that Cambridge is ready for at least closing except for dinner and supper beer, and yet Cambridge is far behind the mass of the country in this respect. Canon Ellison, in his evidence before the Lords'

Committee, in 1877, says: "The whole question of Sunday Closing must resolve itself into a question of prepared public opinion. Abstractedly, I cannot see why a public house should be open a bit more on a Sunday than a confectioner's shop; but we cannot avoid looking at it to a certain extent as a question of long usage. I think it is very important that you should not go one step in advance of public opinion; however, public opinion is coming round so strongly to the question of Sunday Closing, that I think probably it may soon be done altogether."

(4.) I will now say a few words as to the present state of things as regards Sunday drinking. We should be wrong in supposing that the apprehensions for Sunday drinking are more numerous than those on other days. Captain Palin stated to the Lords' Committee (as Chief-Constable of Manchester) that the apprehensions for the twenty-four hours between midday on Saturday and midday on Sunday (representing almost entirely *Saturday* drinking) during the first quarter of 1876 were 3,675, as against 548 for the last twelve hours of Sunday; and it further appeared that these *Sunday* apprehensions in Manchester were about one-twentieth of those for the whole year—Sunday standing third or fourth in the black list of the seven days. It must, however, be remembered that there are comparatively few hours on Sunday during which people can get drink, and that the universal testimony of large employers of labour is, that the Sunday opening of public houses is by far the worst cause of the loss of time on the Monday and Tuesday. In the report of the Royal Commission appointed in 1861, to examine the working of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, we find it set down (as the result of the statements of large employers of labour and intelligent men) that the men never got to work on Monday, and frequently not on Tuesday, before the Forbes Mackenzie Act came into force, but that since the Act came into force there has been *no* difficulty in getting the men to their work on Monday. Moreover, we know that (however true it may be that we should not force men into Church by shutting up the public house) it is too terribly true, that the public house open on Sunday is the bane of our young people, and is one of the chief causes producing the habit in early days of non-attendance at Church. I earnestly believe that, were the public houses closed altogether, or only open for "off" sale for a couple of hours, we should, in five or ten years' time, find a vast number of young men in Church who are now in our Sunday Schools, and would (if the present state of things goes on) by that time have drifted out of our sight altogether. Moreover, to what is the present strong feeling amongst working men due? They are not naturally in favour of restrictive legislation; it has needed some grim and startling facts to rouse them to their present state of feeling on this matter. *Their* attitude speaks volumes as to the real harm and misery caused even by the present shortened hours of sale of drink on Sunday.

(5.) What do we want?

We want what we can *safely* get. We do not wish to go too far in legislation in advance of public opinion; but surely it is the duty of the Church to seek to *lead* public opinion, and we may rightly consider what would be ideally the best state of things as regards

this question, and work (not hastily, but patiently and hopefully) for *that*.

What *do* we want?

We want total Sunday Closing. That is to say, we believe that the working classes of our land are capable by God's grace (under wise guidance) of coming to an appreciation of the blessings of a Sunday spent at least in more ennobling occupations than assembling themselves to drink in public houses. We believe that there is a future for our land, when the masses of our working people may be found on a Sunday evening (yes! and on a Sunday morning, too) inside, instead of outside, the House of God. For this end we shall work, and with nothing less than this shall we be satisfied, though we may have some time to wait and work for it.

(6.) *Why* do we want it?

It is not, then, only for the removal of temptation, only for the physical rest of the over-worked managers and barmen, but because the day is the Lord's Day—the day which God himself has given to us (as the late Professor Maurice put it) as a standing witness to the Fatherhood of God and to the Brotherhood of man, associating us (by the one day's rest in seven) with our Father's six days' work and His seventh day's rest, and associating us in God's freedom with our brethren of every class by the injunction in Deut. v., "That thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou. And remember that *thou* wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath Day."

(7.) But there are various objections raised (and by earnest Reformers) against Sunday Closing. Let me speak of two of them.

(a) People look with jealousy on any attempt at further restrictions on Sunday sale of drink as a piece of class legislation. The Bishop of Durham, in January last, at a large meeting in Sunderland, answers this:—"Class legislation! Why! some of the most magnificent Acts that adorn the Statute Book are 'Class Legislation.' And what are the Factory Acts but 'Class Legislation?'"

Again, in reference to the opening of the rich man's club, he says:—"I doubt whether the club-house does stand exactly in the same position as the gin-palace or the ale-house. But what I say is this: As soon as it is proved that club-houses do conduce to intemperance by their being open on Sunday, in the same manner in which it is evident that the gin-palaces and the ale-houses do, why, then shut those club-houses, by all means. But, meanwhile, do not, for the sake of some fancied symmetry, deny to the working class an Act which will be a real boon to them."

(b) People say, you must wait till other attractions are provided on Sunday before you close the public house. I cannot answer this objection better than in the grand words of the Archbishop of York, in February last, in the Free Trade Hall, at Manchester:—"Always when I am invited to consider how the poor man is to enjoy his Sunday by some form of recreation, I feel, in the first place, that I cannot refuse my sympathy to those who wish thus to rest or to amuse him; but, in the second place, there

arises in my mind a conviction that, if you do too much in that direction, you may rob him of the Sunday altogether. Therefore, it is in the interest of the people themselves whom it is intended to serve, that I invite all those who think of having Sunday recreation and the like to consider whether it is not the fact that we are able to hedge and fence about the Sunday only by *this* fact—that it is the Day of God ; and the moment the divine light shall fade from it, the moment it shall cease to be a day marked as divine, from that moment through a thousand crannies and crevices labour will creep in—the fierce competition, the needs of the family, and the like, will all be motives for paring off a little of the Day of Rest ; and then, because you cease to have it as a religious day, you will cease to have it as a day of rest altogether, and the poor man will be robbed of that which I believe to be his greatest blessing and his best inheritance.”

(8.) What is to be the future ? It may be that, as we were told last night, the line of demarcation between those who serve, and those who dishonour God, will grow clearer and more definite as the years go on ; but I do earnestly believe that, if we are true to God, there is a bright future before this fatherland of ours—a future of temperance and true godliness such as we hardly dare to dream of now, and that not a few of us may live to see it.

The Rev. CANON W. B. HOPKINS.

“ WHAT do you mean by Local Option ? ”

This question is sometimes asked, almost with an air of triumph by persons who think that a satisfactory answer is impossible. The questioner is, of course, an Englishman. He will, perhaps, say that he knows the English people well ; and that he knows their habits too well. He, for his part, thinks it dangerous to put power into the hands of the people, lest they should use it badly, and make matters worse than they are. Perhaps he takes a different line, and boasts that English people are free. He will oppose anything which curtails their liberty by one jot or one tittle. He hates the petty tyranny of self-righteous majorities. He stands up for the rights of suffering minorities. He is resolved at all costs to uphold the birth-right of every Englishman (a right now largely claimed by English-women too) to get drunk at his own expense, whenever and wherever he may choose !

Passing by such disputations as these, without further remark, I will give an answer to the question : *What do you mean by Local Option ?*

By Local Option, then, I mean a branch of local self-government. Within living memory the area of local self-government has been progressively widened. Without at all ascribing perfection to this kind of government, I venture to claim for it that in all cases it has worked well.

Modern sanitary legislation is an example in point. The first Public Health Act was a measure, the general scope of which was to confer large powers upon specified local authorities, which the

inhabitants of the locality were at liberty to call into active existence or not, as they pleased. These powers enabled them to remove nuisances, to construct drainage works, to compel householders to connect their dwellings with the new drainage system, to provide a supply of pure water, and other things essential to public health. There was an outcry then about the infringement of private rights. But private rights which had been proved to be public wrongs were compelled to give way. An Englishman's house ceased to be his castle, so far that he could no longer turn it into a public nuisance, and set his neighbours' remonstrances at defiance. Everyone was compelled to submit to authority. The best results quickly followed. Pigstyes disappeared from the back streets of our towns, cesspools were filled up, dust heaps and offal were swept away, poor people were enabled to breathe purer air, and little children were not so frequently as aforetime stifled in their infancy by sewer gas and foul stench. Good people rejoiced, and a few malcontents, who used to grow rich upon the rents of over-crowded cellars and other fever dens, after making a snarling protest, in very shame shrank away and vanished into silence and oblivion.

Local self-government is no new thing in England. It is older than the parish vestry, older than the Imperial Parliament, older than the venerable Convocations of the Church. The sphere of its activities has widened itself into considerable breadth and variety. The people have a potential voice in the management of most of their local affairs and in the expenditure of the rates they have to pay. Over and above sanitary matters, local officers and local boards or vestries have the control and management of highways, and public lighting, and fire-engines; of constables, of poor relief and maintenance of lunatics, of elementary education; as well as limited powers to regulate village feasts, fairs, and statutes. In all these cases there are Acts of Parliament which confer powers and impose restrictions, and provide for official inspection and audit; but the executive is local, and the funds are raised and expended by local authorities.

Local Option, then, is a new branch of local self-government. The advocates of Local Option desire to extend to the drink traffic the control of local self-government.

If it be asked why a claim is set up for local control over the sale of strong drink, and not over the sale of bread, or meat, or calico, the answer is plain. The law has always controlled the sale of strong drink, and has required periodical certificates of character from all who apply for a periodical renewal of the license which empowers them to sell strong drink. No new principle is asked for. Restriction and control have always been imposed upon dealers in intoxicating drinks, and never upon butchers, bakers, or haberdashers; or if ever, they are imposed no longer.

This claim for *local* control over the granting, the renewal, the suspension, or the suppression of licenses rests upon clear and well-defined reasons. Why are licensing laws enacted? Why are licenses granted? They are granted avowedly in the interests of the people at large, not of a class or section only.

In fact licenses are avowedly granted :—

(1) For the *benefit* of the locality, *i.e.*, to supply an alleged want or need.

(2) For the *protection* of the locality, *i.e.*, to take care that no harm shall be done to the lives, or the property, or the morals of the inhabitants.

This being so, who are the best and fittest judges of these things? Is it better that the people most interested should judge for themselves? Let us see how the matter really stands.

1. In the first place the inhabitants of the locality are the persons for whose benefit the license is granted. It is to quench their thirst that the drinks are sold. It is to supply their wants that the licensed house or houses are to be opened. Who, then, is likely to know what they really want so well as the inhabitants themselves? Who are so likely as they to stand out and make a determined resistance, if an attempt should be made to issue licenses, not for the benefit of the inhabitants, but for the benefit of some one else, who is to be made rich at their cost and out of their hard earnings?

2. Once more, the inhabitants of the locality are the persons who must suffer, if licenses are improperly granted, or if licensed houses are badly conducted. If a man or a woman be turned into the streets drunk and disorderly, the inhabitants of the locality have to listen to all the quarrelling and filthy abuse and noises and blasphemous outcries which ordinarily go on until the drunkard becomes sober again, or is forcibly removed or locked up.

3. Again, if a drunken man or a drunken woman commits a breach of the peace, or some brutal crime, the inhabitants of the locality often get a bad name and foul reputation, besides having to pay the police who apprehended, the judge who tries the offender, as well as the prison officials, and the prison maintenance, if the culprit be convicted.

4. Further than all this, if drunken men and besotted women neglect or refuse to send their children to school, the inhabitants of the locality pay the attendance and visiting officer whose duty it is to look up neglected children, as well as the expenses of the proceedings; and they also suffer from the loss of time and labour which necessarily supervene,

5. Once more, if a working man, or many working men, frequent the licensed houses, and there squander away the wages which would otherwise feed and clothe and educate their children, some of the inhabitants of the locality have to go hungry and cold and naked and ignorant, while the sots are drinking themselves drunk; and others have to pay increased poor and education rates to enable the idle and the dissolute to prolong their wasteful orgies!

On these grounds (and I must be content to state them rapidly and briefly) I assert that the inhabitants of the locality are the natural and fitting judges of two things:—

(1) Of their own *wants*.

(2) Of the best way to protect themselves from the manifold injuries which accrue from excessive or improper sales of strong drink.

I rest my case upon the naked principles of common sense and common justice. If a gentleman, who lives in a park, and owns a

whole parish, can say: "Our people do not want a public-house, and no one shall compel them to have one"—(a kind of local option, be it observed, which prevails in more than 1,100 parishes in the Southern Counties of England alone)—then I contend that in some way, and to some extent, which shall be real and effective, the inhabitants of any and of every locality, be it a street, or a district, or a town, or a village, ought to have the right and the power to say, "We know our own wants, and we know our own minds; we do not want more, or we do not want so many public-houses, and we will not have them."

It is not necessary here to discuss details, even if the limits of this paper allowed me to do so. When once the principle is fairly grasped, the details will soon fall into their natural and proper place. The practical value of Local Option depends entirely upon the degree in which the bulk of our fellow-subjects are educated and prepared to use well and wisely any powers which may be placed in their hands. Can they be trusted? I think they can be, and I believe that they ought to be. Thirty years ago, few people, even religious people, felt it to be a duty to do anything to promote habits of temperance, or to reform the intemperate, or to remove the causes which lead to intemperance. At this moment few people refuse to acknowledge that they have some responsibility in these respects. The conscience of the country is awakened. Temperance Societies are doing a great work in spreading abroad trustworthy information, in forming and intensifying a healthy tone of public opinion, in keeping alive a sense of the personal and individual responsibility of every man for his own example and conduct. But I am persuaded that the possession and the exercise of the powers of Local Option must become a very effective instrument in the fuller education of the masses. Temperance questions will be discussed with a keener and a closer interest. Experience tells us what the result of such discussion and consequent action will be. Men and women will learn to know and to feel (as they never knew or felt before) the greatness of the evil, the exceeding bitterness of the curse of drunkenness, and they will seek in earnest for a remedy.

Of course, I am trying to put as strongly as I can one side of the question. Other aspects will be ably presented, no doubt, in the discussion which follows. Happily the two latest divisions in the House of Commons upon Sir Wilfrid Lawson's motion have brought the whole subject well within the range of practical politics. The Convocation of Canterbury, in 1869, first put the abstract principle into the concrete form of plain words. The House of Commons, in 1880, by adopting those words as its own, has made them ring and echo throughout the country. Members of Parliament are being enlightened and converted in large numbers. Two Bills have been drafted; one by the Church of England Temperance Society, the other by Sir Wilfrid Lawson. They proceed upon different lines; but between the two some practical statesman will discover a compromise, which may be accepted by thoughtful and just minds as a first safe step in the right direction. Sir Charles Tupper, C.B., Minister of Public Works, and the Hon. Alexander Vidal, a member of the Dominion Senate, came over this year from Canada, and

about two months ago told us how Local Option has been accepted on the other side of the Atlantic. Sir Stafford Northcote, at Exeter, in December, 1879, told the Licensed Victuallers that something must be done, because "the evils of drunkenness become more and more patent every day, and because the conscience of the country is fairly aroused upon the subject." Matters cannot stand still where they are. It is impossible to rest satisfied and to fold the hands in apathy, so long as a sum, greater than one half of the nett revenue of the United Kingdom, is produced yearly by the duties paid (through the Customs and Excise) upon strong drink and tobacco. It is wicked calmly to watch the steady growth of female intemperance, and to do nothing. It is madness to see licenses of all kinds multiplying, and by their increase creating and consolidating monopolies and vested interests, and to take no steps to check the growth of the mischief, until reform becomes too costly to be practicable. The Legislature ought not to refuse to provide machinery by which the people themselves may have power to act whenever they have the will. The people are becoming more and more keenly aware of the existence of evils which desolate their homes, and degrade their nationality! Give them power to act. I advocate Local Option, but am quite prepared to listen respectfully to other proposals.

Si quid novisti rectius istis

Candidus imperti : si non his utere mecum.

The country is looking for some sign from this Congress. The country expects the clergy and the laity of the old historical Church of England to show a hearty sympathy with the awakened conscience of the masses. Legislation is in the air. The discussion here may help to give form and substance to ideas which are every day taking firmer hold upon thoughtful and serious minds. It is often difficult, and even dangerous, for legislation to move in advance of public opinion. But no true statesman ought to lag behind at such a time as this. For the sake of all that is pure and lovely and of good report, our Legislature ought not ignobly to shrink from going forward, when the people themselves are asking to be led up to a higher level of sobriety, morality, and truth.

ADDRESSES.

Rev. NORMAN D. J. STRATON, Vicar of Wakefield.

THE papers to which we have just listened, which I earnestly wish had been heard by a far larger audience, have gone far to strengthen the conviction in my own mind (and I doubt not in that of others), that the Sunday Closing question—for that is the branch of the general subject to which I propose to refer—has grown ripe for legislation. It is a maxim, with which I think most thoughtful observers of public events will concur, that sound and useful legislation, especially on social questions, should rather follow than be in advance of public opinion; but a brief review of the growth of such opinion on this particular question during the few past years will, I think, amply convince us that no moderate legislation thereon

could any longer be deemed precipitate. Let me remind the Congress, once again this evening, very briefly what the Legislature has already done as regards this matter. Well, in 1854 the Forbes Mackenzie Act, prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sundays, except in special cases, was passed for Scotland; and evidence adduced before the House of Commons leads us to believe that the results have been highly satisfactory. In 1874 a Licensing Amendment Act was passed for England and Wales, curtailing, amongst other things, the hours during which public houses could be opened on Sundays; and this is the Act which still regulates these matters in this country. In 1878 an Act very similar to the Forbes Mackenzie Act was passed for Ireland, differing chiefly from the former in this respect that the five largest towns of Ireland were exempted from its operation. The operation of this Act also has been highly beneficial. In 1879 a select committee of the House of Lords, after the most laborious and careful investigation, recommended a further curtailment of the hours during which the public houses are open on Sundays in England and Wales; and in June of this year the new House of Commons, fresh from the constituencies, passed the following resolution, on the motion of Mr. Stevenson, subsequently amended by Mr. Pease, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that the law which limits the hours of sale of intoxicating drinks on Sunday in England and Wales should be amended so as to apply as nearly as possible to the whole of the day, making such provision only for the sale during limited hours of beer, ale, porter, cider, or perry"—mark, there is no permission to sell spirits—"for consumption off the premises in the country, and for the requirements of the inhabitants of the metropolitan district, as may be found to secure public co-operation in any alteration of the law." Now, I will not weary the Congress with any further proofs of the growth of public opinion on this question. I assume that all here are familiar with the fact that the Sunday Closing question is a question well to the front. It was to the front at the last general election, and perhaps some who were then candidates for Parliamentary honours now wish that they had given it more favourable consideration. It is constantly to the front in public meetings and in public journals, and in many parts of the country whole districts have been canvassed, and the opinion of the inhabitants has been overwhelmingly in favour even of total Sunday closing. I am not going to say for one moment that the drinking on Sunday is greater than the drinking on any other day of the week. That could hardly be so, considering that the houses, even in the metropolis, are only open seven hours against nineteen hours on other days. By some, indeed, it has been stated that statistics prove that Sunday ranks the fourth day in the week in the amount of drunkenness. But I will even concede that. What I rest my case on is this. The evils arising from Sunday drinking are sufficient to have led public opinion to call loudly for further restrictions; the select committee of the House of Lords, which has sifted the evidence, urgently recommends it; the House of Commons has pronounced in favour of it; and last, though not least, the sanctity of the Lord's Day (when the sounds which proceed from many public houses prove conclusively that they are being used for other purposes than the mere legitimate satisfaction of hunger and quenching of thirst) claims the earnest attention to the subject of all who have at heart the interests of religion. I take no Jewish view of the Sunday; but it may, I think, be presumed that there is some middle ground between such a view of things and the licence which too often prevails in connection with at least the gin palaces and dram shops of this country, upon which the legitimate demands of reasonable—not to speak of Christian—liberty might be satisfied. I am well aware that to advocate the Sunday closing movement on this ground is not unlikely to give rise to anything but complimentary criticism; but that seems to me a matter of little moment, believing as I do that the greatness of England and the manifest blessing of God upon this country are things intimately associated with

the observance of the Lord's Day. Eminent foreigners have visited this land, and they have contrasted what they have seen here in this respect with what they have been accustomed to at home, and high amongst the list of the sources of England's greatness they have placed the national observance of the English Sunday. But there is no need for me to enlarge on this point here. I have said a word as to the ripeness of public opinion for further legislation. Now let me turn to the very practical and important question,—Of what character is this legislation to be? Well, on this point, it must at once be conceded that the friends and the well-wishers of the general movement are not equally at one. Some are for total Sunday closing, others are for a measure of a less sweeping character. I fancy there is a good deal of strong feeling on the subject, but, at least by such an audience as this, the arguments on either side will be patiently listened to and fairly discussed. I confess at once that I, for my part, cannot go the whole length of total Sunday closing, and, if members of the Congress will listen to me, I will tell them why. First of all, then, I cannot advise that we should press for total Sunday closing for England and Wales on the plea which is often adduced in favour of such a measure, viz., that you would thereby create parity of legislation for the United Kingdom; for I believe it to be a fallacy to suppose that you would do anything of the kind. The fact is, you must look at the habits and customs of the three countries, and when you look at these I think you will admit they differ so widely as to demand separate legislation, and that the same legislation for all would press very unequally. May I refer for one moment to a passage in the speech of the present Prime Minister. In proposing the Budget for this year he said, "Beer is the standing and staple drink of England, but whisky is the standing and staple drink of the people of Scotland and Ireland." Now what I say is this. If this distinction is to be recognised as a sufficient basis for a difference in financial legislation, is it wise to ignore it in a matter for social legislation? I think you must not forget that the draught beer or cider, which the working man may like to enjoy in moderation with his Sunday dinner, is a thing liable to deterioration; and that it is one thing to say in Scotland and Ireland, "We afford you no facility for getting spirits on a Sunday for legitimate consumption;" and it is another to say in England, "We afford you no facility for obtaining beer for your dinner which shall be freshly drawn." But I know what some of you will answer. You will say, why can't the working man provide himself in such a case with bottled beer? Well, this brings me to the second objection which I entertain to total Sunday closing; for I can support no measure which tends, in however small a degree, to encourage the masses of our population to keep stimulants at home. I don't believe they wish to do it. I would certainly not encourage them to do so. I have made very special inquiries, and I find that many of them deprecate the notion. What then are we to do? Well, if you try to prevent the working men and lodgers and a multitude of persons, who only wish to use the public houses on Sundays for the supply of their reasonable wants, from so using them, you will probably stir up an amount of opposition which will defeat the measure you propose, and if you succeed in carrying it, you will I fear, succeed also in promoting much secret drinking in private houses, to the terrible demoralisation of women and children. Over-legislation always defeats itself, and when I hear of men, as I have heard of them in our Northern towns, clubbing together and buying a barrel of beer, and sending it to the house of one of their number on a Sunday, and consuming it there, when they have thought the public house they frequented was watched; and when I hear too, as I have too often heard of spirits in such cases being purchased over-night, I am reminded that there is such a thing as drawing the rope too tight, so that while the evil is eradicated in one place it only breaks out with increased virulence in another. But, thirdly, I am opposed to total Sunday closing on the

ground that it would give rise to the cry of class legislation. The rich man who thinks proper to take a moderate amount of stimulant with his meals has the facilities for so doing, which are afforded by the possession of a cellar; and, if he has no private house, he can always, if he so pleases, have access to a club. Now, although I would not propose to interfere with clubs—for there is ever this essential difference between a club and a public house, that while the one is the private house of a limited number of persons, the other is the property of all comers—and though I would of course place the clubs of working men on exactly the same footing as our own West End Clubs, yet it cannot be denied as a matter of fact that the upper classes are in a position of advantage in this respect, at least at present. Total Sunday closing would not by any means affect the upper classes so materially as the masses of the population, and anything that would press unequally on the people in such a matter is, in my humble judgment, to be avoided. But more especially would I mention here that class which abounds in the Metropolis and in many of our large towns. I mean that class of lodgers, who, only having a bedroom, frequent the eating houses and restaurants, and are forced to seek their dinner out of doors. On such persons a measure which would almost practically preclude them from taking any stimulant with their Sunday dinner would press most unfairly, and I think it must have been especially in view of this class that Sir R. Cross said lately in the House of Commons, “that if total Sunday closing were enforced in the Metropolis he would not guarantee its peace for a single month, save under martial law.” Such then are amongst the principal reasons which prevent me seeking to ameliorate the present condition of things by a measure for total Sunday closing. Now then let me close my remarks by the briefest possible reference to the course which I would venture to recommend. Well, I believe that the moderate lines, on which the member for South Durham, Mr. Pease, is working, are the safe lines. He goes further than the recommendation of the Lords’ Committee, and for my part I go cordially with him. I say let the public houses be closed for consumption *on* the premises all the Sunday, except to lodgers, *bonâ fide* travellers, and in certain special cases; but kept open for some short period in the middle of the day, and again in the evening (after the hours for Divine worship), for the sale of stimulants to be consumed elsewhere. I believe that such a course will meet the reasonable requirements of the public, and not only so, but the wishes of many of the publicans. I hope that nothing will be said as though I now proposed to go to Parliament to ask for power to open public houses on a Sunday for the first time. I do nothing of the kind. I find them open. What I propose is, that the hours during which they are to be kept open shall, so far as possible, be curtailed. But further, let the *bonâ fide* traveller be required to qualify himself by a far longer journey, and let his name and address be entered in a book to be kept for that purpose, whenever he is served. Let the purchase of a *bonâ fide* meal at an eating house or restaurant carry with it the privilege to be supplied with stimulant to a moderate amount, and let any abuse of these privileges, or any misrepresentation, be far more heavily punishable offences than they are at present. If Sunday poaching be a more serious offence than week-day poaching, why should not this be the case with Sunday drinking too? A Sunday Disturbance Bill would perhaps be more popular than an Irish measure of that kind, but after all is said and done I am deeply convinced, from the statistics I have studied, that there are two evils with which those who desire to promote the sanctity of the Lord’s Day have chiefly to contend: one is Sunday drinking, the other is drunkenness on Sunday. These two things are not so closely connected as at first sight they may appear. The great proportion of drunkenness on Sundays arises from the drinking on Saturday night. Sunday drinking is comparatively a minor thing, and while I advocate with all my heart what I have urged as the legislation which I believe to be desirable for Sundays, I earnestly entreat

the friends of the Sunday Closing Movement not to stop, until by restricting the facilities for drunkenness on a Saturday night, when men receive their wages, we have done all that human law can do to remove temptation, to diminish crime, to hinder pauperism, and to promote the sanctity of that Divine institution which dates back not merely to the giving of the Law on Sinai, but to the time of man's innocence and happiness—the observance of which has so far proved one of the greatest blessings and glories of our land.

Captain GRAVES.

I WILL take up one or two points that have been touched upon by previous speakers, regarding them from a different point of view. It has been said that by closing public houses on Sunday we should be curtailing the liberty of the subject. I think we should be very careful, lest we confound the curtailing of liberty with the curtailing of license. With regard to what has been said about clubs and public houses, I will try to put the two things on the same level, and judge them accordingly. I think the clubs should be open, just as the public houses, so long as they are conducted well. I take it that as soon as you can clearly prove that at 11 o'clock at night, or at 12 o'clock at night, you can see the members of clubs reeling out drunk, using the foulest language, disturbing the whole neighbourhood, those clubs should cease to exist. The case, I believe, has been clearly made out that to the public houses we may trace the great majority of the crimes committed; we may trace numbers in the ranks of the fallen who degrade our streets, to the public houses; we may trace them, not only to the prison, but also to the lunatic asylum, to the drunkard's grave, and a hopeless eternity. When you can make out a case such as this against the clubs, then they ought to be done away with.

I believe that public houses ought to be closed on Sunday altogether, for this reason. I believe in equality of trades before law, as well as of persons. I think it is unfair to give one trade an advantage over another; to give seven days' business to one trade, while others have only six; and I think it is unfair to give that advantage to that trade which does more evil than all others. Taking the working class as the class which most largely support the public houses, I say it is unfair to them that the public houses should have facilities for trading on Sunday. The working man receives his wages on Saturday, sometimes in the forenoon. Perhaps he has the remainder of the Saturday and the whole of the Sunday positively idle, in which the public house stands open, with its social appearance, with its tempting glasses, in some places its music and singing, even going so far as having sacred music on Sundays, attracting the working classes, ruining their homes, blighting their prosperity, and making them a curse to our land; drawing them away by thousands and thousands from our churches, hurrying them on to infidelity, hurrying them on to the blank negations of scepticism and secularism. It has been said that in the large towns the working classes would be against Sunday closing. In Liverpool, 32,013 working men voted for, and 2,225 against it. In Preston, there were 5,695 for, and 245 against. In all the large towns where a census has been made, I believe there has been a large majority asking for total closing on Sunday. To go to the publicans themselves, I believe they would be glad of this benefit. In Liverpool, we have 954 voting for it, and only 252 against. Not only that; but by law, as many of you know, we can only work our operatives under 18 years of age 56½ hours a week. The barman must work in the country 108, and in London 123½ hours in the week. I believe that as soon as we bring about an united effort, we shall do away with this monstrous inequality of nearly doubling the time of work for the unfortunate employes of publicans.

The excuse about private drinking is the old excuse used against the Forbes-Mackenzie Act. The stock argument against that Bill in the House of Commons was that it would increase private drinking. I find, from the Inland Revenue Report, that in the 10 years before the passing of the Forbes-Mackenzie Act there were in Scotland 66,675,000 gallons of British spirits consumed, while in the 10 years after there were 51,442,000. I find that in England, where there was no Forbes-Mackenzie Act, in the same periods before and after the passing of that Act, the consumption was 91,000,000 to 112,000,000 gallons of spirits, showing a large increase in the consumption of the 10 years after as compared with that of the 10 years before. Now a further proof that the Forbes-Mackenzie Act has not brought about secret drinking is this, that although, when the Irish Act was passed, a great effort was made to bring the Scotch Members to vote against it, only 3 voted against, while 38 voted for it. So I am thankful to believe that there is not the slightest ground for supposing that Sunday closing would lead to secret drinking.

A stock excuse brought up about my country (Ireland) was that if they gave us Sunday closing we were such a hot-headed race that the constabulary would have to be doubled, and we were not to be trusted with such an Act. In the 6 months before that Act was passed for Ireland, the arrests for Sunday drunkenness were 2,364, while in the 6 months after they were only 707. That is no mere flash in the pan. I would ask you to bear in mind, when these ordinary and stock excuses are brought forward, that the countries already benefitted by those Acts would not go back to the *status quo ante*; they would rather increase the restrictions than go back to what they were before.

In pleading with you, who may to-night differ strongly with us on this point, I would ask you to take these things into consideration; but I would ask you also to take the highest point of all into consideration. We have the question of the Lord's Day brought into consideration. We have the Day, which ought to be the most comforting evidence of the finishing of the work of our Lord; the covenant of that Day is an evidence to you of the satisfaction of the Father in the Son. If the Lord's Day is an evidence to you that God the Father is satisfied with what God the Son has done for you, I ask you to help us forward with this movement, to stem the tide of drunkenness which is making the Day of Rest into a Day of Abomination, and which is bringing sorrow, destruction, and disgrace, not only upon our land, but upon thousands and thousands of homes.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. Dr. VALPY FRENCH, Rector of Llanmartin,
Newport.

It is always considered the soundest policy to attack an enemy in his weakest point. The weakest point in the camp of drinkdom, is the Sunday trade; and yet towards it the Government direct the feeblest legislation. Why the feeblest? Because, first, as Captain Graves has told you, there is manifested a glaring inequality. Why should the Government give a greater license to a trade which is promoting so much evil than they give to the purveyors of other commodities? Why select *this* trade for establishments and endowments? Secondly, because if it is wrong to sell on Sunday, it is wrong to sell on half Sunday. Either close altogether, because it is wrong, or else keep open altogether, because it is right. We legislate at present for vice, idleness, and profanity. Mr. Straton tells us that Sunday is the fourth most drunken day in the week. Now, in many places, I believe more arrests are made on Sunday than on any other day in the week, except

Saturday. That is the result of my own investigation. There is a report, issuing from the chief constable of Blackburn in Lancashire, which gives the following figures for 1862 to 1877. In round numbers the arrests for drunkenness were on Monday, 1,500, Tuesday, 1,300, Wednesday, 1,100, Thursday, 1,000, Friday, 900, Saturday, 2,800, Sunday, 4,100. This is, at any rate, one instance where there are more arrests for drunkenness on Sunday than on any other day. All objections against our Sunday Closing proposals, arising from the possible consequences thereof, are futile. They tell us that we shall have a riot. But we must look at the analogies of the case. In Scotland and Ireland no rioting has taken place; therefore, unless we suppose that England is a country more excitable, and more opposed to good order and government, than Ireland and Scotland, that objection is futile. The other day I went into a cottage in my parish and found a number of plums lying under a blanket. I asked why they were put there. The woman said it was wet outside, and she thought they would ripen better indoors. If the inhabitants of Leicester are not ripe for the closing of public houses on Sunday, it may be that they are too "wet" outside. If they had come in stronger numbers here to-night, we might have shown them that the country generally is ripe. A farmer came to me the other day and said "I hope you will tell them at the Church Congress that the working classes are in favour of this movement." He told me that he had not been connected with the question very long, but he had devoted his attention to Sunday Closing; and that out of a great number to whom he had talked upon the subject, he had heard no objection from any one, save and except the parson in his parish. Mr. Straton has referred to the stale beer objection. Some 20 years ago I lived in lodgings in London, and inasmuch as the facilities for keeping beer in the house were not very great, I used to order my beer in on Saturday night for Sunday. I used to buy a quart, and I can assure your Grace that it was not that the air got into the bottle and spoiled the drink, but some other lodgers accidentally put their lips into the pot, and interfered with my comfort. Now, I think that, if the public houses are shut up, some of our artizans will, inasmuch as demand regulates supply, construct vessels fully adapted for excluding, not only the air, but also the lips of intruders. A gentleman told me the other day that a friend of his lost his way in London. It was after closing hours, but seeing a public house with a light in it, he tapped at the door to ask his way. Instead of a response to his question, a hand was put out with a quart of beer for the policeman as was imagined. These are the gentlemen who are supposed to help the Government to regulate the liquor trade. I do not think the matter can well be confided to such hands. For they, perhaps more than the general public, are beset with unusual temptation. Lastly, I would say, do not let us split over the how much or the how little. If we can only secure one hour's less drinking, I believe we should obtain from that one hour such evidence of benefit and improvement as would completely silence our adversaries. The best policy of all, however, I believe, is that adopted in the parish of which I am rector, viz: for the people to be in the main total abstainers. This settles the question, not only of Sunday Closing, but of week-day closing also.

ROBERT GRAHAM, Esq., General Secretary of the Church of England Temperance Society, Manchester.

EVERY speaker who has addressed the meeting has spoken on the subject of Sunday closing. I will endeavour to deal with local option. In his very able and exhaustive paper Canon Hopkins treated it as an abstract question, and the public opinion of the country now requires definite practical proposals. I happened to be

present in the House of Commons when the resolution was brought forward in 1879, and also this year when it was passed by a great majority; and on both occasions nearly every member who said that he was not prepared to vote for it alleged as a reason, that it was an abstract resolution, and that a great many different proposals for dealing with the licensing question might spring out of it. The whole of the resolution, with the exception of the last seven words, belongs to the Church of England, being taken from the report of a committee of Convocation of the Southern Province, which recommended that the granting of licenses should be regulated and restricted; the words, "by some efficient measure of local option," being added by Sir Wilfrid Lawson. I would presume to change those words and say, "by some efficient measure of local control," and the Church of England Temperance Society has drafted, and introduced a Bill embodying their ideas of local control. The first thing we say is that drunkenness increases as the facilities given for drinking are increased. In other words that you must close a large number of the too numerous public houses. In whose hands will you put the power of closing them? I say, first, that the people ought to have a potential voice in the matter, and, further, that there ought to be conjoint action between the ratepayers and the magistrates. Speaking for the North of England, I may say that there is nothing more difficult now than to get a new license granted by the magistrates, and I therefore do not agree with the floods of reprobation cast upon them. This Bill proposes that the Licensing Board should consist of two parties; first, a number of magistrates, and, secondly, an equal number of representatives of the ratepayers; believing that no measure of modern licensing has done more to increase drunkenness—especially among women—than have shopkeepers' licenses. This Bill proposes that all licenses, "on" or "off," should be controlled by the Board thus constituted. We will take the town of Leicester to illustrate our proposal. We will suppose that in this town there are 200 public houses, and that the Licensing Board think that that number is in excess of the legitimate demand. They proceed then to close ten of them. They are then brought face to face with the question of compensation. Now I have closely studied the current of public opinion on this question, and I say that unless temperance reformers are prepared to meet fairly the question of compensation they will put back licensing reform for a number of years. You may say that at our Licensing Sessions a man, who only got his license for a year, has no right to its renewal. But there is an unwritten law of justice and of custom, which says that, if a man has conducted his house properly during that year, he has a right to ask you to show cause why he shall not have his license renewed. You will therefore have to meet the question of compensation. I would make the following proposition: If you close ten houses here, and leave the 190, you increase the monopoly of those remaining, and I believe it is fair and logical to say that, as the amount of drink consumed in each house will be increased, we have a right to put upon each an increased license rental, out of which shall be formed a fund which shall pay the interest on the amount required for compensation. The only answer I have heard to that is, "You would baste the goose with its own grease." I have never seen a goose basted in any other way, and I believe the first step to be taken should be to reduce the number of public houses, and that the people should have a potential voice in saying what should be their number.

The Rev. W. BARKER, Vicar of St. Mary's, West Cowes.

I TRUST that the number of people present here to-night is no measure of the interest which the clergy take in this great question. This afternoon there was a compact, crowded, excited, and enthusiastic meeting, to consider what measures

could be adopted to improve the religious condition of the people in the valley of Mexico. The valleys in our towns and cities are valleys of death, pauperism, misery, and crime, through this drink traffic. But, somehow or other, the temperance question is not a popular one with a large number of persons. But, if I may venture to say it, as a working clergyman in a population of 6,000, no efforts I have ever made have ever been crowned with so much success, have ever been so much a blessing to the people, as the efforts I have made on behalf of temperance. It was through the work of temperance that I was enabled to rally round me the working class of my town; it was through the interest which I took in temperance that I commanded their sympathy and their support. Through that agency we have been able to found a most flourishing *British Workman*, with 200 of the best working men in our town. We have also been able to found a Company in the Isle of Wight, by the aid of which we are opening as fast as we can, several houses for the entertainment of the working classes of that island. In the town from which I come there is a large number of sailors and others; and I can only say that the coffee tavern in Cowes has become a resort for a large number of the working classes, and the temperance sentiment there is so high that drunkenness now is hardly known, whereas it was once one of the chief vices of that town. Why do I say this? In order to assure any brother clergyman, most humbly, that, if he wants to convince the working class people that he takes an interest in their welfare, he must throw himself into this movement. I should like to speak a word, and it is extremely difficult to speak a word of moderation when one's heart is so full of such a question, when one's experience has been so bitter, when one's knowledge of the working classes is so intimate, when one has to face the serious consequences of this scourge,—it is with the greatest difficulty that I can speak in those measured terms which become me. Persons speak of this vice as though it were an insignificant one. It is the parent vice of the vices of our population, it is the very seed of that wretched plant which bears the fruit of atheism and crime. Then, with regard to Sunday Closing, we forget that this is not a question to be debated upon from outside. It is a people's question. If the people are themselves willing to forego the drink upon the Lord's Day, why are we to keep these houses open when they do not demand it? Statistics are forthcoming which I could adduce to prove to this meeting to-night, that a large proportion of the working classes in England are in favour of the total closing of public houses in the land. But let me bring forward one fact. I mean the towns and villages in the province of Canterbury where there is no public house. If 1,500 parishes can do without a public house, does it not follow that 1,000 more—nay, every parish, could as well do without them. I ask this simple question, whether for the common good we have not often to forego what we should like? Let me ask whether in London we do not forego the luxury of a post on Sunday, in order that the letter carriers may have some rest. I say that if you want to do good you must make some sacrifice to achieve it; and although it might seem like depriving the working man of his beer, I ask which is the worst, depriving a working man of his beer, or exposing him to innumerable temptations, with the consequences such as you who have ever seen them are perfectly familiar with. In a square mile of London, where the poorest people congregate, there is the vast sum of £400,000 a-year spent in drink, whereas only £10,000 a-year is spent on education. I put it to this Congress, Is it right, is it just to those poor creatures who have very few home comforts, who have very little strength of will to resist the temptations around them, to plant at their very doors 50 of those houses which tempt them to drink night and day, and debase them almost below the level of human beings? It is a scandal and a dishonour. This brings me to the question of Local Option. Thank God, "Local Option" is no longer a principle to be ridiculed, and we have questions asked about it, "What does it mean?" I am thankful that the principle of Local Option has

been approved by a large majority of the House of Commons, and whether we like it or not, the principle of Local Option will be the principle of any future legislation on this licensing question. People complain against it, because they say it is hard upon the minority. Which is hardest, that a minority should be oppressed, or a majority? Refuse to a two-thirds majority the right to close obnoxious houses, and you have a minority dictating to the majority; whereas, if you had Local Option and gave to a majority of two-thirds the option of closing, you bring yourselves upon the ordinary lines of legislation, giving the majority the right of their opinion. You would simply be empowering the localities, and chiefly the working class, to remove from their midst one of the greatest causes of their misery. What we want to do is to improve the condition of the working classes, to make them better and happier men, better fathers, brothers, and husbands; but so long as the drink traffic is permitted to prey upon them, you will have what you see, the enormous disparity between classes, the pauperism which is eating out the life of the people, and dreadful drunkenness the parent of innumerable ills. This is a practical question. As the Bishop of Peterborough said in his opening address, the great question is, "How shall we deal with the seething masses of the overcrowded population in our great towns?" One of the great questions is, How shall we make the people sober? Depend upon it, that so long as the public houses stand where they do, and the present system exists, you will never make them sober. You must first remove the temptations. Four hundred statutes upon the statute book regulating the traffic have not prevented or even decreased drunkenness. In Manchester, decreasing the ordinary licenses has increased the drunkenness. And why? Because, concurrently, there has been a large increase in the "off" licenses, which has been fatal to the sobriety of the neighbourhood. I feel thankful that your Grace is in the chair. I would to God that we had many such champions. I may say, in conclusion, as one deeply interested in the condition of the working classes, as one who prays and works for their elevation, if we will only be a little self-sacrificing, if we will only for a short time devote ourselves to this work, we shall remove one of our chief obstacles to progress, and eventually take from our thoroughfares those houses which are a snare and a delusion, and we shall bring upon the working classes the blessings of sobriety and ever increasing prosperity.

The Rev. JOHN M. W. PIERCY, Vicar of Slawston.

It may appear presumptuous for me to address your Grace. This question does not exist for the Church of England alone; but for Nonconformists, and for every individual living man and woman in Great Britain. The question is how we are to meet the evil and reduce it. Are we to rob the poor man wholly of his beer? Then comes the question, on what grounds and in what limits is he to have it? You have heard a great deal this evening about the poor man's drinking; but I stand here now an advocate for the publican. His case has never been mentioned by one speaker to-night. If the publican can close his public house on Sunday in order that he may sell no beer, how is it that this argument has been overlooked? I feel deeply indebted to the gentleman who spoke of those who have the power of granting licenses. I happen to be one of them; and I can say, speaking for this county, that perhaps no men exercise more vigilance in enquiring before a license is granted. Moreover, I can state that the officials in the county have instructions that, in any case where there is any dereliction of duty, where there has been any excess, the license will not be renewed. But we cannot, and we never shall, make England temperate by Acts of Parliament. Time will not do it; but, gentlemen, what may? Persuasion, influence, and

example. These, in my opinion, living as I do in an humble country parish, are far greater influences than any Act of Parliament. I would ask my reverend brethren here present, Have you, gentlemen, collectively or individually, in any one instance or more than one, tried to ask your publicans to close their public houses on the Sunday? Yes? You have had statistics given you by Captain Graves. If those hundreds of men in Liverpool are so anxious for total closing on Sunday, they can go to the magistrates and ask for Sunday Closing and pay so much less for their licenses. Therefore, I conclude that they do not wish to close. Now I come to a fact. It has so happened, in my experience, that two men, highly respectable, maintaining themselves by keeping public houses and a small occupation of land, have come to me and asked whether I would recommend them to close their public houses on Sunday. My answer was at once: "By all means." I reasoned the point over with them to the best of my ability. Those two public houses are now closed on Sundays; not one drop of beer is now sold there. The men can go to their House of Worship on Sunday, and do. What is the result? I myself asked them if they had sold any less beer. Not one drop. I asked them what was the reason. They said simply because the people came and fetched their beer on Saturday night for Sunday. I think, therefore, that persuasion might have a great effect in attaining the result we desire. As regards the towns, I am not able to speak with the same authority; but I think that by promoting the establishment of coffee-houses, like those we have in Leicester, a taste would be produced for other drinks, and sociability and friendship would be more pleasant there than in public houses.

The Rev. CANON FARRAR, D.D.

THERE are some people who speak because they have something to say, and some who speak because they have to say something. Unhappily the latter is my position. I came here wishing to hear from any members of the Congress who are, I believe, willing, and are most certainly able to speak this evening; but I came with the strongest possible resolution to say nothing myself, not being at all in the mood to do so. But I am obliged to obey the command of not only a Bishop, but still more an Archbishop; and if for no other reason, I should have felt bound in gratitude to do so, because he has thrown the great weight of his influence in favour of this question. I will leave to the meeting the old argument, which has been so often dealt with, and has been shattered to pieces long ago, that you cannot make people sober by Act of Parliament. But if you cannot make them sober as a virtue by Act of Parliament, you can make them sober as a habit, you can diminish the enormous temptations to drunkenness, and you can make them sober by turning their minds away from the causes which at present lead them into drunkenness. Mr. Barker, in the powerful speech which he addressed to you, said the temperance cause was not popular. I think that ought to be the strongest reason with every one of us for heartily taking up the cause. If it were a popular cause, if it brought honour or success to anybody, I, for one, should feel that I was only wasting time if I had anything to do with it. I believe that the time will come when it will be thoroughly popular. The reason why I have occasionally spoken on the subject, why I certainly may claim to have felt the deepest interest in it, was, that first of all, when I was called by God's Providence to London, I saw at once that it was undoubtedly the worst and deadliest evil with which the working classes had to grapple, and, secondly, because I became convinced that it was the only evil which was absolutely preventible. There are many evils which we may diminish; there are many sins which we may combat; but I take it that

there is no sin which we may combat with so much effect as the sin of intemperance. I think, if you had heard nothing at all of the statistics which have been brought before you, you would have seen that, wherever Sunday closing has been tried, it has been with good effect; and as regards Local Option, the people most decidedly wish for it. In talking with working men, in no single instance have I found the opinion of working men running counter to temperance legislation; but, on the contrary, I have found it running most strongly in favour of it. Depend upon it, the people demand Local Option as a simple act of justice. We have the power of keeping public-houses away from our own premises; and, if we have not, we have the power of moving to another locality; but, in that, the working man is perfectly helpless. In Liverpool, I am told that many of the working classes are voluntarily emigrating from those districts in which the public houses abound into that district in which not a single public house is permitted to be built. I know a certain street very near to the Houses of Parliament, through which nearly all the Peers and Bishops pass on their way to the House of Lords and members of Parliament on their way to the House of Commons, where almost every third house is a public house; and one of the tradesmen said to me "If only you were aware what a nuisance it is to the respectable inhabitants to have these public houses on every side of us, you would see what force there is in our demanding as a simple act of justice to have them removed." If that is so with the small tradesmen, how much more must it be so with the working classes. Very often the working classes are those who have been familiarised with the effects of drink. I never shall forget the horror I felt at hearing a sweet little child in Westminster Hospital bursting into the wildest possible cries when it saw a black bottle brought into the ward, because it thought that the bottle contained gin. It had been brought up from its mother's breast simply on gin. If the child had lived, which it did not, it would of course have been an idiot. You can imagine then why the working classes demand this act of justice. Another reason is because they want to obtain for themselves the advantages of that national thrift which was so admirably brought before the Church Congress in one of the meetings yesterday. They know perfectly well that all the savings, which might go to improve their own position and give their children advantages in life, now go to the tills of public houses. I remember once to have read, how, in one of the parks, a London physician asked an old man, a pauper, who although an old man looked as if he ought not to have been a pauper, how it was that he came to be so—whether he had been a drunkard. He said "No, I am not a drunkard; but I have been in the habit of taking three pints of beer a day." The physician asked "How much did those three pints cost?" The man said "sixpence." The physician said "If instead of spending that sixpence for all those years you had put that money away, you would have been in possession of some £3,126; in other words, an annuity of upwards of £100." The working men know that they would be so much better off if they were protected from these public houses. Above all they see the extreme misery which these public houses inflict. It was simply that which drove me—I will not say against my will—but drove me to take up this cause in the humblest way. I found in my own parish there was scarcely a single house in which there was not some story of misery and anguish caused simply and solely by the effects of drink. I am not going to take up your time; but I would tell you what I have seen. I go into a house where a poor woman tells me that her husband had been a drunkard and had become a total abstainer; but he had broken out again and run away, and she had not seen him for years. I go into another house where I find a woman at the point of death through drunkenness. Her attempt at self-murder was brought on simply and solely by

the brutality of a man with whom she was living, as is unhappily so often the case. I go into another house and see a miserable old woman stretched upon a bed. She tells me that her son, who has come home drunk, has beaten her. I go to another house and find that one of my most respectable working men has been tempted into a public house. The wife goes to fetch him out, and the publican says, "If my wife did that, I should give her a black eye." So the man beats his wife. When I saw all these things, how could I but become, in my humble way, a temperance reformer? The daily spectacle of heart-rending misery makes the people demand Local Option as a simple act of justice, and I say, "Away with all fantastical objections." Do not tell me that if I choose to go into my club, public houses must be kept open. I say, if the people want this as an act of justice, give it to them; and I venture to prophecy that, if that one thing were brought about, it would produce a greater effect than any other. As Solomon said, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin is the reproach of any people;" and I am quite certain that, if England carries out this temperance reform, she will never perish, because she will have got rid of her deadliest sin. If she does seem to fall, it will only be for a time; for, as Milton says in *Lycidas*—

"So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky."

The Rev. GEORGE EDWARDS, Vicar of Enderly.

It is with difficulty that I attempt to follow the able speaker who has just addressed you; but I do so as one who has seen amongst the labouring classes that we can get a greater hold over them, by means of this work, than is possible in any other way. Hence, I believe it to be a necessity that our Church should take up this work far more warmly than it has yet done; seeking with all its might and power to carry forward the work which it has begun to a triumphant success. It is for this reason that I have sent my name up to your Grace to say a few words of personal testimony in this matter. In the speeches which we have had descriptive of Local Option, we have seen that there is a difference between the two schemes before the country at the present time. There is our own scheme, and the scheme of Sir Wilfrid Lawson. The scheme of Sir Wilfrid Lawson is, in my opinion, by far the better one; and I say that with no feeling of hostility to the proposal of the Church of England Temperance Society. There are certainly some advantages in endeavouring to set on foot a wide national scheme by which we may control effectively the working of the licensing system, but there are also especial dangers. I maintain that at present the magistrates have a large power of control, if they would only exert it. If the present law were properly enforced, I believe that we should see the country in a far better state than it is. Great assistance to the enforcement of the public house law would result, if the magistrates would take steps to encourage the policemen to become total abstainers. We, who are interested in this work, sometimes hear of the underhand tricks that are resorted to. Those who tell us themselves do not want to have their names brought forward in the matter; but I maintain that it is the duty of the magistrates to see that the law is enforced, and it would be a grand day for England, in my opinion, if the present law were enforced with perfect strictness. I was asked by one of our own local magistrates why I did not send some one to catch the publicans tripping. My reply is, that it is not the duty of the individual clergyman or any single individual; it is the duty of the magistrates to

see to the proper execution of the law. Why I prefer Sir Wilfrid Lawson's measure is this, that it does not give too great powers at once. I know that this is not the place for politics, but I suppose there will be no harm in my saying I am a Conservative. I know that Sir Wilfrid Lawson's measure is considered a democratic measure; but I think it is not by any means so democratic as the Church of England temperance programme. In the latter proposal you would give the control, partly to the elective members, and partly to the magistrates. I maintain that it is a safe power to say that they shall prohibit; but it is not so safe to give the working men power by their votes to increase the number of licenses. We sometimes hear a great deal about the publican. I do not think we need take care of the interests of the publican. They will be sure to look after their own interests. To my mind the idea of compensation in this matter is a thing which ought by no means to be introduced. It is quite true that we ought to work on the basis of public opinion; but let us work on until we can get that basis on thoroughly sound principles. The principle of compensation seems to me unsound. A gentleman comes round to the magistrates with a document supported by the names of persons of more or less influence. He goes down to the magistrates and asks for a license, and the magistrates, after due consideration, decide to give him one. His property is increased in value immediately. Surely the party who increases the value should still have the power to take it away. At whose expense was the increase? Why, at the expense of the ratepayers, who may have protested against the granting of the license. I have therefore no feeling that we ought to give way in the least on the subject of compensation. Let us rather proceed on the safe lines which Sir Wilfrid Lawson has been going on for many years, and which, I believe, are the true lines of action; and that is to give a man protection against this curse, which steals from many a man his wife, his child; this curse, which blasts and ruins him. I say the present state of things is wrong, and that the Legislature of this country, and we, the members of the Church of England, ought to do our utmost to give the working man the right to protect himself against the impure and unhallowed influence of the public house.

His Grace the ARCHBISHOP of YORK.

I CAME into this room with a bridle on my lips. I did not intend to offer any remarks, because I felt there would be a great number of competent speakers, and that any exertion on my part would be unnecessary. But the fact is, that this question is to ministers of religion so great and momentous a question, that I am going to ask you to allow me to take back my resolution for five minutes. My object in rising is to put this question on a clear and distinct footing. We have heard the old remark that men are not to be made sober by Act of Parliament. Then what do the 700 or 800 Acts of Parliament for regulating the liquor traffic mean? Were they intended to make the nation drunk? We have been trying to make men sober by Act of Parliament for a very long time; and now the question, happily for us all, is not whether we from above are going to coerce the working classes down below into some measure which they do not accept; the question now is whether, when the working classes ask you for an Act of Parliament, that they may make *themselves* sober, you will give it them or not. That is a completely new departure. I have never in my life had such profound satisfaction as in watching for the last year or two the progress of public opinion on this question of Sunday Closing. I do justice to every objection that can be urged; I do not want to coerce the minority; I do not want to close the clubs. What is this Sunday Closing measure? You have been told that Scotland has had it for

years ; and, when they were called upon to pronounce an opinion upon it last year with regard to the measure for Ireland, they practically, with one or two exceptions, pronounced in favour of it. What is the case with Wales ? In the case of Wales, the Welsh members come forward and say : " We really cannot wait for England ; she is so lazy in this question ; but we want a measure for ourselves. We have no Home Rule notions in Wales ; but on this question make us Home Rulers. We want Sunday Closing for our own protection." This movement is going on all around us ; and England, cautious and slow, is standing out to the last. Is there one person in this room who has the slightest doubt, that upon the path we are marching on we shall continue, and that in a short time Sunday Closing will for good or for evil be granted and ratified by the nation ? I said " for good or for evil." Of course it is for good ; there cannot be a doubt about it. This remark has been made—That the drinking customs of the working classes have a certain regularity, that the fit sets in on Saturday night, continues on Sunday, and that Monday is devoted to the head-ache and getting rid of it. I saw a remark of someone in Ireland, that there they have not only got the Monday back to its proper place, but have broken in upon the Saturday to Monday cycle. The man says, if he cannot devote his Sunday to an orgie, neither will he give his Saturday night, because he does not want to spend Sunday over a headache. This is a question of common sense. I was a member of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance ; and it may have been noticed by some, that a summary of medical evidence was prepared and put before that Committee, but was not adopted in their report. It was adopted at one time, and remitted to me for correction ; but, unfortunately, I left it to be finally adopted in the hands of a friend, and it never appeared there. A small meeting of about three members excluded it. But passed by the Lords' Committee it was, although it was left out in the end. It does not matter that I drew it up, and it does not much matter that it was thrown out by the Lords' Committee ; but it does matter a great deal that it contained a great deal of common sense from the doctors, who all told the people that 90 per cent. of the drink taken was unnecessary, that there were a great many popular fallacies as to the benefits of drink ; that the notion that a glass of whiskey or brandy keeps you warm in cold weather is not only not true, but the very opposite of truth, because it lowers the temperature of the body and disposes men to succumb to the outside cold. I have this confidence in my fellow-countrymen, that I think they have a great fund of common-sense ; and, if we are able to get into their minds that 90 per cent. of the drink is a delusion, if we can persuade them that they can perform the functions of life better without it, they will give it up. Educated people do not go off and get drunk on Saturday night, because they know it is highly inexpedient to do so. By-and-bye the same feeling will penetrate to the working classes, and a great deal of benefit will result. Make men sober by Act of Parliament ? No, I should think not. That might have been said 50 years ago. But it is the working class that governs us now. Let us teach the working class the common-sense of this matter ; and when they come to have a reasonable view, they will act reasonably and will keep the Day of the Lord for the Lord's uses and none other.

The Rev. W. ROBINSON.

I JUST wish to say that for several reasons I believe that this country is quite ripe for Sunday Closing. Under the auspices of the Central Association in Manchester, which I to-night represent, a large number of towns and villages have been canvassed on this question, and I have here, up to the latest date, the result. In a house-to-house canvass the question was asked, " Do you wish the houses to be open for two hours on Sunday ?" In Liverpool 44,000 voted for

entire Sunday Closing, and only 6,000 were in favour of the two hours' opening. Thirteen thousand one hundred voted for entire Sunday closing in my own native town of Preston. It is hardly possible to overstate the evils arising from the traffic in strong drink. Although Captain Graves has told us certain facts with regard to Manchester, other chief constables of large towns tell us—especially Major Bond, of Birmingham—that Saturday, Sunday, and Monday are the three drunken days of the week; and if drunkenness be an evil, I hope you are all agreed that Sunday drunkenness is the most disgraceful form of drunkenness. I have spoken to a great number of publicans on the question of six-day licenses, and they tell me this: "If I take a six-day license, and my next-door neighbour keeps his house open on Sunday, he not only gets my Sunday, but he gets my Monday and other custom. But if you will get an Act of Parliament which will close all the public houses on Sunday, we shall feel extremely obliged and thankful to you." I will only just say that I hope the day is not far distant when, as in Scotland and Ireland, and the Isle of Man, we shall, on the best and holiest of days, have an end of the worst and unholyest of traffics.

CONGRESS HALL, THURSDAY MORNING,

SEPTEMBER 30TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

EXISTING FORMS OF UNBELIEF—THEIR SOCIAL AND MORAL TENDENCIES.

(a) POSITIVISM.

(b) SECULARISM.

(c) AGNOSTICISM.

PAPERS.

His Grace the ARCHBISHOP of YORK.

TWENTY minutes might serve to expound all that we know of Thales or Anaxagoras; but the time is too short for the whole system of Positive Philosophy. It may serve for an effort to seize the great principle which, under that name, is adopted as a guide by many scientific men at the present time, and to test its sufficiency.

To plunge at once into midstream—the favourite view of the functions of science at present is as follows:—The man of science sees that the facts around him are of two kinds—those which he can hope to know, and those which he can never know. Those

which he can know are the impressions which his senses give him, and the general groups into which these form themselves under careful observation ; and those which he cannot pretend to know are those about which the observation by the senses gives no help ; as the future of the soul, the First Cause, the destiny of man, his primary origin, the nature of infinite space. Warned by long experience, the man of science, refusing to waste his time on impossible knowledge and to scatter his powers in mere guesses, will apply his time to the study of the visible only ; in other words, will apply it to nothing but the material world and its phenomena. He does not deny that there are higher things ; he only says they cannot be studied under scientific conditions. "That," says M. Littré—the most prominent of Comte's disciples—"that which is above the reach of positive knowledge, as, in natural things, the doctrine of infinite space, and, in intellectual things, the chain of causes without limit, is inaccessible to the mind of man ; but inaccessible does not mean null and non-existent. Immensity, material and intellectual, is closely bound to our knowledge ; and by this very alliance it becomes a positive idea, and of the same order as the rest : that is, when we come in contact with it, this immensity appears with its double character of reality and inaccessibility. It is an ocean which beats on our shore, and for which we have neither ship nor sail, but of which the clear view is at once wholesome and formidable." (*Préface d'un Disciple*).

The admission that there are facts which we must perforce abstain from knowing is startling ; especially when coupled with another admission that must be made, that the bounds of the unknowable are drawn on this side of the subjects which have occupied the minds of men most deeply from the world's beginning down to the foundation of the Positive Philosophy in the first half of the nineteenth century. No one can doubt that the doctrine of the soul's immortality has played a great part in the world's course ; that the belief in God and Christ has kindled much zeal, and is responsible for much of the work, and for no little of the contention, of mankind throughout all history. These beliefs are not matters of knowledge—they belong to the unknowable group. If so, they simulate knowledge very effectually. There was a very clear practical knowledge in those who, when the Crusaders brought back leprosy with them to Europe, made a league against the new foe, called the Order of St. Lazarus, contended with it, built houses for the sufferers, gave them tender care, tried to clear Europe of its new pest. This movement was a direct obedience to the command of Christ to heal the sick ; and out of it have come very tangible fruits. The probable modification of the disease, which was as surely contagious in the middle ages as it is surely less contagious now ; the spread of hospitals over Europe, which no third-rate town can now do without ;—these are results which are cognisable by science ; for it can see an hospital and study the disease. I profess myself unable to understand, why the motive power in the mind of those who first made lazaret-houses is to be treated as without the sphere of knowledge. That which guides men is their mind ; and if one man is urged to acts of bravery, of charity, of endurance, of public succour, by something that sways

his mind ; where is the completeness of a philosophy, which excludes all his motives, because they belong to the dark and inexplorable region decreed to be beyond the reach of science? For aught we see, a hospital is as good as a steam-engine, and even better. It is a prudish and artificial system which will only allow us to study the hospital as a building with stately walls, as an engine for reducing the average of sickness, as an element in the great question of the provision of the poor ; but will not let you reason on the motives of those who, before this social question emerged, trod with sure instinct the road of love, and provided for the social difficulties with prophetic skill.

What is knowledge? The Positivist makes it his lawful boast that the foundation of his philosophy is the mathematical laws. He will have—he is daily receiving—his reward! The results of science that we have seen are splendid ; and we owe deep thankfulness for them, not indeed to Comte or to Bacon, but to Him who has allowed his creatures to turn the beautiful laws of the universe to such rich account. But the laws of science are not all ; they are not the greatest part of the things which interest mankind. The time may come, when with a perfect social science an enlightened community may feel, when they are observing their duties, that they are obeying the laws of science and of expediency. It is certainly not yet arrived ; and meantime a good deal of obedience is elicited from men to the laws which once were written on two tables of stone, and which the civilised world has recognised as divine. In like manner a good many lives are shaped to high purposes, not from a scientific calculation that something called *altruism* is the best policy, but because of a persuasion that this life is not all, and that it is better to live with a view to connect this life by work and self-denial with the life to come. I fail to understand why the name of knowledge is to be refused to the belief in God and in a future state, and to be awarded to the deductions, which some few people make, perhaps, before they act, as to the social result of the act they are about to do. The difference cannot lie in the greater degree of certainty of the latter as compared with the former. Knowledge is of various shades or grades of certainty, yet it is not on that account to be denied the name of knowledge. We have lately had to alter our chemical tables because of a change in the atom of hydrogen ; and our astronomical, because of a new measurement of the sun's distance ; yet no one denies to chemistry and to astronomy the name of science. The propositions in question are not so certain, as that through any point only one line can be drawn perpendicular to a given line ; but then this theorem, if safe against revision, owes that quality to its abstract and therefore its unpractical nature. What is knowledge? It is that mental condition which gives to man an insight into the world around him. It need not be complete ; from the nature of it this may be impossible. It may be almost unconscious ; as that of the frivolous mother who, overcome with a new tenderness, bends over her cradled new-born babe to give it that succour and tending which are God's ordinance for its preservation. It is well-nigh unconscious ; but it guides her, and she will find it a true guide, and the result she hopes for will follow.

In many matters of practice the best knowledge is the unconscious, startling though this may sound. Who knows music the best? The child of ten years, painfully limping through its scales; or the deaf Beethoven, sweeping the mute keys in a pianissimo, heard by no other ear but his own; for the ear is deaf, but the soul is a concert-hall of song? Who walks the best? The child whom we teach to put one foot before the other, or those in whose unconscious march there is no trace of rules or training, but only free grace and dignity? Mark the orator, who can pour forth, without five minutes' preparation, words of passion which overbear the reason, and by their very vehemence earn the praise which should be the meed of wisdom. He surely knows the use of language. But the rules of grammar and of rhetoric are far from him. His almost miraculous power of speech belongs now to the unconscious region. Which of us has not at some time seen one of those masterly sketches, by which, in a few strokes, the very heart and meaning of a face or a landscape are seized and fixed? You could not get, for the artist cannot supply, an account of the rules by which this feat is done; the power has come from conscious preparation, but it is now beyond that stage. Wonder, but ask no rules. Now, if this be so, you cannot exclude from the purview of philosophy knowledge that is wholly or partly unconscious, on that account. But the Positivist says that definite and distinct conclusions cannot be found in those regions; and, of course, where there are no deductions to be drawn, there is no knowledge. Definite results depend much on the abstract and simple nature of the premisses; and even science finds the force of that limitation. The rules of arithmetic and geometry are sure, and will never be successfully disputed; and if Mr. Mill can conceive a world in which two and two make five, none of us can readily follow him. But when the sociologist attempts to predict from past inductions how men will act in some future emergency, he knows that the disturbing elements in human nature are so many, the facts so complicated, that he will only pretend to some general foresight, not far better than a guess of an instructed mind. Now, let us own that much of the knowledge men seek after is and must ever remain indefinite. I look at your microscope, your balance, your electroscope, and admit, perhaps not without some vain regret, that for the moral and spiritual world we have no such instruments of precision. But I cannot expect them. The astronomer observes the phenomenon of a burning star, and he too wishes for instruments by which he could seize all the facts of that portentous spectacle—the dissolution of a sun or world. He must rest content with what the polariscope can tell him—that a world of burning hydrogen is before him. He does not abandon astronomy because he cannot make a map of the scene of cosmic conflagration. He is right. We, too, concerned in our degree with the eternal future of the soul of man,—we admit that we cannot so reason out our belief that all might be coerced by our reasonings, and attracted by results at once definite and of prime import to mankind. It is the same with the cognate principle of moral obligation. Kant, the severest critic of the boundary lines of human science, has left standing after his analysis the so-called “categorical imperative;”

which, put into plainest words, is this, that the fact that I feel bound to act according to a law of duty within me, apart from consequences and calculation, is the best evidence that we have for our connection with a higher Being, higher laws, a more permanent system. It stands in Kant's system reasoned out,—in the system which of all others is relied on by the modern sensualists; and yet we are told that for the future it is outside the realm of knowledge altogether! Why? Because you cannot give its formula like that of picric acid. If science has no place for what Kant proves, and strong men live on, science is incomplete, and the rule of exclusion is artificial, and instead of a new system of knowledge, we have before us an appeal to the weariness of religious strife and metaphysical argument, which has come over men at various times in the course of history, and which prevailed in the age of the Greek sophists, in the time of Hume and Voltaire, in the days of Comte and others amongst ourselves. It is not so much a system, as a mood—a condition of exhaustion, which will surely pass.

When Comte enounced his imposing dogma as follows:—“Positive philosophy is the whole body of human knowledge; human knowledge is the result of the studies of the forces belonging to matter, and of the conditions or laws governing those forces”—he did not take account of the nature of those whose freedom of research and study he sought to repress. Nothing is so hard to obey as this kind of restriction. When our staid and positive British Association, bound by its very charter to know nothing but science, meets in an eloquent and excitable island, there is an outburst of religious strife that lasts for months; and all agree that the challenge came from the side of positive science, which could not leave the unknowable unknown. The mind will not lay aside its highest prerogative, of discussing its own origin, its own destiny, its own perfectibility by the aid of faith, with the faculties that God has given it for its own. You bring us to that solemn shore, and, our feet planted on the last fact, we must be content to look out on the mysterious inaccessible ocean. Thus far; no farther! There is no knowledge beyond. But we are the children of the sea-kings, who sleep in death with their ships beside them, ready, on the first waking call, to take again to the sea that cradled them and gave them death! You cannot plough it nor mow it, nor track it with iron bands; it has its darkness, its sunlight, its fits of change, its storms, its death. But it is ours; and its very vagueness and vastness call us to explore it. Stay you on the shore; we have a duty laid on us. In strong ship, if that be possible, in any shallop that we can find, if it be not, we will dare and try the ocean which you abandon to us.

No; the field of knowledge will not be so circumscribed. And the age that boasts of its science is the most unpromising for such tyrannical limitations. The voice of the people is against them. Mankind, insufficiently imbued with science, feels where it stands and what it has to do. The worship of God occupies perhaps the largest and most various page of all the world's history. The degree in which the law of duty sways is the best test of the nobleness of a man or a nation. The awful problem of life and death, to

be solved by every one, makes the dullest of us an inquirer, and the most careless it fills with wonder :—

Ich komm', ich weiss nicht woher,—
 Ich geh', ich weiss nicht wohin ;
 Ich bin, ich weiss nicht was ;
 Mich wundert das ich so fröhlich bin.

A necessity is laid on us to think of these things. To view them with apathy would argue a defective mind. Lose their hold on the problems of life, of death, and of eternity, mankind will never. All claim the right to think of them which arises from their being part and parcel of themselves. And to some, thinking of them deeply, as devotees of science think of their subjects of inquiry, they shine with a clear brightness of knowledge and belief, they afford a satisfying guidance, they bring into harmony the lower labours of life. If man "has necessarily been produced"—I use the forcible words of my friend and Chancellor—"has necessarily been produced either by the spontaneous universal suffrage and co-operation of all atoms of matter, or by one Creator,"* man himself must have an opinion on that subject. Let us not mistake a momentary disgust at the disputes of religion, and at the poor results of metaphysical inquiry, for a call to abandon all but material speculations. Let us not rail against science ; for the knowledge of the laws of matter is valuable to us, as far as it goes ; and its reach is great. But science asks too much, when it requires the abnegation of all other knowledge and belief. To any teacher who demands it we reply that the nature of man is against it, the history of our race is against it, the aspirations of the race forbid it. You offer a charming vision ; all knowledge shall be certain and clear. But when we learn the price—that we are to sacrifice the largest portion of the domain of contemplation, we decline the bargain, and go on our own way.

The Rev. PREBENDARY ROW.

AGNOSTICISM is at the present day the fashionable form of unbelief among cultivated society. It is also the most plausible, for while it avoids many of the difficulties with which other systems are encumbered, it arrives at the same practical results. What, then, is Agnosticism ? The Agnostic is very careful to distinguish his philosophical (may I not even say his religious ?) creed from all the isms of the past or the present. The insinuation that Agnosticism is only a disguised form of atheism he indignantly denounces. Pantheism pure and simple he rejects. While holding much in common with Positivism, he repudiates several of its most important positions. While he denounces every form of theism which has been held by mankind during the past and the present as involving contradictions in thought, and as no better than Anthromorphism, yet by the mouths of its two great prophets, Mr. H. Spencer in England, and Mr. Fiske in America, Agnosticism proclaims itself to

* Sir E. Beckett's *Origin of Laws of Nature*.

be not only theistic, but the only rational theism. Both of these writers affirm that a belief in the existence of a First Cause of the universe, which we may if we please designate God, is a necessity of thought. But while they make this concession to theism, they lay it down as a fundamental truth that, owing to the nature of our faculties, this First Cause must for ever remain unknowable and inscrutable by man; to affirm that God is a Being who unites in Himself the conceptions of the infinite, the absolute, and the first cause, involves us in hopeless logical contradictions; that He has created the finite is simply unthinkable, and to affirm any attribute respecting Him is nothing else than to deify a number of finite human conceptions.

From these premises a number of consequences follow, the importance of which it is hardly possible to exaggerate. We cannot predicate of Him either personality, or consciousness, or intelligence; for these are merely human conceptions, and not objective realities. We cannot, therefore, affirm that He is holy, or just, or benevolent, or the moral Governor of the Universe, or the rewarder of virtue, or the punisher of vice. In a word, the God of the Agnostic is an infinite algebraic X, the value of which is insoluble in any known quantities of human thought; to whom, if worship is rendered, it must not be a service of which reason can take cognisance, but it must be of the silent sort offered through the imagination to the unknowable and the inscrutable. Its philosophy, which for the sake of brevity may be designated the Agnostic theory of evolution, is one of the most portentous dimensions, being nothing short of an attempt to propound a philosophy which shall embrace the whole universe of phenomena past, present, and to come, including man intellectually, morally, and socially, under the reign of one necessary law—the law of evolution. So important a place does Mr. Spencer assign to these two last subjects, in his system, that he informs us in his recently published work, entitled *The Data of Ethics*, that all his previous labours have been subsidiary to the elaboration of a work, in which he designs to place the principles of morality on a scientific basis. He tells us that this work is a fragment of a larger one yet incomplete, but which the state of his health and his advancing years render it probable that he may not live to finish. “To leave this purpose,” says he “unfulfilled, after making so extensive a preparation for it, would be a failure the probability of which I do not like to contemplate. Hence the step I now take”—i.e., the publication of an incomplete work. Truly this quotation forms a striking commentary on the plaintive utterance of the old Hebrew Psalmist, “Surely man walketh in a vain shadow and disquieteth himself in vain;” for after this uncertain life with its painful struggles is over, our individual personalities, according to this philosophy, will be absorbed into the great ocean of being, or, in simple language, pass into everlasting nothingness.

By a singular Nemesis, this philosophy claims to base itself on the principles laid down in the celebrated lectures of Dean Mansel. That gifted writer conceived the idea of smiting German unbelief with its own sword of abstract metaphysics; but, in the excess of his zeal to demolish his opponents, he failed to observe that it was a

two-edged instrument, which could be used, at any rate apparently, for the purpose of inflicting a mortal wound on religion itself. The fundamental principle which lies at the foundation of those systems, which undertake to grapple with our conceptions of the Infinite, the Absolute, and the First Cause, is, because human reason cannot formulate in logical propositions the mode in which these conceptions harmoniously coexist in the Divine Mind, that all our conceptions of God as Infinite, Absolute, and the First Cause of all things, are logically untenable. But still more dangerous is the assumption, that, because God is infinite and therefore incapable of being embraced in the fulness of his infinity in definite conceptions of the logical intellect, our conceptions of his moral attributes are relative, and not representations of the actual realities of his Being. From this it is argued, that the human ideas of holiness, justice, and benevolence are no adequate representations of those attributes as they exist in God; as if, forsooth, justice ceases to be justice, or benevolence benevolence, because they are attributes of an infinite Being. Many of us, doubtless, remember Mr. Mill's well-known criticism of this position. I think that, *minus* its profaneness, it must be endorsed by every Christian theist. In fact, if our knowledge of the moral attributes of God is regulative only, and not real, I am utterly unable to conceive in what sense the Incarnation can be true; for unless there is in God a moral character which is adequately represented by that of our Lord as it is delineated in the Gospels, it is impossible that Jesus Christ can be the Image of the invisible God. But the Agnostic philosophy further affirms that we can know nothing of the moral character of the Infinite, either regulative or absolute, or whether that which it designates God has any moral character at all.

Happily, however, I am not called on to discuss the principles of this philosophy. I have only to deal with a single point, which is,—If the principles of Agnosticism are assumed as true, what are their moral and social tendencies? As I have already intimated, the first article of the Agnostic creed is, I believe in a First Cause of the universe, of which all phenomena are manifestations, yet respecting which nothing can be known by man except that it exists. How a Being of which all phenomena are manifestations can be utterly unknowable and inscrutable is as difficult to me to understand as most of the conceptions which this philosophy pronounces to be incapable of being realised in thought. The following result, however, is no doubtful matter:—If we can know nothing about God, it follows that the whole of human life must be regulated without any reference to Him. For all moral purposes He is useless. To speak of acting from a sense of duty or of love to Him, or of feeling ourselves responsible to Him as our moral Governor, is simply to utter words without meaning; and the exhortation to be holy, because the Lord our God is holy, might have been well enough for ignorant people who lived 3,500 years ago; but to the enlightened minds of the nineteenth century it is an unmeaning phrase incapable of being formulated in thought. Agnosticism, therefore, as a system, pronounces a complete divorce between morality and the religious principle in man. It follows, therefore, that the elevation of man's

moral character, if such elevation is possible, must be effected without any reference to God. Agnosticism is, therefore, moral atheism. Not a few Agnostics go so far as to assert that the past influence which religion has exerted on morals has been highly pernicious. I shall not dispute that it has been so with many religious systems ; but in discussing questions of this kind the appeal ought to be made, not to the degraded religions of the past, but to religion in its highest form, as it is exhibited in the teaching of our Lord.

Further, the principles of this philosophy proclaim that the belief of man's existence beyond the grave is a figment of the imagination, and that all scientific evidence proves that the individual personality of each of us perishes at death. It follows, therefore, that we as individuals have simply to do our best with regard to the present life, with the termination of which our personal consciousness will be dissolved. This being so, it follows that the most holy and the most wicked men, after death, have neither fears nor hopes, but will alike repose in the sleep of unconsciousness. Now, I am ready to admit that the Agnostic philosophers propound an elevated system of morality. In fact, the difficulty of propounding such a system, after eighteen centuries of Christian teaching, is not great. But the great and all-important question is, taking man as he exists in a state of moral degradation,—How can any elevated system of morality get beyond the paper on which it is written, and become a living reality ? But the Agnostic gets rid of every moral and spiritual force which Christianity brings to bear on the character of the individual, and in its place propounds nothing but a gospel of the blackest night. What, then, is the power which Agnosticism invokes for the regeneration of man, and what forms its only substitute for the power exerted by religion ? The answer to this is that man will be elevated slowly and gradually in conformity with the universal law of evolution. In conformity with that law he has grown into what he is from the lowest forms of life during the countless ages of the past ; and according to that law, he will go on very slowly improving, throughout the countless ages of the future. His perfection can be attained, when, by a long and protracted shuffling between his internal condition and his environment, the one becomes perfectly adjusted to the other. Judging by the facts of past progress, it seems to me that several millions of years must elapse before even this state of things can be approximately attained. But, as individuals, in this consummation we shall not share. We must look forward with powerful faith to a period when humanity will be glorified, but as for ourselves we must be content, after all our struggles, to succeed in elevating ourselves only a few inconsiderable degrees above our present condition, and die.

To do Agnostics justice, they are far from satisfied with the past or the present condition of man, and I presume that they would rejoice if they could see him improve somewhat more rapidly than the laws of evolution render possible. Mr. Fiske, however, from the lofty pedestal on which he has seated himself, seems to contemplate the degradation of the masses and the slowness of their elevation with a calmness worthy of a Stoic, which almost reminds one of the

cynical observation once offered by a different order of thinkers, "This people that knoweth not the law are cursed."

What, then, is the bearing of Agnosticism on moral obligation?

The Agnostic, in deference to certain metaphysical nightmares, has arrived at the conclusion that all the sanctions which religion has been supposed to furnish to morality, may be dispensed with, as being no better than illusions. He allows, indeed, that they may have had their use in the days of ignorance, but they are now mere worn-out garments, fit only for the rag-bag. Now, consider what this means. Moral obligation for the future must be content with those sanctions which the theory of Agnostic evolution supplies, and we must cease from attempting to reinforce them by appealing to those furnished by the principles of theism, or from those which multitudes of Christian men have in their actual experience found to be the mightiest of all motives to impel them to holiness, and to be the most deterrent from evil, viz., the relation in which Christianity represents mankind to stand to Jesus Christ. All motives which centre in God are simply eliminated out of the Agnostic system as old wives' fables.

The Agnostic cannot deny that the sanctions by which he can enforce the moral law on the masses are weak. In good truth, as they are set forth in Mr. H. Spencer's *Data of Ethics*, long æons must roll away before they can be appreciated by any except a select circle of Agnostic philosophers. The prospects, therefore, of the masses of mankind, if this system constitutes the only Gospel for humanity, are dismal enough. Their condition, after ages of gradual progress in the past, is still one of painful moral degradation. Their future elevation can only be at the snail's pace of Agnostic evolution, by the gradual accumulation of slightly improved habits transmitted through myriads of generations. Mr. H. Spencer, it is true, has provided a millennium for man somewhere in the remotest æons of the future, when, after an endless shuffling between man and his environment, both shall at length completely harmonise; but then all the past generations of mankind, ourselves included, will have passed into eternal silence. For ourselves, the utmost that we can hope is, that some fragment of ourselves may pass into the body of some individual member of this glorified humanity. I appeal to your common sense to determine what must be the tendency of these principles.

Further, if Agnosticism is true, our individual consciousness and personal being is bounded by the present life, after the termination of which the consequences of our actions to ourselves cease. From this it follows that, life being ended, it will be exactly alike to the prosperous wicked man and the suffering righteous one. Let me illustrate by an example. Probably a greater villain never lived than Fouchè, who died in his bed loaded with riches and honours. With one single exception no greater sacrificer of self for the interest of his fellows has ever existed than the Apostle Paul, who suffered the loss of all things and died by the axe of the executioner. I must again appeal to your common sense. What must be the tendencies of such doctrines on the masses of mankind? Are they likely to prove a restraint on their passions, in favour of holiness and virtue?

Finally, the principle of Agnostic evolution is fatal to human responsibility. I am fully aware that the Agnostic will not admit this position. What I mean is, that it is fatal to that principle as far as it can influence the masses of mankind, and that the principle of human responsibility, as it is propounded by this philosophy, can only be made influential on that very select class who alone are capable of penetrating its depths, if even on them.

What account, then, does this philosophy give of us, as individuals and moral beings? Of what do we consist?

The answer which it returns to these questions is very definite. We are each of us the results of the successive evolutions of the great "Whole" during the infinite ages of the past. Our intellectual and moral being has emerged out of the struggles of a succession of ancestors with their environments, which, by adjusting themselves to each other, have made us what we are. Intellectually and morally we consist of bundles of habits which have been transmitted to us through many million generations, the overwhelming majority of which have been brutes. Hence it follows that each of us is the creature of our surroundings. They have made us what we are; and the contributions which we can make to the formation of our own characters are indefinitely small. Everything which composes man has been evolved in conformity with the unvarying laws of physical causation. Hence it follows that in the coming ages of enlightenment the history of man will be capable of being written with the precision of a mathematical problem, and the actions of individuals predicted with as much certainty as the motions of the moon and planets. I am aware that Agnostics are indignant at being designated fatalists, but, whether it be fatalism or not, it is evident, if the principles of this philosophy are accepted by the masses, they must be subversive in their minds of all sense of responsibility for their actions. How can it be otherwise? We, ordinary people, can only feel ourselves responsible for what we feel that we are free to do or to avoid. Once persuade us that we cannot help doing a thing, and a sense of guilt becomes impossible, and the sublimest virtue has no more merit in it than the instincts of the lowest animals or the action of a steam-engine. This being so, there can be neither sin, nor guilt; good conduct is the result of good calculation, and bad conduct of bad calculation.* All morality is, therefore, relative, and there is no such thing as abstract right and wrong—nay, further, conscience itself is only a temporary phenomenon, which will disappear when man shall be finally adjusted to his environment. Even the sense of duty, which, together with the contemplation of the starry heavens, were the two things which inspired the mind of Kant with awe, have no higher origin than a feeling of fear with which some of our savage ancestors became inspired under the tyranny of the stronger.

What, then, are the conclusions which would certainly be drawn from these principles if they were to become generally accepted by

* The chapter in which Mr. H. Spencer discusses in what the essence of good or bad conduct consists involves some of the most singular *petitiones principii* which have ever come under my observation.

the masses of mankind? They would not without reason plead,—“Our bad actions, being the necessary results of transmitted habits, are not our sins, but our misfortunes. You tell us that we cannot help yielding to our strongest motives. If so, when we yield to the motive which is uppermost, we incur no guilt. Whether it is best to sacrifice oneself for the good of others, or to indulge one's most selfish appetites, is a mere matter of calculation. Your calculating machine may inform you that virtue is the road to the highest happiness; mine tells me that the best thing to do is to eat and drink, and to die to-morrow; at any rate, when life is ended (and nothing is easier than to bring it to a termination), it will be alike to you and to me.”

A few Agnostic philosophers may be able to discover a number of subtle distinctions, which are imperceptible to ordinary men; but, if the principles above referred to are to become the guides of the masses, one result must follow—the rupture of all existing moral obligations and social ties. The weaker must perish, and the stronger survive, under the iron chariot-wheels of Agnostic evolution. The sooner, therefore, that the stronger and more fully developed races of mankind improve the weaker ones off the face of the earth, the more speedy will be the arrival of that great millennium, for the advent of which the Agnostic philosopher is sighing, when, after the lapse of innumerable ages, man and his environment shall be adjusted in perfect harmony with each other.

The Right Hon. and Most Rev. the BISHOP of MEATH
(Lord Plunket).

You will all hear with regret that Archdeacon Reichel, who was to have been the next reader, and who is so eminently qualified to deal with the subject before us, has been prevented by ill-health from drawing up his paper or attending the Congress. In his absence, at a few days' notice, I have been asked to fill the gap; and, as the only possible way of complying with this request, I have undertaken, with the consent of your Secretaries, to put into the shape of a Paper a few extracts from an address that I have already delivered in Ireland. But as Ireland is still a somewhat far-off land, there is no probability that my address can have found its way to the notice of my English brethren, and I have no fear that it will savour of repetition. Should it be otherwise, I must only, under the circumstances, throw myself on the indulgence of this meeting.

And now, without further preface, I will proceed to read my Paper.

In trying to estimate the social and moral tendencies of existing forms of unbelief it is instructive to note the results of certain kindred forms of unbelief that have figured bravely for a season in the past and then died away. What, for example, have been the results of those glowing visions of a future world-wide happiness which were pictured by the Godless thinkers of the French Revolution, and by which even such men as Wordsworth and Coleridge were almost dazzled for awhile? What, again, have been the results of those equally Christless dreams of ultimate perfection,

based upon the assumed progress of historical evolution, which were subsequently elaborated by certain German philosophers ?

There can be little doubt that one result which has followed from the disappointment—the bitter disappointment—of these infidel hopes of a regenerated Future is that despairing view of Life which at the present moment is paralysing energy and disintegrating society in Germany and other parts of the Continent. I allude to the Pessimism of Schopenhaur and Hartmann, with which, if I mistake not, the Nihilism of Russia is nearly allied. Such, at least, is the view taken by Mr. Sully, whose work on Pessimism is the most exhaustive with which I have met, and who does not certainly regard the question from a Christian standpoint.

Speaking of Pessimism, he says, “In its earlier manifestations it was the apparent failure of a social and political ideal which brought about this state of despondency. In more recent years the collapse of the extravagant aspirations and endeavours of certain æsthetic schools has probably perpetuated, if it has not deepened, the pessimistic mood.”

The tragic re-action which has thus followed from the collapse of these revolutionary hopes, and the bursting of these glistening philosophical bubbles, teaches us, as I have said, a lesson. It tells us that a Christless Pessimism is a natural oscillation from a Christless Optimism ; in other words, that to look for true happiness or morality, either socially or politically, except as the outcome of true religion, is to build up hopes that can only end in despair.

And now let us apply this lesson to the forms of unbelief which have taken shape in the present day.

None of us, who study the signs of the times, can be ignorant of the fact that amongst ourselves have risen up some who profess to instruct us how to secure true joy and true virtue *without* the help of true religion. I will pass by the dream of those who advocate the revival amongst us of the spirit of the Renaissance—a fascinating dream of wild and utterly selfish, if not sensual, license, which one of its prophets euphemistically describes as “a noble anti-nomianism !” This is a form of self-indulgence which carries its reproach upon its face. I therefore turn to a more subtle danger. Let me quote again from Mr. Sully’s work, already referred to. “Once more,” says Mr. Sully, “through the new doctrine of evolution as expounded by Mr. Darwin, and especially by Mr. Herbert Spencer, the modern mind has grown habituated to anticipating an indefinite expansion of human capacity in the future.” The form of Optimism here referred to is familiar to many whom I address. It is less barefaced than its predecessors. It does not require its votaries to ignore the idea of a God—though some avowedly do, and others express their Theism in phrases too unsubstantial for the mind to grasp. Nor does such teaching exclude the element of a so-called morality. Nay, its adherents seem nervously anxious to protest that they *do* believe in virtue, and take much pains to show how, without the necessity for any Creator or any divine inbreathing of the Spirit, a Conscience can be evolved and developed by the same laws, and, if only sufficient time be allowed, with the same ease as a jelly-fish or a fungus.

This is a bold theory—these are high-sounding aspirations; but theories as famous, and aspirations as splendid, strew the Past with their wrecks, and we can afford to pause and doubt, before we base our hopes on this promised millenium of Christless joy and Christless morality.

And, meanwhile, without going more deeply into the subject, we may, I think, appeal to common sense, and ask whether the experience of the past is such as to warrant an expectation that in a world such as this, a culmination of perfect virtue and perfect bliss is likely to be brought about—without Christ—simply by that process known as the “survival of the fittest.” For what means the survival of the fittest in the battle of life? It means, in plain words, “the survival of the strongest.” When, at the time of the French Revolution, liberty, equality, and fraternity were proclaimed aloud, the experiment of such a process was tried. All those religious, social, and political barriers that, in the opinion of some, had hitherto impeded the natural progress of this moral evolution, were swept away—and there *was* a survival of the fittest. But it was the survival of a Napoleon Bonaparte. Was this a triumph of morality? And what guarantee have we that history might not repeat itself in the future? I confess that I, for my part, see none.

Perhaps it will be said that in so speaking I regard the question from a theological rather than an historical stand-point. Well, let me quote the words of one who does not profess to be a theologian, and whose opinion, as to the weight of historical evidence, ought to carry some weight. Mr. Goldwin Smith, speaking of what he calls “the unsuspecting complacency with which the thinkers of the Materialistic or the Agnostic School seem to regard the immediate future,” adds the following remarks: “They seem almost to think that under the reign of evolution, natural selection, and the struggle for existence, the Sermon on the Mount will still be accepted as perfectly true; that the Christian beatitudes will retain their place; and that meekness, humility, poverty of spirit, forgiveness, unworldliness, will continue to be regarded as virtues.” He then cites the history of the past as proof that there has always existed “a certain thread of connection between the eclipse of faith and the need of a government of force to keep men from mutual destruction and rapine;” and then he adds: “the worship of success, signally exemplified in the adoration of a character such as that of Napoleon, seems to be the morality of evolution, supplanting that of Christianity.”

Let me add the words of a profound thinker who devoted the study of a lifetime to the consideration of this very question.

Thus writes De Tocqueville, who, be it remembered, was no adversary of democracy:—

“Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot. Religion is much more necessary in democratic republics than in any other. How is it possible that society should escape destruction, if the moral tie be not strengthened as the political tie is relaxed? And what can be done with a people which is its own master, if it be not submissive to the Divinity?”

And now time permits to make but one further remark.

The position of Christianity as regards its censors, often reminds me of the relation which a Government in office bears to the Opposition by which it is assailed. I do not, of course, speak of any particular Government or any particular Opposition. In the present transitional phase of politics, many of us, I dare say, are not quite sure to what political party we belong. In any case, what I have therefore to say, applies with equal force to all—Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals, Home Rulers, alike.

The position of those who are charged with the responsibilities of office is a very different one from that of the Opposition. Their policy cannot be merely sketched out in theory; it cannot be merely dangled before the eyes of the public in vague and fascinating generalities. It must be seen by all in its practical operation.

Upon the other hand, those who are in opposition have the luxury of criticising and promising. They conjure up splendid visions—sincerely, no doubt, for it is the nature, almost the duty, of an Opposition to be hopeful—of what *they* could and would do, if only the reins of power were once entrusted to their hands.

But at last these visions of an unattainable perfection come to be believed in—the Opposition takes office itself, and it is transformed into the Government. Then it is their turn to have their theories put to the test. And then the bubble bursts, and men begin to learn again the old, old story—that the magnificence of the unknown and of the untried may turn out on closer inspection to be a very sorry thing indeed at its best.

And now to look at this analogy in its more serious light.

Christianity—in this country, at least—may be said to be now, as it were, in office; and a new philosophy is now occupying the position of an Opposition, and is confidently promising great things.

This new philosophy is no doubt confronted with the experience of the past—of what other theories and so-called philosophies have *not* done in other lands when their promises were put to the test—when they, so to speak, were put in office. It has been seen how the brilliant dreams of revolutionary France, and the elaborate imaginings of speculative Germany, have not only ended in failure, but have produced a disastrous re-action by their fall. But such a retrospect does not daunt the Christless optimist of the present day. The gradual evolution of a “tribal conscience;” a growing enthusiasm on behalf of an “immortal Humanity;” the substitution of a blind force for the idea of a Personal God—these and other new developments of truth are able, it is said, to bring about that millenium of virtue and happiness, which so many other systems, including the obsolete and delusive faith of the Christian, have striven to reach in vain!

This is a splendid boast—but let us remember it is only the promise of an irresponsible opposition.

To measure its worth we must try and imagine this new philosophy placed in office and its theories put to the test. Yes, we must try and picture to ourselves Christianity altogether ejected from its present position—its churches closed, its schools broken up, its children no longer taught the sweet story of Jesus at a mother's knee, the ignorant and the outcast no longer sought for or cared for

by the pastor, every good work now supported on Christian principles brought to an end, every Christian worker turned adrift, the Bible no longer seen in the hands of the little child or on the bed of the sick or the dying, the voice of praise silenced, the outpourings of prayer despised, and the thought of Christ as a forgiving Saviour and a sympathizing Friend banished for ever from every heart and home and community. Imagine all this taken away—and try and realize the dark, the joyless, blank.

But we have a further picture to summon up before our minds. We have to imagine the New Philosophy called upon to occupy the vacant place, and to put its splendid theories to the test.

Imagine, then, its teachers now at length installed in office,—not, be it marked, teachers like those, its leaders of the present day, whose early Christian education has left its lingering savour in their hearts, but men Christless from the cradle! Hear these teachers as they invite their hearers to the frigid ceremonies of Positivism, and try to make them devout and holy by urging them to love and worship an impersonal force, something they dare not describe as “Him,” but only as “It.” Watch them, as they confidently undertake to make men moral by assuring them of the existence of a “tribal conscience,” and to make men happy by reminding them of the joys of an “immortal Humanity.” Imagine, I say, these well phrased theories that look so tempting in the fashionable magazine, compelled, at last, to prove their work as a substitute for a banished Christianity. Imagine the talented authors of these theories called upon really to meet the needs of the human race—not merely to sit down in comfortable arm chairs and provide by their writings a literary treat for a few cultured and well satisfied minds, but to find something to still the cravings of the universal heart of man—to bind up the broken spirit—to soothe the suffering—to comfort the bereaved—to reclaim the outcast—to give hope to the dying! Imagine, I say, this new philosophy of Christless Optimism summoned, thus to take into its hands the reins that it snatched from Christianity, and required to fulfil its promises,—what think you would be the result? I will tell you!

Some of you have doubtless heard that wondrous opening passage in Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, in which the musician tries to represent the despair of a whole people perishing from thirst—a despair which finds vent for awhile in sullen restless murmurings, until at length gathering a terrible cumulative strength, it bursts forth almost appallingly, in cries of heart-rending and importunate agony! Well, so can I imagine the voice of a deceived and terror-stricken Humanity, having sought in vain to slake its thirst at the dry wells of Modern Positivism, sending upwards at length to Heaven the broken-hearted cry, “Give us back the Christ that we have lost!” Away with the ghastly spectre, the hideous phantom, the “It” that has usurped His throne! and let us learn again to love and worship a God who is heart to heart!

God grant that the need for such a prayer may never arise. But if we desire to avert such a disaster, let us hold fast the Faith that is ours now. There be many that say, “Who will show us any good?”

Let us at least be ever ready with the exultant answer of the Psalmist—"Lord, lift thou up the light of Thy Countenance upon us!"

ADDRESSES.

The Ven. the ARCHDEACON of WARRINGTON.

THERE is one subject this morning upon which we shall all be agreed, and that is that it is a matter of pardonable pride to us clergymen, and a subject of general congratulation from Nonconformists here present that, in the great strife of unbelief, the leaders of our English Church are right worthily taking the foremost place. Those who have read the thoughtful charge which has come from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and have listened to the magnificent paper read this morning, must feel that, so far as men can be, we have leaders equal to combatting the evils we have met to consider. It is your misfortune, and I must add that it is not my fault, that I have no paper to read. But I desire, avoiding all technicalities, to put before you some of the facts connected with Secularism. Let me remind you that this is a very new sect. Its name is, I believe, first to be found in the religious census tables of 1851. Few in numbers then, it is not very numerous now; but I am very sure that as regards the influence it is exerting it would be a fatal mistake if we were to underrate its powers of organisation and the energies which it is putting forth. As regards its organisation, it has been stated by one competent to give an opinion that it is beyond all praise. Its authorised papers say that they have seven lecturers, who have to appeal to the patience of the people of the towns of England because the demands upon them are more than they can meet. Whilst in one week they can report 30 lectures, in another they can announce 40 to come. As regards the energies of this sect, we must not estimate it by the numbers of those who call themselves Secularists; and we must not be content by simply taking for granted the object which the Secularists proclaim, viz., the advancement of the happiness of the human race; but we must look at the tendencies themselves, and I contend that when once we have examined those tendencies we shall have to admit that Secularism practically means to be without God in the world, and that it is an organised conspiracy against that which you and I hold most precious in our social and moral relationships. There are in Secularism two schools. Young as Secularism is, and fond as its exponents are of taunting Christians with want of union, this 30 years' old sect has already indulged in the luxury of division. There are those who would follow the standard of Jacob Holyoake on the one hand, and of Charles Bradlaugh on the other. These two gentlemen are the apostles and exponents of the two sections of Secularism.

I cannot but think that Mr. Gladstone, in his admirable paper on the subject, when taking the views of Mr. Holyoake as representing those of the Secularists generally, somewhat underrated the influence of Mr. Bradlaugh. The followers of the former ignored Christianity, whilst the followers of the latter seek to overthrow Christianity. Whilst Mr. Holyoake and his followers simply discard Christianity, nothing will content Mr. Bradlaugh and his followers but to destroy and uproot Christianity. So that when Mr. Gladstone says that the sect in influence falls below that of Positivists and others he mentions, he underrates the mischievous influence of this sect. I ask, as regards the moral influences of this smaller sect of constructive Secularists, what have they done?

We have heard this morning of a wonderful experiment which is to go on for a million of years; but what is to become of miserable humanity in

the meanwhile? We are told that the Secularists desire human happiness; but I would ask any Secularist what is to become of human happiness in the meanwhile. You aim at attaining after some indefinite period a perfect standard? We contend that we have it at present in the revelation of God. We contend that we have a pattern before the world in the life of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have no need to wait for a million years for a millennium. We have no need to climb up into heaven to bring Him down, for we say that in the death of our Lord Jesus Christ we have a present hope. As regards the future, let the Secularist or the Agnostic boast of his millennium. Be it remembered, it is a millennium in which he can take no part. But I never yet heard a Christianity proclaimed in which those who claim it cannot now have their full share. Suppose, however, the Secularists had their ideal standard in the present day, what is the agency that is to make it a living fact? You and I have a God that made us: we have also a proof of the Father's love, and the love and the gratitude which are inspired by these facts which we proclaim are sufficient to work a wondrous change. We can take up the challenge which was given by Paul to the Corinthians and say, "Such were some of you; but ye are washed, ye are sanctified." If the Secularists say we must look at the system as it now is and its fruits,—Where are the fruits? Secularism talks and prates about science, talks and prates about education, talks and prates about charity. As regards science, their leaders (we are told by one who knows them well) know as little about science as they do of Sanscrit. The last place in the world in which you would hear anything about science is in one of the so-called "Halls of Science." If there are some here who unhappily are Secularists, they know by painful experience that the "Halls of Science" are kept open not by the teaching of science, but because they are places of social amusement, and very frequently nothing but dancing halls. Then as regards education—In this centenary year of Sunday Schools, I would ask the Secularists what they have done for education. They have not a single Sunday School in England; and they have only two schools of any kind throughout the whole kingdom—miserable little places where they can impart the views which they hold to the young. If you destroy Christianity with all its glorious truths, what have you to put in its place? I am not surprised that Secularism has nothing to show; it would surprise me if it could show anything. Now the fact is that Secularism in some of the articles of its creed has bones, so to speak; it proclaims some object with which we have perfect sympathy; but in Secularism, as a system, these things are dry bones; it cannot clothe them, it cannot quicken them, it cannot breathe life into them. They may tread out the clay of humanity, but they have not the straw to bind it together; and they have not the furnace of love wherein to prepare the materials which shall be builded together as that great edifice which is to be the habitation of God. If we now turn on the other hand, to the other sects, we shall find all the enthusiasm of Secularism ranges round the banner of those who are destroyers. There is not one of our institutions that they would not be prepared to overturn. Not to speak of attacks upon the House of Lords, it is avowed by Secularist exponents that the first step they have to take in their theory of human progress is to overthrow the monarchy; and I have read a pamphlet in which it was stated that the best way to attain that end would be to buy out the Royal family. It was stated in that pamphlet that the monarchy was a costly sham, and yet strangely enough it proposed that the legislators of the future should be paid in order to make it worth their while to be honest. What of Christianity? There are hundreds of you in this room at this moment who believe that, although the Secularists deny our teaching, they reverence the character of our Lord Jesus Christ. Oh, my friends, it has been my duty to read the teaching of Secularists with reference to the Lord Jesus Christ. I will not pain your ears with it; but I will only say that in one of the last pamphlets it was with the deepest feeling of shame

and indignation that I read such words as these : "The gospel story is its own refutation, and the surest cure of Christianity is to know the character of Jesus Christ." That is Secularism. I need not appeal to you whether it is destructive. They seek to bring about great changes in all our institutions—gently, if possible, they say. At the very time and in the same place that the Bishop of Liverpool, for the first time, was setting apart men for the work of the ministry, Mr. Bradlaugh was thus speaking ;—"There must be great changes:—let us hope by the ballot rather than by the bullet." Such are some of the teachings of Secularism.

**The Rev. BROWNLOW MAITLAND, of Montagu Square,
London.**

WE are engaged in examining certain systems of doctrine which have been propounded in the place of Christianity for the regulation of human life. In regard of all such systems it appears to me that we have to ask two plain questions in order to arrive at a correct estimate of their practical merits and probable consequences. First, whether they set before us an adequate standard of conduct ; and secondly, whether they furnish a sufficient motive force to enable us to realise the standard in our own lives. What, then, I propose to do in the few minutes allotted to me is to put these questions very briefly to Positivism, which strikes me as the most interesting and attractive, as well as the best defined, of the systems under our consideration : to ask whether, as a moral system, it satisfies the two requirements, of a just standard and a sufficient working force ? Now, in respect of the former of these requirements, I have no complaint to make of Positivism. Its rule of conduct is a very elevated one, and may fairly be considered identical with the law of human morality propounded in the Gospel.

According to Comte the love of humanity constitutes all sound morality, and to live for others ought to be the sovereign law and supreme happiness of everyone. The professed aim of Positivism is to eradicate selfishness and promote universal brotherhood ; or, in its own technical phraseology, to subordinate the egoistic desires to the altruistic, and to produce harmony between the individual and the race. It urges us to regard all things from the social point of view, and to shape our lives so as to help others as much as we can to fulfil their proper functions. Among the qualifications for acting rightly it reckons tenderness and energy as the most important : man is always to be turning his faculties to account, but all his activities are to be animated by benevolence and directed to promote the welfare of his fellow-men. Such is the canon of ethics which Positivism sets before us, and it is not for Christians to deny its legitimacy or its beauty. For the Gospel itself lays the foundations of morals in the nature of man, brands selfishness as the root of all wrong-doing, and glorifies the rule of living for others—the law of self-sacrifice—as the universal principle of right conduct. Pointing us to the Divine Son of Man, it exhorts us to have the mind which was in Him, who pleased not Himself, and came to serve and to give his very life for others. Hence I do not feel I have any right to bring against Positivism the charge of propounding an inadequate or unworthy standard of morals.

But passing from the rule or canon to the working force of morality, the case seems to me to be completely altered. According to Christianity, goodness has at its back the most powerful motives by which a moral agent can be influenced. On its side is ranged the Almighty Father and Lord, in whose universe the righteous can neither perish nor lose their reward. It is sustained by the sympathy and grace of the Father's Son, who unites Himself to every true-hearted follower in the path of self-sacrifice, and

draws the will by the bonds of his love. It has before it an eternity of life in which to ripen its fruits of endless joy. To the force of these motives there is no limit except the limit of the faith through which their constraining influence is exerted. But in Positivism none of these has any place. It acknowledges no righteous Father above all, no Divine Brother with all, no eternal life in which the triumph of goodness may be perfected. Without a God, without a Heaven, without a Divine Spirit of holiness, without a life to come, it shuts up man within his physical environment, and leaves him entirely dependent on what he finds there for the sustaining impulse of goodness.

Thus left alone with Nature and with the doom of a speedy annihilation upon us, we ask Positivism what force it can supply to overcome the ingrained selfishness of the human heart, and constrain us for our little day to live lives of glorious self-sacrifice. For answer it directs us to what it calls Humanity, spelling the word with a capital initial, as if to make it convey the notion of an actual human being. This Humanity is held up before us as the Supreme Existence, the most real and living of all known beings, the majestic parent of us all; and we are assured that the steady contemplation of this Great Being will eradicate selfishness, exalt and purify all our sentiments, and ennoble and consolidate all our actions. In a word, gazing with the mind's eye on Humanity we shall be transformed into children of light. Well, but we want to know a little more about the object which is to exert so mighty an influence upon us. What, in sober fact, is this Humanity? It must, we suppose, be something more than the mere aggregate of living men and women; for, however interesting these may be, they certainly do not constitute an awful object of worship, nor do they stand to us in the relation of majestic fatherhood. And we are so far right; the Humanity which is the supreme being of Positivism is by no means limited to the living members of the human family. It embraces the whole race—past, present, and future: the dead who have vanished into nothingness, and the unborn who as yet are not, as well as the existing occupants of the earth. It is the race in its totality, and not the individuals; the organization which develops itself in the successive generations of mankind, and of which each human being may be termed the symbol and offspring. But if so, then to speak of this Humanity as in itself a real Being is only to juggle with words. It is a mere mental abstraction or generalization—a poetical personification or figure—which possess no objective reality, no actual existence outside our own thought. Like all generic names, it expresses a conception; but life, individuality, substance, being, it has none.

Now, I do not understand why this ideal Humanity, however dressed up by an imposing rhetoric, should constrain us to the life of self-sacrifice. Our living, breathing fellow-creatures appeal directly to our sympathies. We look on their faces, we realize their wants and sorrows, we feel their brotherhood with us. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." But this bodiless phantom, this metaphysical abstraction, which never did exist, and never can exist, except in the imagination of philosopher or poet, lies altogether outside of our practical life, says nothing to our hearts, excites no sympathy, stirs no emotion, constrains to no self-sacrifice for its sake. It may be a convenient figure for representing our fellow-men to our minds as a united whole, but it adds nothing to the actual fact. Why should any one be more inclined to do for its sake what he cares not to do for the sake of his actual flesh-and-blood brethren who need his help? Surely the motive force is all on the side of the real. If a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how shall he love this impalpable Humanity which he hath not seen and never can see? Were there, indeed, no volcanic passions in the world, no idolatry of self, no unscrupulous ambition, or imperious self-will, this dream of regenerating mankind by the worship of an ideal Humanity might perhaps be somewhat less visionary; but, as things are, it is only fit for the philosopher's closet, where it first took shape.

Let his disciples bring out their high-sounding phrase into the rough ways of human life, and try in earnest to adjure by it the turbulent demons of pride and selfishness and sensuality which disorganise society and stain the world with vice and crime, and I much fear that it would fare no better with them than with those baffled exorcists of old, whom the demoniac drove out with the scornful cry, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?"

No, while I freely confess the excellence of the moral code of Positivism and admire the courage of its adherents in endeavouring to improve a race which they suppose left to do battle with evil without help and without hope, I cannot discover in it any working force sufficient to overcome the many attractions of a life of self-indulgence. It reminds me of a piece of machinery, which looks beautiful in a drawing, but when brought to trial will not work. The inertia, the friction, the resistance of the real world are too much for it. It is a pretty enough theory, this evolution of universal unselfishness by the worship of an ideal Humanity, but under the strain of passion and egoism it must break down at the first attempt to apply it. What is this sublimated abstraction to me, the self-seeking heart will demand, that I should sacrifice for it the few short-lived joys that are my all? And the question is unanswerable.

Live while you live the epicure would say,
And snatch the pleasures of the passing day.

"Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." But, while we condemn Positivism for its moral weakness, I think that we Christians have a very serious lesson to learn from it. Why should there have been room for this novel scheme for purging the world from selfishness and uniting mankind in a fair brotherhood, in which each should look not on his own things but on the things of others, seeing that the Christian Church has for more than eighteen centuries professed the like aim? Why? rejoins the Positivist, because the Church has failed. With all its supernatural mysteries and dogmas, its heaven and its hell, it has found human nature too stubborn and perverse for it, and the result is this chaotic Christendom, nation armed against nation, class arrayed against class, anarchy, fraud, and vice everywhere pervading and breaking up the social fabric. Alas, that there should be so much truth in the retort; that, with all our advantages, so little deliverance should have been wrought by us in the earth! Perhaps we have not been faithful enough to the Spirit of Christ, and have too little remembered that true Christianity is not so much a system of dogma and ritual, as a new life in the Father and the Son—a life of holy sympathy and unselfish service. It may be that we have shown ourselves too jealous of what we deem our rights, too oblivious of morality in our zeal for orthodoxy, too suspicious and contentious among ourselves, instead of being united, heart and soul, to conquer the world for Christ by patience and love. Yet there is everything to hope, if the Church will but exhibit a large and generous sympathy with the wants and aspirations of this stirring age. She has the promise of the very consummation which men blindly seek, in their craving for a fuller unity, and their dream of a coming kingdom of man. For hers is the mission to prepare the way for that true Kingdom of redeemed humanity which rests on the Father's love, is constituted in the Divine Son of man, and is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

J. E. C. WELLDON, Esq., Fellow of King's College,
Cambridge.

It is with sincere humility that I, who am so young, venture to offer any remarks upon the subject of modern unbelief, perhaps the most important subject that can occupy the attention of any Congress at this time. Yet it seems to me that in this discussion one important side of the question

has been wholly or almost wholly left out of sight; I mean that nothing, or hardly anything, has been said about the actual religious condition of the Universities. So I think I shall do best if I try not to enter again into the general subject of unbelief—for that has been already treated of—but just to put before you a short statement of facts, as they present themselves to any thoughtful Christian in the great University from which I come.

And first, as to the progress of unbelief; for that, after all, is the principal matter. Is it, or is it not, the case that the faith of Jesus Christ is losing ground among the thoughtful and educated men in the Universities now-a-days? Upon this point my testimony shall be perfectly clear. It has been my fortune, or misfortune, during the past seven years to be brought—I had almost said into daily, but certainly into weekly contact with those forms of unbelief which prevail among us; and, that being so, I say frankly, so far as I am able to judge, that Infidelity is not upon the increase among us at Cambridge. On the contrary, I think there are many signs for which we who still believe may thank God and take courage. Why should it not be so? Surely the history of the past is full of encouragement. Other forms of unbelief have died away. There was a time, a time for ever marked by the great work of Bishop Butler, when the choice presented to earnest men was between Christianity on the one hand, and a pale and vapid Deism on the other; and Christianity—Mr. Mill himself being witness—Christianity won the day.

Again, there was a time when the contention was that the founders of the Christian religion had been impostors. The book which marks that time is Paley's; and again Christianity won the day. It shall be so now. The truth is on our side. And indeed it seems to me that the wave of Scepticism which passed over the English Universities, when men first began to make the unwarranted assumption that the Germans must know everything much better than we do, because they are foreigners—this wave, I say, has spent itself; and, now that everything which could be said against the faith has been said and said again, they who were so forward in the work of destruction are beginning to reflect that destruction is not the only thing or the best thing to be done in this world, and to ask themselves whether, in undermining religion, they have not been undermining morality; and whether, in undermining morality, they are not threatening to make this world a hell? So the language I hear now at Cambridge is not, I think, the language of ten years ago. They will tell you, these unbelievers of to-day, at least the best among them, that they wish they saw their way a little more clearly; that, after all, there is a good deal to be said for religion; that they are not in such a hurry to pull down as once they were; that things will fall down soon enough of themselves, and they are not disposed to hasten the fall. Now, I take all this to be a confession of weakness, an evident admission that religion has played a great part in the world's history, and that nothing but religion can ever play that part.

But I make another remark about the state of things at Cambridge. It is that, among those who have given up their faith in Christ, there are hardly any who have any definite creed whatever. You may count upon your fingers the number of those who, having ceased to be Christians, remain professors of any other creed. Secularism, that is, the barren and dreary system of which Mr. Bradlaugh is the exponent, does not exist among us at Cambridge; and I suppose there is such a vulgarity about it, to say nothing of its utter impiety, that it finds no large acceptance anywhere except among the manufacturing populations of our large towns. There are Positivists at Cambridge; there is a Positivist Society who meet on Sunday evenings to read papers and discuss them from their own point of view; but I do not think the members are more than ten in number, and I really forget how many sects there are among them. Besides them, there are some Deists, or Free Christians, as they prefer to be called, and they, too, hold their meetings on Sunday mornings; but they have no

cohesion, no corporate independence, and so, although the meetings are attended by some fifty persons, some of whom are lady students, they cannot be said to exercise any especial influence upon the intellectual or religious life of the University at large. And so the question is between Christianity on one side, and what, for want of a better term, I must needs call Agnosticism on the other.

What, then, is Agnosticism? I do not know that I can define it in a sentence, and luckily, after hearing Prebendary Row's paper, I need not try; but I can easily describe to you in form and outline the kind of person who is known to me as an Agnostic. He is a man who is professedly ignorant of all that it most concerns a man to know. Perhaps he is even boastfully ignorant. You shall talk to him about the evidences of the Christian religion, and he will answer that they are strong, but not strong enough to convince his mind. Or rather, if he is quite candid with you, he will say, not that the evidence of Christianity is weak, when it might have been stronger, but that no conceivable or possible amount of evidence would justify him in placing his belief in a religion founded upon miracle eighteen centuries ago. You shall talk to him about the spiritual experiences of humankind in all the ages; and he will admit the fact, but will say he does not know how much may not have been due to priestcraft, and how much to superstition. You shall ask him if he believes in the life beyond the grave, and he will tell you, that he cannot make up his mind; that, so far as he can see, there is no reason in the nature of things why his soul should live after death, although perhaps he will think it probable that Humanity, as a whole, may somehow survive the grave. Or, lastly, you shall speak to him of the existence and attributes of Almighty God; and again he will tell you he does not know, but to the best of his judgment the state of things existing in the world is not compatible with the theory of an all-powerful and all-bountiful Creator.

I said that intellectually the Agnostic must be distinguished from the Secularist and the Positivist. Practically, however, he is one with them. The reason is, that to him, as to them, this world is everything; he regards nothing beyond or beside it; and from it he derives all his hopes and fears, his motives, his sanctions, his justifications. And in my mind the conviction grows ever stronger, that the great fundamental difference underlying all other differences which separate man from man depends precisely upon this question, whether this present world in which we live is to us everything, or whether it is, as we believe, a ground of probation for a higher and more enduring life hereafter.

Thus the problem comes to this: If we take this world only into consideration, is it possible to construct any satisfactory system of morality? And the conclusion at which I have arrived, after much talking with the professors of Agnosticism, is that, if you consider nothing beyond this present world, and if, as seems to follow, your business is to get as much pleasure out of it as you can, then the only morality which you can establish is a poor and miserable and base one. It is related—I do not know whether the story is true, but it is significant—that when a distinguished Cambridge moralist was bringing his work upon Ethics to an end, he was careful to frame the last sentences of his last chapter so that it might conclude with the words, "inevitable failure." And I hold that any system of morality, which takes account of this world and this world only, stands *ipso facto* condemned to "inevitable failure."

But time fails me; yet, before I close, I should like to mention just three virtues, three especial Christian graces, which seem to me to be peculiarly imperilled by the lax theological tone which is prevalent now-a-days.

The first is Humility. I never believed in the danger of intellectual pride until I went to Cambridge. I do believe in it as a great danger now. And how is it likely that men will be humble, when they compare themselves only with their fellow men, some of whom are better than they,

many of whom perhaps are worse, instead of comparing themselves with the standard of absolute perfection in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ?

That is one danger. Another virtue which is, I think, endangered, is Self-Sacrifice. For if this world is everything, and our right and our duty therefore is to make the best of it, and to get as much happiness as we can for ourselves out of it, is it probable, is it reasonable, is it right, that any large degree of self sacrifice should be practised?

That is the second virtue of which I spoke; the third is Purity. I cannot enter into this point fully now. Yet the special value we set upon purity is to my mind directly due to our Christianity; and as that conception of purity is derived from Christianity, so, if Christianity should die, would it die also. I would not be thought to say a word against the lives of professing Agnostics, some of whom are among my intimate friends; yet you cannot talk to these persons, at least, intimately, as I do, without seeing that they set a very different value upon purity from that which we must set who are enjoined to purify ourselves even as Our Father in Heaven is pure.

And so, when I reflect upon these things—and they are brought home to me by frequent intercourse with those who hold Agnostic opinions—when I consider the intimate indissoluble connection of morality with religious belief, when I try to set before myself the perfect example of Christ's life, I prefer to choose the path, not of irreligion, but of faith; and for myself, at least, to say humbly in the words of the Apostle, "My Lord and my God."

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. J. E. SYMES, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

THE first point I wish to call your attention to is the growing strength of Secularism. We might have been awakened to this by the recent Northampton election. For, consider what that election meant. It meant that in a large town the Secularists were sufficiently strong to compel the Liberal Party to adopt their candidate, and then to place him at the head of the poll. A great many people will perhaps say that Northampton is different from other towns. I was told the other day, by an old inhabitant of Leicester, that Secularism was very weak here. I asked that gentleman whether he had walked down Humberstone Gate and noticed a red brick building which the Secularists were erecting there for lectures. He admitted that he knew nothing about it. Since then I have asked almost every Leicester person whom I have met, whether he knew anything about that building, and all of them have replied in the negative. I advise members of the Congress to pay a visit to it. They will see inscribed there the names of Voltaire Tom Paine, and of Jesus, whom some of the Secularists are beginning to recognise as a leader in their cause and their principles. This is a fact which we have to face. We have also to face this other fact—that Secularism is not a philosophy, and not a science, but a religion. The Archbishop of York mentioned two classes of facts. He spoke of the Lazar house. The building erected belongs to one class of facts: the motive which induced its erection belongs to another, which has equally to be taken notice of. But we shall greatly err if we suppose that these Secularists are only attending to the former class, the material things like buildings and food and drink, and are ignoring the emotional or spiritual side of humanity. I speak from experience, having attended frequently at Secularist meetings, and having the honour of some slight acquaintance with Mr. Bradlaugh, Mrs. Besant, and other leaders of the movement. You will scarcely ever hear a lecture from them in which some appeal is not made to those emotions which we recognise as among the noblest of our nature. Who do you suppose are the heroes whom the Secularists put forward? They are the martyrs of free thought who

have gone to the stake, who have dared the Inquisition and other tyrannies, who have suffered and endured without having attained what it seems to be supposed are the only objects which the modern Atheists put before their hearers as being worthy of being sought after. I have not time to say more on this point. I have only touched on it because we hear people say, that the Atheistic theories are very nice for those who sit in arm-chairs, but that they will not bear the strain of hardship and suffering. You will scarcely find a Secularist who has got an arm-chair. You will find our Archbishops, our Bishops, our Clergy, and our Laity sitting in arm-chairs; but the Secularists are chiefly to be found in our factories and workshops. Secularism, then, is a religion. No doubt it is a religion hostile to ours, and one which we have to fight in every conceivable way, except by misrepresenting and misunderstanding it. The question is how we are to fight it. I shall not dwell upon what must be our chief weapon—viz., doing good work, elevating the people and helping on every noble purpose which the Secularists aim at. We were told yesterday that, in order to beat the Dissenters, we must out-pray them. I am not prepared to enter into that competition; but I am certain that if we want to fight Secularism we must endeavour to outwork Secularists. The second means by which we must meet them is an intellectual one. I believe there is great confusion between two things—viz. (1), the fact that there is a God, and (2), the fact that we believe there is a God. I repudiate the assertion—that, if men and women cease to believe in God, the world will be a Godless world. The existence of God is an objective fact, the truth of which does not depend on our beliefs or disbeliefs. Until we are prepared to recognise that all good comes from God, whether men believe in Him or not; until we are prepared not even to try to find bad motives for whatever of good unbelievers do; but rather to say, of course it is natural that there should be good in them; God the Father is working upon all men—Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant, as well as the Archbishop of Canterbury—and whatever good there is in any of them comes from Him;—we shall not touch the Secularists. We want to be able to go to them and say: Whence comes this enthusiasm for Humanity? and then we may refer them to Him who is the source of all good. In conclusion, I will just touch upon the religious aspect of the question. Here one essential is, that we preach good news to men and not bad news. I have had some experience of these infidels; but I have yet to meet the Secularist, who was not brought up in some form of Christianity which I should repudiate as strongly as he does. I will not enter into any of the burning questions in connection with everlasting punishment, the infallibility of Scripture, and the views that have been held on the Atonement, especially in connection with Calvinism. But on the religious side we have to ask ourselves: Have we a Gospel to bring before them, or are we preaching something from which they will thankfully turn to the cold negations of Secularism?

The Right Rev. the BISHOP of TASMANIA.

I HOPE that our presence here to-day, the papers we have had the privilege of listening to, and the speeches that have followed, will not be taken by the outer world to be an expression of our distrust in the power of the Gospel to take care of itself. I think we might leave the various forms of unbelief to fight out their own battle, because there is not one of them that fights by the side of another, but on the contrary, they are contradictory to one another. We might have left the question to itself, because the human heart will come to our aid as it finds that none of these forms of unbelief can stand the friction, as it has been called, of the wants of human life. But the question may be put which was put from this

platform, How is it that Christianity has done so little during the last 1800 years? The subjects nominal of Christianity may be divided into two classes, each adverse to its progress. There are those who are worldly-minded and guilty of the idolatry of wealth, and those who, while they display a zeal for God, are either idolaters of ritual or of formularies. These have supplied the opponents of our faith with practical arguments against it. I think it was Coleridge who said that truths, in order to retain their freshness, must be translated into action, and it is in doing the work of the Church that we shall best silence her enemies. Men demand an objective basis, and we should supply the objective basis of Christianity in the work and the person of Jesus Christ our Lord. The true test of the Church's claims is her work. What have we done? Have we been content simply to preach the doctrine of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ? Have we gone into the alleys and the streets of this City, and done our best to remove the old leaven of corruption by proclaiming a Human Redeemer? Have we not since the Reformation too often so presented Christ as to lay ourselves open to the charge that we preach Him only as the Saviour of a portion of the human race? Have we looked at the sun and seen it shine upon all alike, expecting every man to take his share of that glorious centre of light? Have we so preached God as a universal centre of light too, and called upon every soul of man by the exercise of personal faith to open his heart and receive his own share of it? We will leave the many-sided scepticism of the age to fight its own battle. We will leave it, because I repeat it will not stand the great friction of human wants. Above all, we will leave it to the work of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself to defend His Truth against the assaults of science. Have we not done mischief by our jealousies of its progress? Ought we not to have had two distinct roads, parallel but distinct, with every now and then a cross road, without ticketing each end of it "No path here for you the Scientist, and no path here for you the Christian?" God is in science as much as religion. This we have forgotten. Then we have tied down Christianity too much to our own narrow and mean conceptions of Christianity. We have made it stand or fall by our narrow definitions of Christianity. Take "Inspiration" for instance. We have given our own meaning from our pulpits and from our drawing-room religious books, which neither the standard of our Church nor Holy Scripture itself warrants. We have made Christianity to stand or fall by our own mental confusion between the supernatural and the miraculous. We have forgotten the old classic warning, "*Nec Deus intersit*," in our theories of prayer. We have led our people to believe that there is an infraction of the ordinary regularity of Nature's laws, whenever a poor child kneels down to pray. I know, my Christian friends, I know that once for all Jesus Christ whom God did send proved himself to have been sent by his own suspension of Nature's ordinary laws. I see him upon the waves of Galilee, bidding the storm to cease, and administering a rebuke to the winds and the waves. Once for all He did that to prove that God was master over His own laws, and not their slave. Once for all he has proved to the world that He is at all times behind the veil in every providential act, and the great comfort has come to every sailor-boy's mother when she hears the roaring of the waves at night, that though God will not step beyond that veil as on the lake of Galilee, He is working still. But even now I say He can answer the prayers of that poor mother for the child between whom and a watery grave there is but a crazy plank. What I mean is this:—If there was the same rebuke—(The Right Rev. prelate was prevented from continuing his observations owing to the time allowed him having expired).

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I AM particularly sorry that just at this moment my good brother, the Bishop of Tasmania, was called to order, because it is my intention for the first time in the course of our discussions to claim my ten minutes as a speaker. I am partly moved thereto by a desire to supplement in a way I cannot help thinking the speaker himself would have done, if he had had time, the able and manly speech of the Rev. Mr. Symes. Mr. Symes gave us a valuable warning which we cannot bear too much in mind in this and in all controversy, that we should never impute to our opponents what appear to us to be the logical consequences of their opinions. There is a happy lack of logic in the minds of most men which prevents them from seeing and adopting what appears to others to be the necessary consequences of their beliefs. We should be very careful, therefore, of saying to any Secularist, "This is the logical result of your opinion, and therefore you hold this or that, and I denounce you accordingly." Still more we should be careful of imputing this logical result as regards actions, saying, for instance, "This belief of yours tends to immorality, therefore you are an immoral man." But, on the other hand, we should remember this, that fully granting the fact that men are often either better or worse than their creeds, still, that, in the long run and in the end, the logical tendency of the creed will work its way out into the lives of the generality of men. Therefore when we speak of the *tendencies* of Secularism and Positivism towards immorality, we by no means intend to charge individual Secularists or Positivists with being immoral men; but we wish to warn them and others, that such may be, and most probably will be, the result upon the mass of mankind of the adoption of their opinions. May I add one or two words of encouragement and hope as regards the whole bearing and scope of this question? We hear very much of the opposition between religion and science. For my own part I have never felt very much anxiety on that head, for, after all, religion and science do not lie in the same plane, and hardly touch one another except in one or two points. Religion deals with the invisible; Science with the visible. Religion deals with the super-natural; Science with the natural. Religion sees by Faith; Science by demonstration. Their opposition, therefore, appears to me to resolve itself very often into a matter of words. For instance, the man of science tells me that my belief in the miraculous is opposed to the laws of nature; and I ask him in reply What do you mean by the laws of nature? Suppose it to be one of the laws of nature that nature must listen to the voice of God, what becomes then of your argument? Suppose, again, that the question of miracle was put before a jury—and some of our own opponents are very fond of putting it in this way—supposing the question was put then before a jury whether an infant of a year old had killed by a blow of its hand a giant. Of course they would scout it as entirely opposed to the laws of nature. But suppose the question was whether a giant with a blow of his hand had killed an infant. The jury would find no opposition to the laws of nature in that case. Now, when you put the question whether a miracle has occurred, you must first ask, who is the agent in the miracle? If you say that a man by his own strength could arrest any one of the universal laws of nature, it is as absurd as if you said that a baby a year old by a blow of its hand killed a giant. But if you ask whether the giant might of Omnipotence can regulate the laws which it may have called into being, the question is an entirely different one. Behind the question of miracle there generally lies the question of the existence of a God; and the existence of God, we should never forget, is not proved by miracle; it is a fact which must be assumed before you enter into the question of the miracle. Science, therefore, and miracle do not come into such direct and violent collision on the point of the miraculous as many persons suppose. Let me remind you, too,

that science, from time to time, furnishes proofs in support of religion. Geology and astronomy are supplying, for instance, their proofs of the non-eternity of matter. I am, however, especially anxious to speak to you of a danger and hope for religion which have not yet been touched upon. I mean the danger and hope to religion, not in its relation to science, but in its relation to Philosophy. Science deals with material facts. Philosophy deals, or professes to deal, with mental facts and mental laws; and therefore philosophy much more largely leavens human language and provides many more words for human use than science does. The technical terms of science do not pass into the ordinary conversation of men to anything like the same extent that the language of philosophy does. For instance, some of you, perhaps, are wishing at this moment that the Bishop would not talk about philosophy and science, but keep to common sense. Very likely the persons who are saying this to themselves are not aware that they are using the language of philosophy in referring to the *communis sensus* or sixth sense—the existence of which was once maintained by philosophers, from whose theory we have derived this expression—common sense. There is an illustration of the way in which the terms of philosophy come to permeate the language of men. Now religion is constantly obliged to take up and use terms that are moulded and shaped by the philosophy of the age in which religion teaches. Take, for instance, St. Paul's definition of Body, Soul, and Spirit. Take, for instance, the word Transubstantiation, about which there has been fighting enough and misery enough in the world; it is a purely philosophic theory put into dogmatic language. I venture to say that if Transubstantiation were put out now for the first time it could not obtain currency, because the philosophical conception on which it is based has vanished from philosophy. Matter and substance again are philosophical terms. *Materies* is the mother of all things; and when a philosopher tells me that matter is the source and origin of all things, I am content to accept his statement, if by matter he means *materies*—in which case we have got the very profound idea, that the source of all things is—the source of all things! Similarly the meaning of "substance" is *quod stat subter*, what underlies all things, and it is of course true that what underlies all things does underly them. What I am anxious therefore you should see on this point is this: The danger and the hope, the difficulty and the aid to religion in this fact, that it is always, in order to be heard of men, obliged to clothe its revelations in language of human thought, which has been moulded and fashioned by human philosophy. What is the result? It is this, that as time goes on the religion, having thus clad itself in the philosophical language of the day, and that philosophical language having in course of time become obsolete, there arises this danger, that men confound the religion with the philosophical terms in which it has expressed itself, and then exclaim—"Your religion is obsolete." But it is not the religion that is obsolete, but the passing form of philosophy in which it has been compelled for a time to express itself. So that, if I may put it in a homely way, religion and philosophy are married and divorced at least once in a century. The danger is that men, who have once learnt the terms which were once familiar to all men, may cling to those terms at the very time that they are perishing and giving place to a newer and perhaps a truer philosophy. But though religion may be thus "unclothed," yet in the power of its undying immortality it clothes itself again and again in the heart and in the spirit as in the living words of living men. We can wait patiently, therefore, for the falling away of this and that incrustation upon the surface of religion, which is only the hardened mould of some perishing form of philosophy, which, when it falls away, will reveal the deeper inscription that the artist engraved on the imperishable material beneath it. We may wait for the time when this "ism" and that "ism" will be done with. We may look on in patience while the hay and the stubble are being consumed, believing there is gold underneath which will pass

with safety through the burning. Our hope in a word is this, that in many cases the antagonism to religion is an antagonism to the false philosophy which has been mixed up with it, and that religion itself will survive the passing away of this. And therefore we do rejoice in this, that men who believe they are attacking religion are not really doing so; we may rejoice in the fact that, in spite of and beneath their hatred of our Faith, there may be still an unconscious belief in the very truths which they are disputing. We may thank God that the Divine and imperishable light of Christianity is reflected back even from the faces of its assailants. Not the less sadly, though, do we see men in the meanwhile casting away their highest hopes from time to time under the influences of these transitory difficulties, and deluding themselves with vain hopes of the light that is somehow to come from their denial that there is any divine source of light for men. We know full well that what they take for the rising sun is, after all, in their horizon but the setting light of Christianity, and that they are mistaking the colours of the evening for those of the dawn. Alas, that it should be so! For them, let us hope, that even the rays of their sunset may lead them up to the throne of their Father. For us, after the night we know that there comes the light of the sunrise, of the Divine and Eternal dawn. We meet these men, as travellers are sometimes said to meet one another, as one party is ascending, the other descending some Alpine slope. They are coming up from the homes of human hope and human faith, which they are forsaking for the colder loftier heights of science, up to where the difficult air can scarcely be breathed, and life has no power of sustaining itself. We are coming down from above, and bringing with us a light, from the Father of lights, for the homes where dwell human sorrow, and human love, and human toil, and with a firmer faith, with a more triumphant light than their's, and then pass down into the valley of the common life of men, to give ourselves to the service of those for whom we believe that our Saviour has died and risen again—to whom we can give ourselves in unshattered faith and trust, their servants for His Sake

The Rev. P. BARKER, Secretary to the Christian
Evidence Society.

WE have received a good deal of information already about Secularism. I hope I shall not be accused of going too much over the same ground if I endeavour to add a little to the information which we have already received. During my connection with the Christian Evidence Society, it has been my duty to hear and read a good deal about Secularism. Now, the first point that occurs to me is that the application of the word Secularism is itself curious and rather interesting. There was a time when those who are now called Secularists were more commonly called Free Thinkers, and did not hesitate to let themselves be called by the name "Atheists." But it was found shortly that that terrible name "Atheist" was a name from which people shrank. There was something in it which caused them to hesitate before connecting themselves with a body of men who appeared by the application of that word to say absolutely that there is no God. So it was that this other name, "Secularist," was devised and applied, I believe, by one of the best known and most honourable of Secularists—Mr. Holyoake. It was a name round which many might rally, though they might shrink from an assertion of dogmatic Atheism. What, then, are the principles of Secularism? It seems to me that, practically, it is something negative rather than positive, and therefore I would remark that on this ground, if for no other reason, I cannot agree to the name "religion" being applied to Secularism, as a previous speaker seemed to apply it. The name of course implies that it is the first duty of man to improve in every way this present life, and to give his attention wholly to that, to the

exclusion of other things. As to the positive principles on which it works, its moral system is merely Utilitarianism. The test of morality is its utility. I do not wish now to argue upon Utilitarianism ; but that is the principle on which the Secularists work. Secularists maintain, also, the doctrine of what is called philosophical necessity. I have been present at discussions in which this doctrine has been earnestly maintained as opposed to the doctrine of Free Will. It seems to me that the maintenance of such a doctrine as this must be likely to have some considerable influence upon the lives of those who maintain it. Secularists maintain most strenuously that man has no free will, that free will is a delusion, and that you cannot escape from the influence of the strongest motive ; and that a man's character is wholly determined for him by the accidents of his birth, mode of education, and surrounding circumstances. Such, I believe, are some of the positive principles which Secularism would uphold. But as I have said, practically, judging by the papers issued by Secularists, and by the lectures which they deliver, I would venture to say that Secularism is rather negative than positive in the way in which it comes before people generally. That is to say, it is rather destructive, than constructive. With reference to its attitude to religion generally, I may quote some words which were published some three or four years ago in one of the National Secular Society's almanacks, that "all the religions of the world have been and are most powerfully obstructive of human happiness and improvement." Although I have not found that statement put forward formally in the recent publications of the Secular Society, that is the principle which is to be found practically exhibited in Secular newspapers and tracts and lectures. That is a distinct attitude of opposition to religion. Then the question arises what is the relation of the Secularist towards a belief in God ? What is an Atheist ? There was a time when it was said by one leader that a Secularist, although not necessarily an Atheist, would, if he had brains enough, go on to be an Atheist. What is said now by the leaders of Secularism is this : "We do not say that there is no God : we do not say there is. The matter is not one which concerns us practically. We let it alone." So that the position which the Secularists takes now is very much that of the Agnostics, of whom we have heard to-day. They simply say, "We do not know." The position, then, is that of a man *not* who says there is no God, but, that he does *without God*. Similarly with reference to the immortality of the soul they take just the same position. But to a great extent the practical work of the Secularist is devoted, so far as I am aware, to attacking Christianity, attacking the Bible in various ways, utterly misrepresenting some of the plain teaching of Scripture and even misrepresenting the life and teaching of our Lord himself—often in an utterly monstrous way. Those are principles which are being disseminated throughout our land, and the question is, how are we to deal with them. The practical way in which the Christian Evidence Society has carried on its work in reference to Secularism, and to infidelity generally, has been partly by means of lectures and discussions, and also by sermons on Christian evidences, intended rather for doubters ; partly by getting young men and others together and instructing them in classes on the subject, and further by the circulation of literature. Such are, very briefly, the methods of work which have been adopted and found useful by the Christian Evidence Society. In conclusion, I would say that I believe there are many of the Secularists who have at bottom some faith, after all. We have seen them shrink from saying there is no God. That is something on which we can work. What we want to lay much stress upon is that Christianity can improve our present life, that it is the *best Secularism*, and will afford us principles on which we can work which the Secularists have not. So I would trust that, by showing sympathy as far as possible towards such men, we may be enabled to lead them on to find at last "a stronger faith than their own."

The Rev. THOMAS P. BOULTBEE, D.D.

I WILL promise this meeting not to engage it with any scholastic treatment of the subject that is now before us. I am afraid, however, that I must utter one or two words of protest against some things which, as I understood them, fell from the last speaker.* I am unwilling to do so, but I dare not stand here and accept the abandonment of things which were called by him Calvinist, but which I have understood to be part of the belief of the Christian Church. I merely utter this by way of protest, and I hope that I did not understand the speaker rightly. But in this protest I feel that I have expressed the view of many here. I will just say two or three plain words. We have been called to look into an abyss of danger—an abyss of danger it really is—something that swallows up all the principles on which human society has hitherto been constructed, something that cuts away the very basis, not only of Christianity, but of the social edifice. Speaking to a commercial community, I would also say, something that cuts away every principle on which they have rested. We have trusted each other, and do trust each other, in the affairs of human life from day to day, because although we know there are some terrible exceptions, yet upon the whole we work upon the basis of that which Christianity has taught us. I will not limit, I dare not limit, the Divine presence moving amongst us—but I deeply believe that the residue of goodness among the Secularists, on which a previous speaker has insisted, comes from those Christian principles in which he himself confessed that all those persons had been educated. This departure of a few from fundamental principles may be tolerable so long as there is a Christian atmosphere around; but if that were gone and there was an atmosphere of corruption around us everywhere,—if there were no basis upon which we could rest for domestic purity, for the relations of men and women, and all that of which the good of this life is composed, where, then, should we be? I think that all of us, without philosophy, are resting upon two very plain things. We rest upon the great principle, that, if there is a world, there is a Maker of that world. Let me give at this late period of the meeting a popular story. There was a dinner party, at which one of the guests had been enlarging upon his theories of the accidental and mechanical creation of the world. His host listened quietly until the guest expressed his great approval of a particular dish of which he had partaken. "Oh," said the host, "I have no cook. It all came together by chance, you know." If this wonderful world and all this Universe is so marvellously compounded, there is a great Maker above who compounded it all, and out of that no philosophy will drive the common sense of Englishmen. Then in the second place we rest upon our observation of that wonderful thing, the conscience. No one will make Englishmen generally believe that conscience is not to reckon for something. Conscience is a sense of responsibility. Where does that responsibility come from, and to what does it refer? There are a thousand arguments that come home to a man arising out of these thoughts. It is in relation to these spiritual necessities that the religion of God our Saviour comes to us with healing power. Every man who receives His comforting spirit has a witness for God within himself. I am not alarmed. God will fight for us.

* The speech of "the last speaker," here referred to,—not having been received back from him, corrected for the Press,—is unavoidably omitted.

TEMPERANCE HALL, THURSDAY MORNING,**SEPTEMBER 30TH.**

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of LICHFIELD
took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

THE CATHEDRAL SYSTEM.

SUBJECT:—HOW TO REFORM IT, SO AS TO STRENGTHEN THE RELATIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL TO THE DIOCESE, AND TO MAKE EACH CATHEDRAL A MORE EFFICIENT CENTRE OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY.

PAPERS.

• The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

I HAVE never doubted, that both a Church and a nation derive blessing from the union of the nation with the Church, or, to put the matter more correctly because more historically, from the acceptance by the nation of the Faith and the Church of Christ. Even the restraint which the one puts on the (full and free development of the) other, is sometimes good. Development, either of Church or nation, may be easily too rapid, and like all quick growths prove sickly and short-lived. But there must, of course, be danger that this checking of development should create stagnation. And this stagnation is most likely to occur in those nooks and corners which are somewhat apart from the general course and great current of the stream, and which offer retreats from the turmoil of busy life and of feverish religious excitement. It does not follow that such nooks or corners are useless, but they must not be left to grow muddy. The present, or, perhaps I should say, the lately past, condition of our Cathedral bodies naturally suggests such thoughts as these. They were looked on in the stagnant age of the English Church as places of honourable retirement for men who had done good work in the vigour of their age, of learned leisure for those who could best serve the Church with their pens or literary researches, and as rewards for services rendered by younger men still engaged in the active exercise of their energies in other parts of a Diocese. All these were excellent objects: but in a well endowed National Church, where the civil power had no small share in the patronage, the principle of *detur digniori* was very likely to give way before the claims of political party or private interest, and, unhappily, in the case of Episcopal patrons, to nepotism and favouritism; whilst, in the case where election was vested in the Cathedral Chapter itself,

family or personal preferences too often outweighed public services and professional efficiency. This state of things was not peculiar to England in the eighteenth and the earlier nineteenth centuries. It seems to have affected the continental cathedrals even more than the English; in Germany, so much so, that no one of plebeian birth could get a footing even among the minor canons.

From the first it was not so. If the Bishop was the Head, the Cathedral Chapter was the Heart of the Diocese. It sent the lifeblood from the centre by veins and arteries to the farthest extremities. The cathedral was in a strictly accurate sense *the Church* of the Diocese. The Diocesan clergy there gathered round the Bishop. Their stalls were close to his throne. They held their highest acts of worship in the Church of his *Cathedra*, they gave him counsel and received counsel from him in the Chapter room, and thence they spread about to preach and to minister in the districts round about, and in the generally darker regions far away. I suppose, in olden times, villages and villagers were much scarcer than they are now, just as in the United States of America the towns are the only centres of population and of Church work and life. The increase or the conversion of villages led to the Parochial System, which, by degrees, almost cut off the connection of the Cathedral with the country Diocese; and the Monastic System, which created close corporations withdrawn in some cases from Episcopal control, set an example of isolation too often followed by the Cathedral bodies, which of all others ought to have been the most closely mixed up with general Church work and with matters of Diocesan interest. The evil was by no means an unmixed evil. Learned bodies of dignified clergy tended to keep up the learning and the social position and the high tone of the whole Diocese. If the selections of Deans and Canons had always been judicious and disinterested, the good would have far more than counterbalanced the evil. As it was, however, some 45 years ago the Cathedrals had become so unpopular both with clergy and laity, as to make it a cause for thankfulness that they were not all swept away in the torrent of public indignation, with the cry for more working bees and no more drones.

Perhaps we cannot return, direct and all at once, to the systems of early times. By so extensive a reform we might lose the lessons of experience learned in later days. The Church cannot part with any portion of her history. A Divine life has been through all of it, even where human sin and error had most darkened and defiled it. The hand of reformation should never arm itself with the besom of destruction. Still we may bring out of our treasures things new and old.

Let us keep our Chapters and Cathedrals still as we have them; they have done good work many a time before; we may hope to get good work out of them for many a time to come. Let us build them up, not pull them down. Only, in restoring them, let us keep in mind their first design and primary intention. We need not break down all the carved work of the Flamboyant, though we might long to restore the grand simplicity of the Norman or the inimitable gracefulness of the early English.

To make the Cathedral once more strictly Diocesan is necessary for safety, for dignity, and for efficiency. It will not last without this. Besides, it is far grander to work in the great organic work of the Church system, than to stand aside from it, even for the best *πάρεργα* possible. And work is far more powerful and durable, when it is part of united labour, than when it is isolated and individual.

It is difficult for me to say much of the relations between the Chapter and the Bishop; but I believe all who have thought of it are agreed, that, in order to restore the Cathedral Church to its true place in the Diocesan system, it is necessary to define the position of its Bishop. At present, it is said, rightly or wrongly, that, from the difficulty of that position, a Bishop's residence should be as far from his Cathedral city as possible. Surely this is as it should not be. From remote ages and in universal Christendom, the Bishop's palace was close to his chief Church, and the Bishop's throne was erected within it. There he was supposed to reign over his Diocese, a miniature kingdom, surrounded by a council of his chief presbyters. At present the Bishop is thought to have less authority in his Cathedral than in any other of his Churches; and his Chapter has ceased to be his Council, except so far as he may choose to ask, and they may be willing to give, their advice. Until this is rectified, it appears to me that little improvement is possible. Yet the rectification might be very simple. What is most needed concerning the Bishop's power is that it should be defined. The power which he possesses by the Statutes, and by the Common Law Ecclesiastical, is most probably all that he can need. And if it were made a settled Constitution, and not a mere vague tradition, that the Bishop is part of and essential to the Cathedral system, that the Chapter is the legitimate Council of the Diocese, which the Bishop can summon at all times, now the greater and now the lesser Chapter only, the practice would probably soon grow up, and the good effect be felt. I must protest against the statements constantly made and even admitted into the report of the Cathedral Commission (1853—1855,) that the Bishops' power in the Cathedrals is simply that of Visitor. By the Statutes of my own Cathedral, he is clearly Visitor, Ordinary, Interpreter of the Statutes without appeal, and in every way an integral part of the whole machinery.

I have no very definite suggestion to make about the status or occupation of the Dean. In subordination to the Bishop, he ought to be the Head of the Chapter; not an absolute ruler, but, as in the old foundation Cathedrals he always was, the elder brother of the house, *inter pares*, though still *primus*. I am doubtful about attaching any definite work to the office, or interfering with the mode of appointment. The Crown has mostly made an excellent choice of late, sometimes of men who would not have made good bishops, but who were all that could be desired as Deans. We may well deplore the act of recent legislation, which made the Deaneries of the *old* foundations mere *donatives* of the Crown, so that the Dean is even invested with cure of souls by the secular power alone, without intervention of the Spiritual. This ought not to be done. Otherwise, Crown patronage seems suitable to Deaneries. And, again; as to the Dean belongs the general supervision of the body and the

structure and the services, as it is to be desired that he should be a man of letters and a Theologian, and as very often he will be an aged man, I am inclined to think that his special function of "government," together with cure of souls in the Close and Precincts, may suffice to occupy him.

If every canonry could be made to harbour a Lightfoot, a Westcott, a Frederick Cook, or a Liddon, it would be well to let them also alone. As this cannot be, there is a general feeling that some duties should be attached to every stall. If so, those duties ought generally to be Missionary, Educational, or Theological. To attach stalls to large parishes is simply to endow these parishes with the revenues of the Chapters. You may really as well confiscate the stalls at once. What could have been more unreasonable than to annex a canonry to St. Margaret's, Westminster, and then to give it to an eminent Syriac scholar, not that he might have leisure to write and to study, but that he might wear himself out in visiting the close alleys of a huge metropolitan parish? I doubt even the wisdom of permanently annexing residentiary stalls to Archdeaconries. There are not too many dignities to be bestowed on able and deserving men. By clubbing them together, you may increase their value, but you reduce their number. It may be right that at times an Archdeacon should also be a Canon, but let the offices be separable.

In some manner attached to every Cathedral, it would be well that there should be a minister of religious education, a head to the mission work of the Diocese, and a theological lecturer. The minister of religious education need not, of necessity, be an inspector of schools. An inspector of schools should be a young man, in the vigour of life. When that vigour begins to fail, he should do something else. Now, it is not to be desired that residentiary stalls should be filled with young men, and should be resigned when youth passes into middle age. If, therefore, the education of the Diocese be superintended by a Canon residentiary, he should be rather the overseer than the labourer, though it might be quite right that he should have so much work to do as would be compatible with his other duties and his growing years.

The Mission Work of a Diocese varies with the character of the Diocese. When, as has been tried in my own Diocese and elsewhere, Mission Work is organised for our great town populations, or for navvies, or miners, or the like, no one seems so fitted to lead such work as a member of the Chapter; it having been even held to be a special duty of canons to preach in the different parishes in the Diocese, especially where the Chapter may have property. But, moreover, the general organizing of Mission Work and the administering of the affairs of Missionary Societies, both home and foreign, might well be entrusted to Cathedral functionaries.

As to the Theological lecturer, every old foundation Cathedral had such an officer in the person of its Chancellor. If a Theological College be formed in the city, the Chancellor or Theological lecturer would naturally be its Warden or Principal. Otherwise, there are many ways in which Theological lectures may be made profitable, as has been shown at Worcester, in St. Paul's, and elsewhere; and

such lectures might be given from time to time in other towns of the Diocese beside the Cathedral town. Again, in the old Cathedrals there was always one officer, the next in rank to the Dean, who superintended the services of the Church, and to whom the ministers and choristers were responsible. In some Cathedrals these functions of the Precentor have been revived. Whether they could not be sufficiently performed by the Dean and Canon in residence is worth considering. At all events, from somewhat large Cathedral experience, I have a strong opinion that they ought to be committed to one (or to all) of the governing body, not to a minor canon, as in the new Cathedrals. Knowledge of music is not nearly so necessary to such an officer as authority and power to enforce obedience. I would say here more distinctly, what perhaps I have already hinted, that the particular duties should not be assigned inseparably to particular Canons. I would not turn a man out of his stall, because he had not proved specially efficient in one kind of Diocesan work, or because he had grown too old for it. It might be left to the Bishop and Chapter either to transfer a Canon from one stall to another, or to transfer the work from one Canon to another.

I do not wish to confine the duties of Canons to Education, Mission Work, Theological Lectures, and direction of the Services of the Church. It would be well that all Diocesan work should be more or less connected with the Chapter. In its efficient performance the qualifications of a Canon should be one or more of the following gifts:—Learning, especially theological—preaching, speaking, and writing power, skill in organization, knowledge of and success in parochial and school work; you will perhaps smile if I add, social culture and refinement, at least of mind, if possible of manner. I attach importance to this, because I believe refinement to be a natural product of true Christian grace, discernible in peasants as much as in peers; because it gilds and beautifies everything besides; because it influences all men and especially the coarsest and roughest; and because, as regards our present subject, I wish the Cathedral Church to be the model in every way for the whole Diocese, and it will never be so, if its clergy are not gentlemen as well as Christians. I confess to a feeling both of sorrow and alarm at the growing rudeness and roughness, both in dress and manner, among all classes, and especially among the clergy. Courtesy is of itself a Christian grace; it is the outward and visible sign of a Christian spirit.

I have said nothing yet about making all Canons reside. Indeed I can only speak on the subject with hesitation. I see great benefit to be derived from having a body of able men constantly residing in the Cathedral City, ready at all times for Diocesan work, and to be called on to act as the Council of the Diocese. I see also great good in having learned men with entire license to pursue literary and theological labours. Yet I have a strong feeling that the Canons of the Cathedral should be intimately connected and in fullest sympathy with the Parochial clergy, which latter object has hitherto been effected by the union of the Parish Priest and the Cathedral Canon in one person, and this union has been actually *enjoined* in the Statutes of Winchester and other Churches. I therefore hesitate to advise what many now most strongly insist on, the absolutely forbidding Canons

residential from holding rural benefices, and the confining them all to residence in the Close for eight or nine months in the year. But unless this is to be done, and even if it is to be done, we want a larger body of men for Diocesan work than can be provided by four residential stalls generally filled by elderly men, one or more of which may perhaps be attached to Archdeaconries. I would therefore strongly urge the importance of resuscitating the greater Chapter and giving life to the non-residential Prebends or Canonries. The chapters of the old foundation Cathedrals consisted of a very considerable number of Prebendaries, all of whom were available for the general duties of the Church in the Diocese. The division into Canons residential and Prebendaries non-resident was of comparatively recent date, and arose from insufficiency of revenue. The new foundation Chapters consisted of residential only, but they were far more numerous than at present, their numbers having been sadly diminished by recent legislation. There is no probability of, perhaps no necessity for, an increase of the residential; but it does seem possible to obtain, from some source or other, small endowments, not less than £50 nor perhaps more than £100 a year, for *some* of the non-residential stalls, to which might be attached certain Diocesan duties. There are many leading men in every Diocese who would be willing and able to undertake such duties in addition to the labours of their own parishes, and who would rejoice in having definite Diocesan work connected with a definite Cathedral and Diocesan position. We will suppose that there were twenty non-residential prebends, and that four of these were thus endowed. Inspection, Secretarial, Missionary, Conference, Choir, and Choral Festival work might be attached to them; the stipend to go with the work, and when the strength or efficiency failed, the stipend and the work, but not the prebendal stall, to be resigned, another prebendary or honorary Canon succeeding to the work and to the income.

I hope that honorary Canons will all be turned into Prebendaries, having a definite status in the Cathedral body, with a right to take part in the preaching and the services, and forming with the residential the Great Chapter of the Diocese. The term Prebendary is no doubt a misnomer; but it seems desirable to distinguish between the residential and the non-residential, and it was quite wrong to call the honorary Canons by the name of Canons, whilst the Prebendaries, who are not merely honorary officers, have what is thought a less distinguished title. The relation of the great chapter to the lesser chapter, and their respective functions, would have to be settled; but the difficulty of settling them need not be great. It seems to me that they all should vote at the election of proctor, and at the election of Bishop; all would be called to discuss great Diocesan subjects; but there are questions of frequent occurrence in which it would be quite as well that the Bishop should take counsel, but for the consideration of which a meeting of the greater Chapter would be cumbrous and unnecessary. I may add, if it be necessary to do so, that the Archdeacons should, as in the other foundations, always form part of the greater Chapter, and have their proper stalls and dignities assigned to them. It is quite wrong that they should be admitted into the Cathedral, as it

were by sufferance, and with no sufficient acknowledgment of their rank and importance.

To sum up, then, I submit that we want our Chapters to become, once more, truly Diocesan, especially to be the Diocesan Council of the Bishop; we want the Bishop and the Chapter to be closely and intimately connected; we want the greater part of the residentiary Chapter to be permanently or normally resident; each Canon having some special Diocesan work to do, though each particular work need not—and as I think should not—be inseparably attached to each particular stall; we want to revive the greater Chapter, to endow with small endowments some few of the non-residentiary stalls, so as to increase the number of those to whom Diocesan work should be assigned. I will just hint at one or two matters, in which the Bishop might consult the Chapter. Great questions of discipline must come before Diocesan Courts; but less grave questions might come before the Bishop in Chapter; and there are innumerable small dissensions in parishes between clergy and laity, clergy and churchwardens, rectors and curates, on which a Bishop has to decide or to advise, and on which his decision or counsel would be more weighty, if he were surrounded by his Chapter, whether greater or lesser. In the distribution of his patronage, the most anxious of all his duties, a Bishop would be much strengthened by constitutional advice. I may say that even grave scandals are less wearing to a Bishop, than the anxiety to act faithfully to a parish, and kindly to the curates and poorer clergy of a Diocese, in the appointment to a vacant living.

And this may lead me to speak of the election of the Canons themselves. I have never hesitated in my belief, a belief which I have often expressed in speech and in print, that it would be well to return to the mode of electing to Canonries which formerly prevailed in the old foundation Cathedrals. Let us have throughout the Church a body of Canons residentiary and of Prebendaries non-resident, a lesser and a greater Chapter; let the Bishop collate, as at present, to the non-residentiary stalls, but let the Chapter elect into the residentiary stalls from the members of the great Chapter, the holders of non-residentiary prebends or canonries. I would not let the Bishop nominate to a single residentiary stall, unless it were attached to an Archdeaconry. I think that this would effectually prevent nepotism, without interfering with the constitutional power of the Bishop. What is to be done with the Canonries in Crown gift, I know not. I do not deny that they are generally well bestowed; but full Cathedral development is inconsistent with their continuance. I have left myself no time for speaking of minor Canons. I wish they could once more be called *Priest Vicars*; yet I do not think the *College* of vicars was a happy institution. The minor Canons are, and ought to be, the *vicarii* of the Dean and Canons. Their position ought to be made as honourable as a subordinate position can be; but as it is and must be subordinate, care should be taken that no one should grow old in it. An elderly man should not be in the place of the younger, and the voice of the elder is seldom suited for leading the choir.

As to the lay vicars, lay clerks and choristers, I know no body

of men and boys more needing care and solicitude. They are subjected to unusual dangers and temptations, on which there is no need to dwell at present ; but the members of a Cathedral Chapter, the Clergy of all Churches where there are musical services, and all who have to train choirs of men and boys, may well give their most earnest heed to rescue them from the dangers, moral and spiritual, to which they are signally exposed. Those that lead the service of song ought to be eminently pious, humble, and pure. Long experience has taught me that they are in the greatest danger of indifference, even of unbelief ; of pride and vanity, and of intemperance, luxury, and impurity. Yet surely, if well taught and trained and guarded, they ought to be the very leaven of a parish, of a precinct, of a city, and of a Diocese.

I have hastily sketched what I think should be the Cathedral of the future ; and the building up of such a Cathedral would be no true revolution, for it would be only rebuilding the ideal Cathedral of the past.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of TRURO.

UTILITARIANISM would once have been thought to have reached the end of its desecrations when it should attempt to make Cathedrals useful. Utilitarianism has consecrated itself by the aspiration. We have come to believe that the Venerable and the Beautiful are not marred by serviceableness ; nay, that these are somehow the highest expressions of usefulness. Institutions are tenfold effective which take the gale of modern life on wings of antiquity and beauty. " Ancient institutes let alone will not meet the needs and business of modern days," was the motto of a Cathedral Reformer five hundred years ago. Inspired with this, he made old buildings more magnificent, old rituals more effective, re-cast without any obliteration the voluminous laws of a chapter which ruled with himself the third part of the Church of England ; and then he went on to frame the statutes of what is still the grandest boys' school in Europe.

Reverently and gently, we hope, are the responsibilities undertaken of those who are charged with reviewing England's Cathedrals yet once again. The subject, so far as I know, is talked out up to the measure of our present knowledge. To them we look not only to advise upon certain institutions, but by their researches to add extensively to our imperfect knowledge of this great historical subject. There is no need now to deplore that commission which did not know that there was any knowledge to be had, or any needed ; whilst capitular bodies did little to disquiet their confidence by betraying their own acquaintance with any such science.

But even now there is much undiscovered that is more than curious. There is much that is uncertain, because it is uncollated and uncomparing. There are many opinions on the past, or even the existent, which do not rank higher than suspicions ; there are bold conceptions which *might* be, though I am far from saying they would be, as dynamite under our foundations. When all shall have

been examined into, it *may be* we shall find we *had* known enough about everything to have legislated now. Yet, as a very little more knowledge than they had would have kept those former legislators from irretrievable mistakes, so it *might* be again. One lesson, at least, has been acquired in the meantime—viz., that the great variety of constitutions is not accidental or capricious, but has material and final causes which have dictated and ought to regulate every modification. No Cathedral ought to be supplied with a *fresh* basis *now*.

And here personally, I cannot but feel a diffidence in venturing to address you, because, having made a little book on the matter, I have too much respect for my audience to reproduce it in disguise. And, again, after having worked for a while in the Church of the stateliest yet most compact of constitutions, I have been hurled by *you*—(i.e., as you represent the Church of England)—on the most unfurnished of promontories—unchurched, unchaptered, and unrevenued—and ἀδιαλείπτως δεόμενος.

There is a practical sagacity in the Christian instinct which in every language calls the Christian building by the same name as the Christian assembly. It is not so with other assemblies.—Parliament, council, municipality, congress, sit in hall, or house, or chamber. But, the world over, the Church's dwelling is called church. The spirit of man, though informed by the Spirit of God, cannot act on the world without its concrete material body. And thus from prelates and from dioceses, which have started with utterly diverse prepossessions, comes one voice, whether it be from Lahore or from the Rocky Mountains, Australia, Madagascar, Liverpool, Cornwall, that a See, to which a separate existence is assigned, must have provided for it a true Cathedral home, if work is at once to begin to be consistent and organic. But all this I say now, only because we must infer from it the *infinite* obligation to place existing foundations on the footing which shall make them as extensively operative, and their operation as intense, as possible. And this is the claim from within as well as from without.

When the boar-hunting canons of Alet heard of the advent of a pious bishop, they caused a votive picture to be painted of themselves, prostrate in surplices, with passages of Scripture issuing from their mouths, imploring celestial aid against the restoration of their duties. Some of our own chapters half-a-century ago (*mutatis mutandis*) drew pictures of themselves with the same object. But now how changed ! While prebendaries were *sine curâ* the *res* was everything. Now that they are *sine re* they are blessedly anxious for *cura*. Give us work. Restore our old work. Invent us new work. And above all be it corporate work. The very same men who are utterly devoting their separate lives to their separate parishes yearn for this central work, this corporate work, as an actual fount of strength ; while in some happy places (such as I knew of) unendowed canons come and reside the whole year round, not only labouring in the sacred offices, but at the call of the parish priests of the diocese pleading the Gospel by their side for weeks together, and training many students prosperously for Ordination and Parochial Life. *Sancta Paupertas*. Such are the creations of

Necessity—what, then, should those of Fulness be? Can we definitely state them?

What are the corporate and central works towards which both the heart and the brain of Churchmanship are determining? What are the problems with which isolations, whether personal or parochial, cannot deal? What are the functions which, though they may largely be fulfilled by the partial self-dedication of men who have their own spheres to direct, spending and spent for them, do further for their accurate and extensive discharge require the devotion of at least a few, disengaged from all *a*-vocations?

For clearness sake we may consider that every central force, whether moral or physical, causes two groups of action, the centrifugal and the centripetal.

I. The centrifugal force of a Cathedral is the radiation from it of spiritual influences—those, namely, which are either (*a*) evangelistic or (*b*) scientific.

And its centripetal force collects from the spiritual atmosphere diffused through the diocese contributions of influence to be exerted upon *it* which shall thence grow intense by their union, and thence reach in other forms. These influences would be (*a*) constructive, ædificatory, οἰκοδομικά, (*b*) consultative.

Each of these had its place in the original conception of Cathedrals. Each has left a fragment of itself somewhere in those old, deep quarries—and Church work now is a shifting sand-bank of atoms for want of more unifying forces.

(*a*) Evangelistic: Think of Lincoln with its constant visitations of their own numerous parishes, and its two itinerant canons always on circuit elsewhere; of Canterbury, with its six preachers and their horses; of Durham, with its twenty regular canons studying at home, and its twenty out preaching for their alternate six months.

Think how for want of this very organization in the Church—a want which must exist in the most settled societies, until spiritual highways and hedges shall be no more—how for want of it, Primitives, Bryanites, self-sent men with dogmas in every variety, Salvation Armies, lady evangelists, have been called and gone forth, but even with disintegrating—yes—*tritulating* energies, until the Church shall attend to this her specially commanded harvest work. If she undertook it with a vast sober force, a great proportion of that irregular work would cease, simply because it *is in earnest* to supply needs. The same man cannot be both pastor and evangelist in the same small area effectively, but in every pastor's sheepwalk much evangelising has to be done. The mass of evangelists within the Church will be what they are without it, poor men, working for love, expenses scarcely covered, but even these within as well as without must have settled heads, devoted to this one thing; and the Head Missioners' proper home is among the Cathedral canons. What essay has been tried in this sense God has sealed already—both abroad and at home.

(*b*) And there is yet an inner earlier evangelization. There is the training of both pastors and evangelists themselves—a scientific evangelization as distinguished from the popular one. There will always be the *Parables* of the Kingdom and the *Mysteries* of the

Kingdom. That the Mysteries may be so set forth in Parables, that the common people may hear them gladly, those Mysteries must be studied apart. Some one has thought it worth his while to say that he had not observed that the students of Theological Colleges were noticeably superior to those whose classical or other university course had been their theological training. But the very rise and history of schools so many and so good, as the Cathedral and other Diocesan Schools, is a plain evidence that the Universities, as they light and feed and animate every school, I may almost say every lesson in England, and effect almost more by the diffusion than by the concentration of their influences, so have indirectly at least caused, and have done well to cause, these Local Foci of Sacred Science and of Pastoral Discipline. The work now is to make what must continue to exist as true in tone and as perfect as may be. Nothing has ever done so much for this as the examination by the Theological Faculty of Cambridge. It is a fresh link in the strong and precious bond between those Faculties and the Cathedrals. One truest function of the University is to vivify, and at the same time to regulate, *all acquirement*.

I have said nothing to shew that the Cathedral is as of old the true focus for such labour and love. When Cathedrals are alive, no one can think of any other scene for them; and how they brighten the life of the most living Cathedrals, you may see if you will contemplate the freshest work and newest munificence of the most learned and loving of prelates.

As a second branch of the scientific help which should be in Cathedrals, we ought to think of them as the true places for Devotional Retreats. Under those roofs it is impossible to be cold, impossible to be fanatical; Pyrrhonists and Fanatics have always hated them. Oh! the half-angelic skill they could concentrate, if they would; the confidence they might command; the doctrine and the practice they might radiate; the soberness and the sincerity and the beauty!

There is need, there is wanting among us, not so much the contemplative life as the life that has been deeply touched by the influences of contemplation. I take up an essay by a famous free lance. I read thus:—"The maiden of twenty summers whose faith has been wrecked by clerical croquet——." I lay *that* down in disgust. I take up the Life and Letters of a most true Christian. I read, "The ordinary clerical life would be the death of my soul. By ordinary, I do not mean the low worldly standard, but the respectable and useful and actively busy." Take for granted, that both are exaggerated. Any residuum you allow is a witness to us, that occupation and ubiquity are made too much of by us. *Propter opus causas operandi perdere* would be a various reading true for us, who, even at the cost of leaving no *thoughts* behind us, want to leave no *work* for those who come after us.

And as yet a third branch of the same, I might be allowed perhaps to mention, how four Honorary Canons of a Cathedral, delivering each a lecture in eight different towns of a small diocese on modern Church-biographies, did a good work for winter evenings last year, and convinced us that an immense amount of power

might by very simple arrangements in any Cathedral be brought to bear on the vague theology and anti-theology, dreamed out in total ignorance of Scripture and of History, which together with the desire to discuss these subjects freely gives such character to our time.

II. But a word for the centripetal forces. As Augustine says "There was much for a learned Cyprian to teach, but there was also somewhat for a teachable Cyprian to learn ;" so there are things in which Mother Churches might be enriched by their Daughters. In some Cathedrals (as in some already) even the services, without losing aught of their peculiar peacefulness and dignity, might gain liberty and variety from extended observations. But such a *fact* is a modern accident—not originally planned. As to preaching, however, the old prebendal system, woven in as it is with the Chancellor's work, shews it to be actually part of the *idea*, that there should be systematic contribution from without. While Colet was lecturing on S. Paul at S. Paul's, Thomas More was lecturing on the *De Civitati Dei* in the nearest church; both their audiences were mainly mercantile. It was part of a scheme. The Church was doing its own work for its own renovation—and effectually.

Lastly: if there is a scheme that is (so far) utopian, and yet prosily practical, it is something which would lend simplification and unity to the valuable work of our shoals of committees. *Shoals*, I say, not for number only, but for complication too. There are committees which have to exercise the functions of bishops, and bishops who have to do committee work all alone; branches of the same work are conducted by parallel co-bodies which can never meet; tracts of work lie untouched by any committee, because no one can encounter the weariness of getting up a new one. It would be economical of time and toil were there a central body to recognise and to aid all, to distribute, and to combine committee work and committee people. Such body *exists* in the centre of every diocese, and its existence for a hundred years past has been like that of the four men in a lighthouse at sea. Well I know the impediments which rise and will be raised against its restoration to the community. But its future is sure, if distant.

Not ten years ago it was called unpractical, useless, utopian, oblivious of facts, to prepare to make the Cathedral the home of clerical training. Lincoln, Truro, Ely, Leeds, three cathedrals and one of our quasi-cathedrals, have in that short time become such homes in the most real way. This is the simplest, the least complicated, and most compassable of the stages of restoration, and so has come first. But patience and a touch of genius here and there will bring back the more difficult combinations one by one. "I keep the subject," said Sir Isaac Newton, "constantly before me, and wait till the first dawns open slowly, by little and little, into a fresh and clear light."

The whole wide English Church has in our day conceived the thought that vast charges within her commission are not wrought out; that they must be attempted if at all by grand, comprehensive, truly ecclesiastical forces; that she has received a very large portion of those forces by inheritance, and may command the rest. Let her then keep this subject constantly before her as did her philosopher.

Get more knowledge. Love freedom. Assist variety. Trust corporations more than solitaires.

Above all things let her remember that the true forces to be evoked are *spiritual*. She will tell us that "the dawnings" will not "open," but at the prayer of spiritual men. It is spiritual life we long for, not merely organic or intellectual life. If but one limb of the Church organisation suffer paralysis, it is not her own mere system that can restore it. It still is He—only He—who can look upon her, and perceive that she has faith to be healed, and bring back spiritual power. "Stretch forth *this* hand." Then it shall be restored whole as the other. And when it is——

S. Teresa was reproved for her unspiritual gaze on her heap of ducats. "Nay," she said, "the ducats can do nought and Teresa nought, but God, Teresa, and the ducats, can do great things." Put the spirit of Utilitarianism for Teresa, and Cathedrals for ducats; then, though Utilitarianism is naught, and Cathedrals have done little, yet Utilitarianism, plus Cathedrals, moved by the Spirit of God, shall work strange things in Sion.

The Rev. CANON G. TREVOR, D.D.

IN dealing with Cathedral Reform we are confronted with a phenomenon which I believe to be absolutely unique. All other institutions in the Church and State have been subjected to reforms which have done more harm than good. Still we believe in progress. Reform has been beneficial on the whole. It has brought our institutions into harmony with practical needs, if not with the original conception. With the Cathedrals alone the case is exactly the reverse. No reform was ever other than an unmitigated disaster to the Cathedral. Every change has left it less efficient for any useful purpose. And now that you ask, how "to strengthen the relations of the Cathedral to the diocese, and make it a more efficient centre of religious activity," I answer, without hesitation, that the very best solution of the problem, if it were possible, would be to make a clean sweep of all and every reform, and restore the Cathedrals to the condition in which they came from the founders in the dark ages.

This I propose to prove in the case of the Cathedral to which I have the honour to belong—the only one in England that, surviving the ravages of reform, still preserves the original type of the Old Foundation. First, however, I must supply the explanation of a phenomenon which might be incredible without it. It is a very simple one. No reform was ever intended to benefit the Cathedrals, but always some other object at their expense. In fact, Cathedrals have very early got into the way that goes down from Jerusalem to Jericho. They fell among Monks, Popes, Kings, Parliaments, and active in all Bishops, Papist, Protestant, and Orange Protestant. The Ignatian rule, "Do nothing without the Bishop," appears to be scrupulously observed on the road to Jericho. Its latest exemplification is the Ecclesiastical Commission. These great authorities would all protest against being called "robbers of churches," since

they sincerely believed they were making a better use of the plunder. So, by the way, did Robin Hood. The Monks were quite as conscientious reformers as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; in fact, they took a good deal less to private uses. They did not give away huge slices of Church cake to lessees, solicitors, surveyors, and land agents. They did not set up a civil establishment which costs as much as would endow four or five new Bishoprics. They applied it all to Church purposes, as they understood them; and after all it does not matter a pin to the Cathedrals whether their spoils are distributed to hungry beggars at the door of a monastery, or doled out in Whitehall-place among a mob of mendicant benefices. The process and the result are exactly the same to the victim. All alike stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.

You have only to look at the Cathedrals themselves to see what they have suffered. You will find sermons in the stones, though, perhaps, not good in everything. Just survey our present centres of religious activity and their relations to the diocese. We have still the stately fabrics mocking our puny efforts at imitation. They are the pride of their respective counties, and occasionally elicit great bursts of free-will offerings. Not less than £100,000 has been contributed to the restoration of York Minster in the present century. But this is little compared with the munificence of the dark ages. All our Cathedrals were built by private contributions; they had neither Church-rate nor Parliamentary grants. Kings gave a little from their own property, and took away much more; the mass of the contributions were free-will offerings of Bishops, Chapters, and the people worshipping at the Cathedral. York Minster was built and rebuilt four or five times over, each time on an increasing scale of magnificence, and the contributions flowed on without stint for eight centuries. Now we actually have not enough to keep it in repair. It costs £1,000 a year to arrest the ravages of time, and the fabric fund is only about 2s. 3d. We apply to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, all whose Cathedral property was subject as a first charge to the maintenance of the fabric and its services, and they will have nothing to say to us. They "pass by on the other side."

Further, when you look at these stupendous edifices, you see they were once magnificently arrayed; statues filled the empty niches, gold and colour glowed on walls and roof; the windows richly dight with myriad hues, the embroidered banners hanging from the carved work of tabernacle and screen, the precious jewels, the gold and silver vessels, and tapestries of great price adorning the altars,—all were the accumulated and ever-flowing free-will offerings of countless worshippers. The benighted people offered them for the glory of God and the good of souls, as well as they knew how. What the Reformers did with them will hardly bear investigation. Henry VIII swept York Minster of all its treasure, and his son devoured the treasurership. The reform was perfectly logical. "*Abrepto omni thesauro desiit thesaurarii munus.*" No more treasure ever came to York. The geese that laid the golden eggs were killed.

Our Minster is still a queen of beauty, *simplex munditiis*; but it cannot be denied that her charms are rather bare, and some unfashionable people would like to see her somewhat less *decolletée*. Then, besides the loss of raiment, look at the gaping wounds in nave and choir. Those spacious naves and long-drawn aisles tell of a full tide of human life once circulating in their arches. The mother church was meant to assemble her daughter parishes. The choirs with their long rows of empty stalls still bear the titles of a numerous priesthood. The throne is still there in its majestic solitude; but where is the Bishop? Too often he has removed his palace from the close, and his presence from the choir; the Chapter is no longer his council. I have heard a great prelate describe his Cathedral Church as the only one in the diocese in which he was not at liberty to preach. Another used to say he could never find a Chapter there—they were nothing but a verse. Perhaps it is not unnatural that a marriage by *præmunire* should begin with a little aversion; an endowed Church cannot be carried off, like a Sabine bride, without a struggle. Then a well-dowered heiress of ancient blood naturally stands upon the state and dignity of the family mansion. She cannot, of course, expect the Bishop to put up with a crown matrimonial: still, he need not run away from his wedded wife, to flirt with Archdeacons and Rural Deans in the summer-house!

But have we really a Dean and Chapter at every Cathedral? At starting undoubtedly there is a Dean, and the only genuine Cathedral reform since Magna Charta is the bringing him back into permanent residence. The value of this reform is attested by the present state of every Cathedral in the kingdom. His relations with the diocese, once extensive, have been unhappily extinguished by the impatience of modern Episcopacy of all authority but its own.

As for the Chapter (except at York) it has really become a verse—at best a paragraph of four or five verses, of which only one is legible at a time. The Canon in residence is a Protestant abuse. The English Reformation has sometimes been suspected of a tendency to Erastianism. It cannot be denied that it had a strong spice of Congregationalism, and between the two the Cathedrals had a bad time of it. The Papacy had so trampled out the diocesan organisation that our Reformers fell back on the precedents of the Hebrew monarchy, when all the people “bowed down their heads and worshipped the Lord and the King.” The Chapters, it seems, were not good at king-worship. Hence they lost the free election which Magna Charta rescued from a Papist tyrant and York more than any other Church long successfully asserted. Cranmer could see the advantage of many priests at a Cathedral Church, if it were only for the more frequent celebration of Holy Communion. He made a gallant stand for the schools of the prophets in the Cathedrals usurped by the Monks. But the Churches of the New Foundation were centres without radii in the dioceses. “They grew fine by degrees and beautifully less.” Somehow our Bishops have never seemed quite comfortable with their ecclesiastical spouses. They seem to have been always suspecting a conspiracy in the close, and a Riot Act was passed to disperse the conspirators. The 44th

Canon forbids Canons to be absent from their parochial benefices, under colour of their prebends, for more than a month ; such as are bound to residence, which they all were by the Cathedral statutes, were to "sort themselves," and the Bishop was to see it done. They reduced the residence to a single Canon, and the triumph of Congregationalism would have been complete, if the congregation had not dispersed also, and left the Canon alone in his glory, with his surplice and six little chorister boys around him.

The duties of the modern Canon in residence seem to elude definition as deftly as the archidiaconal functions. The position is unknown to our Cathedral statutes ; and duties are never mentioned in the later regulations ; their sole object is the money. At York the sermon on King Charles the Martyr's Day used to be preached by one of the four, but the Queen has abolished the anniversary. Now they can only take the turn of an absent Prebendary, and that is contested by his Vicars Choral. Some over-worked clergymen may be tempted to envy the lucky fellow who gets a year's salary for taking a quarter's holiday ; but there is another side to the shield, and I will show it you in the words of the editor of Gray's Poems, who was Precentor and Canon-Residentiary at York. Mr. Mason writes to Horace Walpole, 7th May, 1773 :—

Next Monday I go to live at York for three whole calendar months—*hard as my fate* is to quit the country for such a town. I mean to put my *Memoirs of Mr. Gray* to the press there, and to print the work leisurely, so that it may come out after next Christmas.*

Another residence was beguiled with the drama of *Elfrida*, which was represented on the York stage, and drew down the gallery in a song of the rev. Precentor's, beginning :—

The turtle tells her plaintive tale,
Sequestered in some shadowy vale.

It is pleasant to know that pastoral thoughts of some kind softened the hardness of the residentiary's fate. From his letter you might think him an Irish tenant, evicted from his proper home and put into another as a "caretaker ;" which I am told is the Irish appellation of a man who has nothing left to care for. The tables were now completely turned upon celibacy. The Canons were married, and flourishing in country parsonages. The Cathedral was doomed to single blessedness.

At York this reform is connected with the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William, who saved us from other things beside Pope and Popery, brass money, and wooden shoes. He dispensed with our Cathedral statutes with less right than his Popish predecessor dispensed with the statutes of the realm. The object of the Orange Ordinance was frankly avowed. The number of the residentiaries was reduced to secure a better income for the favoured four, and the residence was quartered to enable them to get another income elsewhere. The plurality is carefully preserved in the latest reforms, for the sake, I suppose, of the patronage. It is sometimes defended as invigorating the free

* *Correspondence*, 65 ; *Davies's Memoirs of York Press*, 262.

thought of the Cathedral by letting in a blast—a cold douche one of my brethren called it yesterday—from every quarter of the horizon. But wind is not light, and light is the better for uniting the rays instead of dispersing them through a quadrangular prism. The present arrangement reminds me of the lighthouse on Flamboro' Head, where two bright lights, of different colours, are chased by two blanks, alternately blazing and winking, while a drowning, droning bell keeps tolling on the rocks below.

Such is now your Cathedral centre of religious activity. Four absentees from other charges actively revolving round a residentiary Dean. If you ask for their relations with the diocese, the answer is found in the famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, "There are none." Three of our four are not even resident in the diocese, and one is serving in the sister Church of Scotland.

I am now to show you how our traveller was furnished when he set out from Jerusalem. In the Dean of Chester's volume of *Cathedral Essays* you will find a paper by Mr. Freeman, explaining the difference between the churches of the Old Foundation and the New, *i.e.*, the Cathedral Chapters remaining from before the Reformation and those which were founded (or reformed) by Henry VIII, on the suppression of the Monks. Another essay in the same volume, by the right rev. prelate who has preceded me on this occasion, discusses the relations of the Chapter to the Bishop. To those valuable testimonies from Wells and Lincoln, I am now to add the older and fuller evidence of York. Our Metropolitan Church is not only the first in rank and age of the Old Foundation, but the only one now retaining its distinctive feature in the constitution of the Chapter. All the rest have succumbed to a *fungus*, overgrowing the true Chapter and sucking out its corporate life. This is the greatest of Cathedral abuses, and the parent of all the rest. It turns the Cathedral into a monster with two heads; a large Chapter of Dignitaries and Prebendaries shrivelled up into a form, and a lesser one of Canons-Residentiary usurping all the powers of the corporation. This lesser Residentiary Chapter is the *fungus*: the true Chapter is the large one, and at York there is no other. Our Prebendaries are the Canons, and the Canons are the Prebendaries. The vulgar error which imagines these titles to distinguish two classes of preferment is the great vice of recent legislation. In Cathedral use they are two appellations of the same persons;—Canons because members of the Chapter, and Prebendaries as holding the *prebend* or benefice which gives the title to a voice in the Chapter. The Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer were the great dignitaries of the Cathedral; the Archdeacons and Prebendaries were dignitaries in the diocese. But Canon is not a title of dignity in either. Nor is it made a dignity by the suffix of "Residentiary." There is no such thing as a Residentiary Canon. By our statutes *all* the Canons or Prebendaries are equally bound to residence. A Residentiary is simply a Prebendary in residence at the Cathedral; and a non-Residentiary is a Prebendary out of residence: not necessarily out of his place—like dirt—because he has another place and duty in the diocese.

The alternate residence at the Cathedral and in the diocese is the essential feature of the Old Foundation.

It was introduced into England by the first Norman Archbishop of York, after rebuilding the Cathedral which the Conqueror laid in ashes. The two previous Churches of Paulinus and Albert retained the Culdee constitution of seven Canons living in community with the Bishop. As a missionary college, York was the mother church of English Christianity. As an academical one, it became the leading University of the west; the garden from which our great scholar Alcuin transplanted the flowers of letters into Germany and France. Canterbury was then nowhere.

William the Conqueror not only destroyed the Cathedral and City of York, but left hardly a roof-tree standing from the Humber to the Tyne. The parochial system was unequal to the task of redeeming the wilderness. With all its advantages the parochial system had the drawback of isolating the rural Clergy from the Bishop and the Mother Church. Archbishop Thomas determined to plant out the Chapter among them. He enlarged the number of the Canons, dissolved the common life, and divided the endowments at his disposal into three parts—one for the see, one for the service of the cathedral, and the third he distributed in *prebends*, or separate estates, to the several members of the Chapter. The tithes and glebes, of which these endowments mainly consisted, were not then divorced (as in later times) from the spiritual duties of the benefice. The Bishop, Chapter, and Prebendary were charged with the cure of souls in the parishes from which their emoluments were drawn. They were the actual rectors, with resident vicars, or, as we should now call them, assistant-curates under them. Hence the vicars were *collated*, *i.e.*, associated in the charge, not *presented*, as by a lay patron. It was the passion for parochial isolation that obliterated this distinction, and reduced the prebends from a cure of souls to a right of patronage.

The enlarged Chapter of York consisted of four great dignitaries—Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer—with thirty-six Canons, each holding a prebend in the diocese. The Sub-Dean, the Succentor Canonorum, and the five Archdeacons had stalls in the choir and place in processions, but were not members of the Chapter unless separately collated to a capitular prebend.

The four great dignitaries were to be in permanent residence at the Cathedral, like the four great columns which still sustain our central tower. The churches on their prebends and on the common estates of the Chapter were visited by the Dean and Sub-Dean, who acted as his Archdeacon. The other Prebendaries not only visited but resided on the prebends in the actual discharge of parochial duties, and for that purpose kept but a partial residence at the Cathedral. At first the time was divided under the direction of the Bishop. In 1221 the period of Cathedral residence for each Canon was fixed at six months, either at once or in two portions, leaving the other half of the year for the prebendal churches. This would give twenty-two Canons in concurrent residence, together with forty Vicars Choral, and fully as many Chaplains at different altars within the Cathedral. All these, however, could at no time

be depended upon. At a later period one dignitary and a quarter of the Prebendaries seem to have been thought enough. A statute of Henry VIII hints at the Residentiaries falling to three, and even one. Against this it was provided that no one should share in the common estate without actual residence. There was a daily distribution to those in attendance, and the surplus was divided among such as had kept the full term of six months. If only one were so qualified he took the whole. The stream of the regulations was to promote the obligation of residence.

Here was a very powerful centre of religious activity at the Cathedral; a stately Church with full and frequent services, a Dean elected by the Chapter, at the head of a large body of ecclesiastics, enjoying honours and emoluments exceeding many a Bishop's; a Precentor with two sub-chanters teaching and practising sacred music; a Chancellor, the old *magister scholæ*, uniting the grammar-school with the theological seminary; a Treasurer in charge of the fabric, vestments, and all the material requisites of worship; finally a constant succession of Prebendaries coming and going between the Cathedral and different parts of the diocese. It seems hardly possible to devise more efficient relations with the diocese.

The absence of the Bishops under the Papacy caused the prebendal responsibilities to stiffen into the peculiar jurisdictions which Episcopal impatience has lately swept out of its path. But the continuous interflow between the Cathedral and the dependent parishes was of the greatest advantage to both. The prebends often comprised two or more parish churches; some cathedrals had more prebends than York—Lincoln fifty-two, Salisbury fifty-three. They must have comprised a large proportion, perhaps the majority, of the parishes in the diocese. The Prebendaries dispersed abroad the Cathedral influence and brought back the parochial needs. They could introduce a village boy to the choir, the school, and the seminary. They could send him back in priest's orders to one of their vicarages. They were the joints and bands of the diocesan body, compacting and making increase unto the edifying of itself in love. The Chapter, in a word, was the incorporation of the diocese—to utter its voice in the election of the Bishop, to tender its homage at his enthronisation, to counsel him in the administration, and carry it on in the vacancy of the see. If the Bishop is the heart of the diocese, and his Synod the lungs, the Chapter was meant to be the *life-blood* circulating through both, and distributing the action to every part of the body.

The dead fly that caused the ointment to stink was non-residence. Our founder was a resident Bishop. The palace remained in the Minster-yard down to the Reformation. He governed both Archbishoprics for some years, being, in fact, the only Primate of All England since the Conquest; and not of England only, but of Scotland and the Danish islands to the north. Still, his pontificate of thirty years was mostly passed in his own diocese; he was no courtier to dance attendance on Popes or Kings. He lived among the people whom he had made his own. The biographer, who recalls his stately figure, his ruddy cheeks and hair like swansdown, dwells on his delight in the company of his clergy. He was a proficient in sacred

music; he composed and played upon the organ; but the joy of his heart was the unbroken harmony between himself, his Chapter, and the whole clergy. So long as the Bishop kept to his cathedral, the cathedral loved, honoured, and obeyed the Bishop; but when Bishops deserted their lawful wives for the "court, the camp, the mart," the example was followed by the Dignitaries and Prebendaries. The York preferments were much in request by the great men of the world, perhaps because (more than any other) our Chapter succeeded in filling the archiepiscopal see from its own body. But great men were not fond of keeping six months' residence in the Minster-yard, with its daily round of Divine service and washing of poor men's feet. Little men—of no mark in Church or State—were ready to relieve them for the sake of the emoluments. The most obscure and illiterate members of the Chapter, Canons fit for nothing else, made a trade of the residence, and then came a trades' union. Any one might absent himself and welcome; the fewer to share, the larger the dividend. All the efforts of the craft were employed to keep Prebendaries out of residence. In 1221 they made an order at York that no one should be reputed a resident unless he spent £100 a year, equal to at least £3,000 of our money. In Henry VIII's reign the residence had got into the hands of a clique who were accused of purloining the Church treasures. Most likely they were only putting them in hiding from the rapacity of the King; but having taken on themselves to exclude the non-resident brethren from the capitular meetings, the King issued a statute commanding that all who happened to be in the city, whether in residence or not, should be called to the Chapter meetings, inasmuch as all were plainly brethren and fellow Canons of the same Church. To this statute, issued by the *Supremum Caput* with the force of an Act of Parliament, we owe the integrity of the York Chapter, which has been lost in other churches. It was from pure ignorance, I believe, that we escaped the cutting and slashing Act of 1840, and I am not without some fear of further stripping and wounding at the hands of similar reformers.

When non-residence was allowed at the cathedral, it naturally spread to the dependent parishes. The Prebendary, excused from attendance at the mother church, excused himself from the daughter. With his vicar choral in the one, and his parochial vicar in the other, his conscience was at ease. He farmed his prebend to a lessee, left his jurisdiction to the official, and kept the patronage to himself; not always without some suspicion of trafficking. Cathedral preferments came to be valued as posts of profit and dignity, without duty. Scrupulous patrons gave them to favourites whom they would not trust with a cure of souls; others added them on like ciphers to increase the value of the figure.

So dwindled and sunk our cathedral centres of religious activity. A Dean surrounded by four revolving quarters of a Canon has three chances to one of the cipher getting before him instead of behind him. It needs a resolute man not to sink into a decimal, and it is just the best Deans who most feel the need of more vigorous support.

All cathedral reform is summed up in the single word "residence." Get the men in their places, and the duties will arrange themselves. The main thing is to have our prodigal sons home again.

The Bishop must come home to the cathedral close. That is always the first step in the restitution of conjugal rights. No cathedral can be a safe centre of religious activity while the Bishop is making a centre elsewhere. The second step is to restore the Chapter to the Bishop's confidence and counsel. I mean, of course, the true original Chapter, which may now include the Honorary Canons of the New Foundation. These two steps are in the Bishop's power without new legislation. Bishops can and do effect changes of residence, and it is just as easy to assemble the Chapter for counsel as the Archdeacon and Rural Deans. The two bodies, in fact, largely consist of the same persons; and it would add to the weight and stability of the consultation, if they were identical.

Legislation is needed to get rid of the fungus and restore the capitular powers to the corporate body. All that is wanted is to enable the Chapter, in concurrence with the Bishop, to redistribute the duties and revenues.

I hope the Bishops will be persuaded to restore to the Chapter the prebendal patronage which they put into their own pockets when the estates went to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. If we had been left to die on the road to Jericho, the Bishop of the diocese would naturally have been our heir-at-law; but, having preserved our lives, it was not like the Good Samaritan to possess themselves of the only thing left on our persons. In helping an old gentleman out of the gutter, it is not nice to pick his pocket of his gold watch on the plea of taking better care of it. I do not ask for myself the very little watch, a mere plaything, which the Act of 1840 gave to the Bishop of Lincoln, and he has since jobbed away to the Bishop of Manchester; but I do humbly insinuate that the Chapter of York would exercise that patronage quite as conscientiously as either of the right rev. prelates; and there is this to be said for the restitution, that really and honestly it is our property and not theirs. I know how little the old-fashioned distinctions of *meum* and *tuum* go for in the divine rage of ecclesiastical reform, but they are still something in the Church—if not in the churchyard.

Surely no loving Bishop will grudge his Chapter pin-money. I cannot understand why a "virtuous wife is a crown to her husband," and her *paraphernalia* are not held to be for the wife's virtue and the husband's honour. Our patronage is the remains of the jurisdiction which connected the cathedrals with the diocese; both got a bad name from the corruption and nepotism of the residential clique. But I venture to affirm that no patronage is more beneficially exercised, nor with so much satisfaction to the diocese, as that of the Chapter of York, since we got rid of the residential options. A body of clergymen beneficed in different parts of the diocese, dignified by the Bishop, too numerous and self-willed to be managed by private influence, and not large enough to be swayed by popular and party politics, can only proceed on the merits of the candidates known to themselves or attested by their brethren. We all desire variety in the forms of patronage, and surely it is better to reform the capitular exercise than to hand it over without reason or inquiry to the Bishops.

With the Bishop we want our dignitaries home again. The Dean

is already back; his residence should be nine months, instead of eight, for a reason which I shall presently assign.

The second great dignity of Precentor has for some years past been held at York by the Dean—a union which has the advantage of placing the entire services under one head. At York I would further charge the Dean with archidiaconal powers over the city parishes, so restoring some of his lost relations with the diocese.

The Chancellor must come into permanent residence like the Dean. He will be the Divinity Professor, Principal of the theological institution, and Minister of Education in the diocese. One other dignitary at least in permanent residence is required for the united offices of Sub-Dean and Treasurer.

To endow the Chancellor and Sub-Dean without pluralities would take at York three-fourths of the revenues now wasted on the Canons-Residentiary. The remaining fourth I would divide among twelve of the Prebendaries annually selected by the Chapter for a month's residence in succession. It would give £50 or £60 a-piece just to cover the expenses. This cursory residence, supplementary to the permanent residence of the dignitaries, would constitute a better diocesan representation than is now supplied by the prebendal sermons.

The relations with the diocese would be further strengthened if the dignitaries were to employ a part of their residence in diocesan work. If the term were fixed at nine months instead of eight, each of the three might give a month or six weeks, *conjunctim aut divisim*, to school inspection, missions, and such like. Bearing in mind that they will have no other homes, and three months in the year will be still at their private disposal, of which few would care to make an entire holiday, I cannot doubt that the cathedral and the diocese would be welded into very intimate and beneficial relations by the interchange of duties now suggested.

Please to remember that I am speaking only of our own impoverished metropolitan cathedral. Other churches may be differently circumstanced; each should be empowered to do the best with the means at its disposal. One of the great vices of recent legislation is the setting up an arbitrary procrustean standard for cathedral cities and dioceses so obviously unlike as York and Canterbury, London and Rochester, Manchester and Ripon.

One caution applies to all. You must not let the Bishops alienate another shilling for any purpose whatsoever. They want suffragan bishops, archdeacons, school inspectors, parochial augmentations, and what not. But we want all the little that remains to us for a vigorous cathedral and diocesan incorporation. The Bishop will have free use of its members consistently with their place in the corporate body; and to a Bishop in harmony with his Chapter nothing more can be needed. If you once fall back into the old way of stripping and wounding, you had better give up at once all hope of a living cathedral, and leave the poor wretches to perish on the road to Jericho.

The Rev. W. M. CAMPION, D.D.

THAT public opinion is on the eve of demanding some change in Cathedral laws and customs is, I think, sufficiently shown by the sitting of a Royal Commission of inquiry respecting Cathedral Foundations. The appointment of that Commission has brought before Churchmen, specially as it were, the subject of the relation of the Cathedral to the Diocese. To it we no doubt owe the present discussion. And it is, I think, well that the subject should be discussed as fully as possible, in order that, if possible, through the conflict of opinion, a wise plan of reform may be ascertained, which, while preserving the integrity of these glorious institutions, may extend their influence, increase their efficiency, and so exalt their true dignity.

In view of this Royal Commission a Committee was appointed at the Ely Diocesan Conference of June, 1879, to report to the Conference of 1880 upon the relations of Ely Cathedral to the Diocese, and to offer such practical suggestions upon the subject as should appear desirable.

The Report of that Committee, on which I had the honour to serve, was presented to the last Ely Diocesan Conference, discussed in the Conference, and, after revision, adopted. As I am in full accord with the conclusions arrived at by the conference, I shall use this opportunity of bringing them before you. They have the merit of being practical, whatever other merits they may lack.

In considering the subject of the relation of the Cathedral Church of the Diocese to the Diocese at large, the first question which suggests itself is, *What should be the relation of the Bishop of the Diocese to the Cathedral Church of the Diocese?* In attempting to answer the question, one would naturally advance from the customary to the desirable, and to suggest such modifications only of the existing state of things as the present needs of the Diocese may seem to require. But this cannot be done. For the relation of the Bishop of the Diocese to his Cathedral Church has not been defined, and may, for practical purposes, be classed among things unknown. Lay Churchmen may be surprised to hear that Chancellor Brunel, who has investigated the subject with great care, has shown that the position of the Bishop in relation to the Cathedral cannot be ascertained with any approach to certainty. As an instance of the obscurity of the subject, I may mention that, while it is admitted that the Bishop has a right to the use of the Cathedral for Ordination Services, his right to appoint a preacher to address the candidates at such services has been disputed. Now, without entering into further details on this uncertain, yet important, subject, I would ask, Has not the time come for clearing away the mists that overhang it, and for defining what the relation of the Bishop to what is tenderly called the *Mother Church* of the diocese should be.

To me it seems but reasonable that the Bishop should have full power to use the Cathedral Church for Diocesan purposes, whenever it is not required by the Dean and Chapter for the proper discharge of their statutable duties. It would not be unreasonable even, I think, that the Bishop should be empowered to supersede those

statutable duties, under expressed conditions, on occasions specially important. The conclusion arrived at by the Ely Conference was as follows :—

“ Your committee are of opinion that the position of the Bishop in relation to the Cathedral Church, and its use as the Mother Church of the Diocese ought to be defined and extended if necessary. As, however, the use of the Cathedral Church by the Bishop would require the co-operation of the Cathedral Authority, your committee are of opinion that such Authority should be consulted by the Bishop before he uses the church for Diocesan purposes.”

With respect to change in the duties of the Dean, the Ely Conference made no recommendation, except so far as those duties might be incidentally affected by the other resolutions of the Conference on the subject. I am not prepared to offer suggestions on a subject on which the Conference thought it judicious to be silent; but I cannot refrain from expressing the desire that whatever change in Cathedral laws and customs be made, no room will be left for the sarcasm that one purpose for which the Dean is placed in the Cathedral Church of the Diocese is to keep the Bishop of the Diocese out of it.

There is, I think, a growing feeling among Churchmen that the Canons of the Cathedral should find their home in the Cathedral Close. There is also a growing feeling, shared by the Canons themselves, that special work should be assigned to them, so that the relations of the Cathedral to the Diocese might be strengthened. Now it is clear that if the Cathedral is to become an efficient centre of religious activity, such a result can only be secured by the Canons discharging duties in addition to those now prescribed by the Cathedral Statutes, and working from the Cathedral as a centre. The first reform, therefore, to be effected is to make residence the rule, and non-residence the exception; so that while each Canon should be bound to nine months' residence in his residentiary house, power should be given to the Bishop, for due cause shown, in the interests of sacred learning or other religious interests of the Diocese, or of the Church at large, to dispense with the additional residence, which it is proposed to require. The resolutions passed by the Ely Diocesan Conference on this vitally important subject were, “ That the necessary residence of the Canons be nine months in every year, subject to a dispensing power to be exercised by the Bishop for the purpose of Diocesan work, or for work for the benefit of the Church at large;” and “ that in each case in which the Bishop exercises this dispensing power, he shall cause the reasons for his doing so to be entered in the Diocesan Registry, and to be notified to the Dean and Chapter for entry in a book to be kept for the purpose.”

The conditions under which the Bishop's dispensing power is to be exercised, according to this resolution, would be, I think, sufficient to guard him from unreasonable applications for such an indulgence.

The requirement of additional residence would naturally call for the imposition of additional duties to be discharged. How are such duties to be imposed? It will be necessary to guard against an

undue rigidity in the reformed organisation of the Cathedral, as well as to guard against an undue laxity. Hence, I think, that it would not be desirable that special offices or appointments should be annexed by Statute to the several Canonries in the gift of the Bishop. Were such an annexation made by Statute, it might soon be found that the duties assigned to the occupant of a particular stall were not pressing for discharge, and that services, other than those so appointed, were required by the Diocese. Indeed, considering the varying wants of the Church at the present day, it seems to me that what I may call an elastic Cathedral system is needed, if the Cathedral officers are not only to be brought into relation with the Diocese at large, but are also to continue efficiently in that relation. Hence it seems necessary that some Ecclesiastical Authority should be entrusted with the power of prescribing duties to Canons, and of modifying, from time to time, the duties so prescribed. Not that the Canon should have his sphere of work altered, from time to time, by the will of any superior authority against his own will, but that the new system should admit of such alterations being made under conditions in which the rights of the individual should be carefully guarded, as well as the needs of the Diocese cared for. Such an Ecclesiastical Authority then being, as I think, a necessary element of the new system, there can be no question, according to my judgment, that the only Ecclesiastical Authority to be entrusted with the power of imposing duties on Canons, and of modifying duties so imposed, should be the Bishop of the Diocese. The Bishop is the head of the Ecclesiastical organisation of his Diocese. He is placed in a position in which he can ascertain, more accurately than any one else, the special needs of his Diocese. He is the responsible officer to whom the whole Church looks for a constant endeavour to supply such needs. He is the Master Builder to whom is committed the weighty charge of superintending the whole work of Christian edification in the Diocese. No one can relieve him of this responsibility. The burden must be borne on his shoulders. Should we not, therefore, as Churchmen, strive to aid him in his work, by removing as far as possible hindrances that unnecessarily restrain him, and by supplying him with facilities for making effective progress in his sacred labours?

Feeling as I do on this subject, I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing my most hearty concurrence with the following resolutions passed in the Ely Diocesan Conference:—

“The Bishop may, after consultation with the Dean and Chapter, impose on each Canon appointed by him, at the time of his appointment, such duties, not inconsistent with the duties prescribed by Statute, as, having regard to the interests of sacred learning or other religious interests of the Diocese, he may think fit. Such duties shall be recorded in the Diocesan Registry at the time of the appointment, and shall be notified to the Dean and Chapter for entry in a book to be kept for the purpose. The Canon, upon whom such duties are imposed, shall be bound to the discharge of them as if they were enjoined in the Cathedral Statutes.”

“The Bishop may, with the assent of the Dean and Chapter,

dispense with any of the duties imposed by him on any Canon, and may, with the consent of such Canon, and after consultation with the Dean and Chapter, impose upon him any new duties, having a like regard to the interests of the Diocese."

In these resolutions it will be observed that due consideration is shown both for the Cathedral body and for the individual Canon. It is recommended that, before the appointment of the new Canon, the Dean and Chapter be consulted by the Bishop; that the Canon be made aware beforehand of the duties which he will be called on to discharge if he accept the appointment; that the duties so imposed may not be dispensed with by the Bishop without the assent of the Dean and Chapter; and that no duties may be imposed on the Canon against his will.

The objection may, perhaps, occur to some that the dignity of position of the Canon may be impaired by his acceptance of office under such conditions. A sufficient answer to such an objection is that, in this matter, nothing is to be done without the Bishop. Surely we may trust the Bishop not to impose duties inconsistent with the dignity of the officers of his Cathedral Church. Those officers will be brought into constant and intimate association with him. They will be working for a common object, dear, it must be supposed, to them and to him, the edification of the Church in the Diocese. And they will be walking in a path of duty marked out for them before their acceptance of office, a path along which they may walk in honest independence of spirit, cheered by the thought that they are working for the Church in the Church's way—a way in which they may show to the world the dignity of labour.

Let me call attention also to the point, that the Reform here proposed is a strictly Conservative Reform. It is not proposed that the Bishop *shall* impose duties on the Canons appointed by him. The imposition of such duties is left to his discretion. Should he, in the exercise of that discretion, consider that the duties at present fulfilled by the Canons are sufficient, he will be content with them. Should he, under his great responsibility, deem that the special needs of his Diocese call for a more extended sphere of action on the part of the Canons, he will seek out men fitted for the work to be done, and will impose on them a willing service. The increased power thus given to him will be exercised under an increased responsibility. The imposition of additional duties on any Canon must be preceded by the Bishop's taking on his own shoulders an increased burden of anxious care.

Of course the scheme of Cathedral organisation, now suggested, can be brought into operation in those Cathedrals alone where a sufficient stipend is provided for the Canons. Cathedrals, in which the Canonries are poorly endowed, must wait for better times. What may be done at Ely cannot be done at Llandaff. But I cannot receive it as an axiom, that all Cathedral organisation should be framed according to the same model. Nor can I consider the existence of poorly-endowed Cathedrals a sufficient reason why well-endowed Cathedrals should not make the best use of their funds. The Church does not expect the Cathedral bodies to work without means, but it expects work from such as have means. I even

venture to hope that if the scheme proposed by the Ely Conference be adopted, and be found to work beneficially for the Church in the Ely Diocese, means will ere long be forthcoming to enable the poorer foundations to follow the example.

One word more. If steps be taken for making each Cathedral a more efficient centre of religious activity, it must be constantly borne in mind, that such efficiency has to be maintained as well as called into action, and that no efficiency can be maintained unless provision be made for exonerating from work any Canon, who from age, infirmity, or other cause, shall become incompetent to perform the duties imposed on him. It may be difficult without ample funds to frame a scheme for the retirement of Canons, satisfactory to all interested; but I am myself strongly of opinion that such a scheme is of primary importance. There is not time now to discuss the subject, which will receive, I hope, from the Royal Commission the attention which it deserves. The problem, I admit, is difficult; but I cannot admit that it is insoluble. What has been found practicable in the case of the Parochial Clergy cannot be impracticable in the case of their Cathedral brethren.

The resolutions passed at the Ely Diocesan Conference on this subject are as follows:—

“That provision should be made for the compulsory retirement of a Canon who has from age, infirmity, or other cause, become incompetent to perform the duties imposed on him.”

“That if by reason of sickness, necessary absence from the Diocese, or other and sufficient cause, any Canon appointed by the Bishop desire to have a deputy to discharge any of the duties imposed on him by the Bishop, he may, with the written consent of the Bishop, appoint a deputy to discharge such duties; and such deputy shall be approved by the Bishop, and his approval shall be given in writing under the hand of the Bishop, and shall specify the time, not exceeding one year, and not renewable beyond the second year without the consent of the Archbishop, for which the deputy is to be appointed, and the stipend which he is to receive, such stipend being paid by the Canon, and being not more than one-third of the whole annual income of the Canon.”

ADDRESSES.

The Right Hon. A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.

THIS is by no means the first time I have spoken on this subject at a Congress. I speak on it now with less freedom and more responsibility. Her Majesty has been pleased to put me on the Cathedral Commission, and therefore every word that has been said on the subject to-day comes to me in a very practical form; and I should have felt it difficult to speak on it to-day at all, but my task has been much lightened by the recent Charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury. A great deal of what we are doing is, I need hardly say, not an open secret; but of one thing I can assure you, the Cathedral Commission is actuated by but one desire—*viz.*, the desire to make the Cathedrals efficient. We are not an innovating Commission. We are not a confiscating Commission. We are an

improving and developing Commission. We wish to take up and develop the Cathedrals of the old foundations, borrowing the best features of the new; and, to improve the new Cathedrals, borrowing the best features of the old. We wish to preserve the best features both of the old and of the new foundations, and yet leave them their distinctive characteristics as old and new foundations.

It is a remarkable thing, as showing the unanimity of the Commissioners, that although we have sat some thirty times, not a single formal division has as yet been recorded on our minute book. There is this gratifying thing to remark, that when that most valuable Ely paper came before us, we noticed with pleasure and surprise that the Ely Committee and ourselves had been unconsciously travelling along the same lines, and coming to curiously similar conclusions. We were both looking at the old and the new foundations, and there was a striking resemblance in the mode in which both were dealing with either.

The strong point in the old foundation was the wide circumference of the Cathedral institutions. Its weak point was at the centre. In the new foundation, the centre was strong, but the circumference was weak. It is particularly noticed in the office of Dean. The Dean of the old and the Dean of the new foundation were different men. It required a little study to find out the difference, but I believe we have found it out. The Dean of the old foundation occupied a more responsible position than the Dean of the new foundation. The Dean of the old foundation was charged with penitentiary and disciplinary duties. A great simplification of penitentiary discipline took place at the time of the Reformation; further change was made in later times, and the office gradually became less responsible. Henry VIII's Dean was an administrative officer, more of the modern type; and it has happened, without praise or blame to either side, that the Dean of the old foundation is a more *indiscriminate* officer than the Dean of the new; and that, of course, does not make the two identical.

The Bishop of Winchester has spoken of the control of the devotional services in the new foundations being in the hands of the subordinate officer—the Precentor, only a Minor Canon. On the other hand, a great scandal has grown up in the old foundations, wherever, not as at Lincoln, St. Paul's, and other Cathedrals, the Precentor is an unknown quantity. I cannot tell you exactly what we are doing in regard to that matter. It is a difficult point. But I will tell you what was done by a great and good Dean lately gone to rest—Dr. Duncombe, late Dean of York. Dr. Duncombe became a pluralist; he filled the office of both Dean and Precentor, and each admirably.

There is another point in the speech of the Bishop of Winchester to which I rejoiced to hear him refer, and that is as to the power of endowing Canons non-residentiary with small stipends for specific work. Among the many events of a long public life to which I can look back with pleasure, I regard with unalloyed satisfaction the fact of my having been enabled to pass in 1873 an Act of Parliament for the purpose of making that very thing possible. The Bishop of Winchester has pointed out that that measure has been taken advantage of only at St. Paul's; but there is no reason why it should not be taken advantage of at every Cathedral, whether of the old or of the new foundation.

Reference has also been made to the anomalous position of the Bishop in regard to appointing preachers. I agree with the Canon of York that it is a scandal that the Bishop should not be allowed to appoint a preacher, even at Ordination; but I hope that in a year or two that will not be the case. The Bishop of Truro has spoken of lectures, and the grand results which at Truro have been experienced in that respect. I hope improvement may be possible in that direction also. I hope that these lectures may extend, and that to lecture will be regarded as one of the many duties which ought to be assigned to the different Canons. Let me state also how thoroughly I agree with him in his learned and very able

argument about making the appointment of specific officers not life-long but terminable according to circumstances; and I daresay that the Bishop of Truro will agree with me that one of the reasons for the collapse of the old foundation was that it was too rigid. If it had been a little more elastic, it would not have failed, as in so many cases it has.

Complaints have been made that the Church has a whole shoal of Committees sitting upon it; but let it not be forgotten that the great duty of Committees is to keep that great and dangerous class of the fussy idle portion of the world out of mischief. Canon Trevor and Dr. Campion have dwelt on the great fact of the old Cathedrals not being necessarily identical, and on other points requiring consideration.

I need not refer to the suggestions which have been thrown out in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Charge; but the Archbishop of Canterbury made one reference which has been singularly misunderstood. His Grace alluded to a certain clause in a certain Act of Parliament passed a few years ago under the influence of the Archbishop of York, enabling the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to grant increased stipends, not to Canons, but to minor officers of Cathedrals. Upon that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have not yet acted. We are at any rate strongly convinced that their reasons for not acting are reasons potent in the empire of red tape, but they are very rotten bonds indeed in the empire of common sense. I, for one, hope that those bonds of red tape will be broken through, and that the Commission will be called upon to do its duty.

Our omniscient, omnipresent, more than metropolitan—imperial guide—that daily paper, which we all read, was strangely misled and misleading when it conjured up that wonderful phantom of an infinite confiscation of the bread of the small parsons. They have sent round the firebrand; a meeting has been called at Whitehall Place, and when they have gathered, and the parsons see how they have been misled, I hope they will not go and smash the windows of Printing House Square.

With regard to the Cathedral Commission, it will, of course, be some time before we can make a formal report, and a much longer time before anything we may recommend can be legalized. Our method is to take Cathedral by Cathedral. As yet we have grappled with less than half of them in any shape, and have not yet quite completed any one. The one with which we have made most progress is, naturally, Canterbury. The more haste the less speed. We might, in the rashness of wishing to satisfy the public, do something we might have to spend the rest of our days in deploring. I therefore ask the public to trust the Cathedral Commission, and believe that it is doing its duty.

We are convinced that the Cathedrals, instead of being superfluous ornaments, are really amongst the most living, important institutions in God's Church, and particularly needed in the Church of England now; and, God helping us, we mean, not to sweep them away, or to use them as milch cows for other things, but to strengthen and develop them in the present, and to give them additional powers to be more developed, made more strong and efficacious, as ages roll on.

C. MAGNIAC, Esq., M.P.

IF I had known the ordeal I see I am about to undergo, I should have hesitated before accepting the invitation I received to speak at this Congress. The fact of my having been a member of the Ely Cathedral Committee, which has been referred to, is no doubt the reason why I was selected as one of the speakers on this subject. I have no pretension whatever to what has been termed clerical laymanship. I am simply an average layman; and, from what I have heard and seen at this Congress, I think it an exceedingly good thing for the Church that the average

layman should come forward and, however imperfectly or inadequately, give such an account of his own experience as may be useful to illustrate the point of view from which he regards Church matters.

Now, when this discussion commenced, or just before it commenced, a friend said to me—"Are you going to be a victim or a persecutor?" I had to consider what he meant, and I translated what he said to mean—"Are you an opponent or a supporter of the present Cathedral system?" I said—"On the whole, I am afraid I must take the *rôle* of persecutor." But after the two bishops who spoke at the commencement had concluded their papers, I was somewhat depressed by the feeling that in the *rôle* of persecution in that sense very little remained for me to say. They are as earnest reformers as any I conversed with at the Ely Diocesan Conference. I received great comfort from the paper of the Canon of York; because he told us that, up to the present time, notwithstanding the numerous efforts of Parliamentary and other Commissioners, no reform had been of any benefit whatever either to the Church or to Cathedrals. I at once felt then that there must be something to be done, and the conclusion I drew from his statement was this—that reforms to be effectual must come from within as well as from without, and that reform in the Church must be by lay and clerical co-operation. Upon these lines we endeavoured to get the report of the Ely Committee framed; but I do not think I transgress the bounds of confidence when I say that the atmospheric conditions at Ely were different from what they are here. We had a galaxy of Deans, Canons, and Archdeacons. They were sitting on their own thrones, and no doubt were surprised that iconoclastic laymen like myself should throw stones at their institutions. There was not that unanimity of opinion which might be inferred from the paper by Dr. Campion; but, if gentlemen who take an interest in the subject will take the trouble to read the report of that Conference, and the proceedings which took place on the report of the Committee, they will see that in the direction indicated by the two Right Rev. Bishops there was a very large minority who went heartily and strongly with them. There was a large clerical element in the Diocesan Conference; we were to a certain extent overweighted thereby, and the greatest difficulty we had to contend with is what is called "the Church at large." I have the greatest respect for the Church at large, otherwise I should not be here; but the Church at large has been made use of to increase the difficulty we have in dealing with Cathedral institutions.

It is not for me to question the influence Cathedrals have had in the past in regard to the Church at large. They have exercised great and beneficial influence. Undoubtedly, in the earlier times, the use and purpose of the Cathedrals was to serve the interests of the Church at large. In Saxon times, each kingdom of the Heptarchy had its own Cathedral body. It was the centre from which the missionary clergy sallied out to diffuse Christianity and found the Church in the yet uncultivated field of semi-Paganism. Subsequently, when Henry established the Cathedrals of the new foundation upon the suppressed monasteries, conventual institutions such as these could have had no concern with dioceses. Their province had been the Church at large in its widest sense, and so it continued to be for many a long year. But that was in spite of, and not in compliance with, the intentions of the founders as expressed in the original deeds of foundation, and still more clearly as they came to be altered to suit the changed circumstances of late times. Examine the statutes of any Cathedral you choose, you will find that the Diocese is the leading idea throughout, and that the spiritual charge of the locality was the primary object of its existence.

I am quite aware that that principle has been rudely broken in upon by the legislation of the last forty years, which have seen Cathedral institutions not only diverted from the uses for which they were founded to those of the Church at large, but even further—their endowments converted from religious to secular uses; Cathedral appointments granted, not for

Church, but for political services; and Cathedral chapters, their officers, their duties and employments diverging so widely from their original intention that, so far as the Diocese in which they were situated was concerned, they might be said to be non-existent. I will not say that some do not approve of this, for some do. Some respected friends of mine are of opinion that the Church at large is the primary object of Cathedrals. We know that there are those whose conception of life is to find their duty in everybody else's business. But I prefer the institution originally intended for the Diocese; and, it being so intended, let the first duty of the Cathedral officer be towards the Diocese, and then, if he has time and opportunity and the will, let him, if he pleases, address himself to the Church at large. The basis of the Diocesan system is an aggregation of parishes, each with its separate wants, but also with wants which are almost identical. We have the Bishop as the spiritual head of these parishes. Is it too much to say that he should be the connecting link between them and the great institution of which he is the nominal head, elected as he is by the Canons, who in turn are appointed by himself?

On the other hand, let the Chapter resume their duties as the council of the Bishop, to whom questions of Diocesan interest could be referred. It appears to me that it might be so, and all that has been said on the subject of Chapters points to the method by which it could be done. It is perfectly true, that, if it is done, the Bishop will have to give up some portion of his authority, because it would be useless and foolish to give consultative power to the Chapter, unless he gave weight and importance to the opinions of its members. On the other hand, if this be so, the Chapter must take the rough with the smooth. With the duties of residence it must take the disadvantage, if disadvantage it be, as to the work. That is the prosaic view we laymen taken of the matter. I venture to sum it up in the word "work"—and hard work, too. If we admit the principle that work is to be the order of the day, there is plenty of work to be done. We all know that to be the case in every Diocese and parish; and if we once admit the principle of work it may be safely left to those who so worthily occupy the position of Canons, to apportion it among themselves in the manner best suited to their particular qualifications.

With regard to the advantages of a Council, is it possible to overrate them? Can any layman say he is satisfied at the present moment with the disciplinary conduct of the parishes of the Diocese in which he lives? Everyone knows, from the present condition of things, with what weight an expression of opinion emanating from the authority of a number of wise and pious clergymen, working for God's sake, would be received; and it is really impossible to expect from any one man, however high his position and however great his authority, that his single opinion will command the same respect as a Diocesan Council such as I have indicated. The discipline of the clergy, so far as laymen regard it, is at the present moment in the most dangerous condition. You not only have no law, but clerical laymen tell me you will not go to Parliament for it. If, then, you will not have law, you must have moral influence—moral influence which will be of weight in enjoining what law would enforce. I am not prepared to say that moral influence would have as good an effect in the long run as law, but at the present moment you have neither the one nor the other; and by instituting such a Council, the Bishop would have that assistance in his management of the discipline and in the conduct of the affairs of the Diocese, which would, I believe, prove one of the greatest gains the Church has experienced this century.

Then I come to the Canons. If the Canons are to undertake the responsibility, they must do the duty which attaches to it. Dr. Campion has told you the decision we came to at the Ely Conference. He has told you that the Conference decided that the term of residence for a Canon should be nine months in the year. I ought to explain that term "residence." It was used in its technical sense. Residence should mean work

in the Diocese. It should not mean merely living in one house, preaching one sermon a-week, appearing in surplice on certain state occasions to perform certain offices required by the laws of the Church. But "residence" should be translated into "Diocesan work," and in that term there should be union and communion between Diocese and Chapter. It seems to me a very simple and plain course to pursue. But that is not the view taken by some of the Canons and Diocesans concerned in the matter. The greatest weight, no doubt, is to be attached to any expression of opinion from dignitaries so high placed as they are, especially when their status and position in the Church are considered. Some of these gentlemen have told us, that such a condition, attaching special Diocesan work to the duties of a Canon, "would, in their opinion, be subversive of the dignity and independence of the Cathedral body." Now, I have had many conversations with friends upon this subject—many of them Canons, many of them dignitaries of the Church—and a very curious fact has been elicited from these conversations. Everyone in turn disavowed any care for his own personal dignity. It was not his own dignity; that was a matter of no consequence: it was the dignity of other Canons, of Canons in general, in regard to which his particular solicitude was displayed. Holding the views I do, it will readily be seen that the effect upon me is the same whether the opposition I have to combat is direct or vicarious, and I do not hesitate to say that I am ready to combat either. What I contend is that the dignity of a Canon should be made dependent, not upon his idleness, but upon his industry. We have been told of sacred music, of learned leisure, of research, of dignity, and what not. My answer to all this is, we are living in the Nineteenth Century, and the rule of the Nineteenth Century is activity in every branch of life, whether in art, in science, or in religion. No institution and no individual is emancipated from that rule, and the Church of England can be no exception. If that be the rule by which we must be guided, we have great resources of religious activity in thus making available the services of the Canons. Take the subject of preaching alone! Are there no shortcomings there? Has not that been forcibly dealt with already?

I was yesterday in the Congress Hall, where I heard three or four addresses, with regard to which I can say with confidence that no clergyman could have left that Hall without having gained much experience in a very short time; and that is the kind of experience and teaching we should like to see the average country clergyman obtain. Why should not clergymen be educated? Whether you go to the Army, to the Navy, to Law, or to Public Offices, you have public examinations, and competitive examinations too, staring you in the face at every turn. The Church is the only institution which has no after educational test. The clergyman is dependent on his own mental powers, and you give him no opportunity of improving himself.

Let us so reform and establish our magnificent Cathedral Institutions in harmony with the age and the times we live in, that they may become the means of placing our clergymen in a better position to combat what we are earnestly engaged in doing—the sin and evil of the world—but not always with the best effect, because not always in the best manner.

I see my time is up. I hope my inability to compress what I should have desired to say within the small space of time at my disposal will not be taken as expressing approval of all the resolutions of the Ely Committee, as to some of which, if time had allowed, I should have liked to give reasons why I think they might, to a certain extent, be modified; but with their general conclusions I am heartily in accord, and I look forward with confidence to the time when union and communion will firmly knit together Diocese and Cathedral.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. CANON FARRAR, D.D.

ONE or two of the remarks made to-day make me wish to say a few words. First of all I should desire to say that we are suffering the Nemesis of the Eighteenth Century. We are suffering the effects of a bad system of the past. Let me tell you what actually occurred at one great Cathedral in this country. It had twelve Canons. Each had one month's residence in the year. Each had an income of at least £2,000 a year; some of them had much more. Not one of these Canons was regularly resident, and I am told that within the memory of man three-fourths of the sermons were preached by one person, who was a minor Canon. If that was possible sixty or seventy years ago, you cannot be surprised that the axe should have been applied, or that it has not yet done all its work in the way of reform. Yet, all that is now changed. Every speaker to-day has insisted, first, on residence, and then on attaching to it work for the Canons. But I think they have not put their fingers on the great blot of the present system. As the present system stands, almost every Canon has also a living, and the result is that his Canonry is injured by his parish, while his parish is injured by his Canonry. He is taken away every year for two or three months from his living. He is a mortal man and needs a holiday, which must sometimes run into two months. So that you have him taken away from his pastoral work for five months in the year. That system is altogether a grievous mistake, and I should most heartily welcome any plan by which the efficiency of Cathedrals could be partially restored by ensuring that those who are Canons of Cathedrals should devote their lives to them, and to the work for which they exist. Besides residence, special evangelical work has been greatly insisted upon. When that great reform came, to which reference has been made, the work of every Canon was doubled. That is to say, he had to reside two months instead of one. His income was £1,000 instead of £2,000, and the number of Canons was cut down from twelve to six, and it was thought a great stroke of reform when two of the Canonries in the Cathedral to which I refer were attached to livings. It has not proved to be entirely satisfactory. It is impossible for a man to do at once, efficiently, the work of a pastor, and the more general work of an evangelistic nature. If his hands are tied by perpetual ministrations amongst the poor, he is unable to render that assistance to the diocese which he would otherwise do. When reform comes, it is sometimes found, after a little experience, to be not so satisfactory as had been anticipated; and I think that this proposal, of which we have heard so much, that each Canon should do a considerable amount of the evangelistic work of the diocese, and deliver lectures where he is resident, may lead to a good deal of disappointment. I do not wish to throw cold water upon it. I have no sympathy with those persons who are always discovering difficulties, and putting them in the way of reforms. But take an example. Take, for instance, the Diocese of Ely, where, I am told, there are 550 benefices. Suppose there are six Canons, what could these do in helping the Clergy of so many benefices? Are we to have the Canons always kept saddled and bridled in their stalls, ready, in addition to their regular duties, to go anywhere and do evangelistic work as well? Some Canons have already tried the experiment of delivering lectures. Canons have attempted to carry out that system in many cases, and have failed for want of audiences. I do not mention that to discourage this proposal, but only to point out that we must not attach too much importance to plans which after all may prove to be failures when attempted to be carried out. I hope that the Cathedral Commission will proceed without undue haste, and consider a great many circumstances before they finally take

action; and perhaps they will take warning by the imperfection of past schemes, and not be too eager to impose plans which may prove to be the reverse of beneficial. I hope that in considering any reform of the Cathedrals, which I should hail with all my heart, we will not exaggerate the evils of the present system. After all, there is scarcely a Cathedral in England which is not doing a very large amount of most excellent work. We are living in the Nineteenth Century, thank God, and it is one of activity. As matters stand now, there is hardly a single Cathedral in which there are not three services every day—one early in the morning, one in the forenoon, and one in the evening. There is hardly a Cathedral in which there are not four services on Sunday. Then there are those great nave services, inaugurated at Westminster Abbey, and copied by every other Cathedral in the kingdom. There are also those great musical services in our Cathedrals, where hundreds assemble to hear the masterpieces of music performed. There are, too, Cathedral Choir Schools, at which boys are educated and started in life. In fact, a great deal of work is being done by the Cathedrals, and in some of them the hard-worked Canons are trying to use their scanty and burdened leisure in such theological study as is open to them, and in such literary work as they can find time to do. As regards the future, let us be hopeful and resolute. In dealing with the Cathedrals you are dealing with Deans and Canons who are not in the least desirous of placing any hindrance or obstruction in the way of reform. There is real life and real energy in the Cathedral, though much of it latent. You have gradually to remove the effects of a bad system, and in doing so you will receive the aid, not only of the whole body of the Church, but also of the whole of the Canons and Deans; and I hope every one of us may live to see the day when the Cathedrals, now efficient, will be made still more efficient for the good of the Church.

The Rev. CANON VENABLES, Precentor of Lincoln.

THE Cathedral question has been so thoroughly handled this morning, in the papers and speeches of those who have preceded me, and has been pretty well thrashed out in the many articles and reviews on books published upon it, that I will not attempt to enter on the subject generally; to do this would be presumptuous in me and wearisome to you. Mine will be a humbler task, viz., to put my finger on one or two points which may be considered as illustrative of one portion of the subject now before us. That is, how "To make each Cathedral a more efficient centre of religious activity." There is one way certainly in which these Cathedrals may be made more efficient centres of religious activity, and that is, by using *the whole* of their fabrics, more than they are used at present. We have been told how much more use has been made of our Cathedrals of late than was contemplated twenty-five years ago. Still, we are only just on the threshold. We have scarcely yet begun to feel our way. We are scarcely realising the vast capabilities of those glorious heritages of the piety and wisdom of past ages. Much yet remains to be done. I venture to point out one respect in which it appears to me we are not making the use of our Cathedrals we ought to do. It happened to me some twelve or thirteen years ago to have the duty of conducting the well-known Scotch preacher, Dr. Cumming, over our Cathedral of Lincoln. The great doctor admired the vastness and beauty of the building, and attentively listened to all I had to say about it. But he said, "You can make no use of it. You are like two or three peas rattling up and down in a dry pod. It is much too big for you." To a certain extent that was true at the time; but it is not so true now. If he had known all that was done in the Cathedral then, he would hardly have indulged in that not too flattering simile.

And we have advanced since then. If he were to visit our Cathedral now, he would find that there is preaching in the nave every Sunday afternoon. The other day, on the occasion of the celebration of a Sunday School Anniversary, the whole place was packed with a dense mass, and there was hardly standing room. There are daily services for the workmen, and for the theological students. There is catechising of choir boys going on in the side chapels; and the glorious Chapter House has been filled week after week by a crowd of attentive listeners to the theological lectures delivered by the Bishop of Truro, as Chancellor. He would also find that the Schools of the Prophets have been established in the home of the Prophets. He would find that a Theological College has arisen under the shadow of that glorious Cathedral. Beginning with two or three students, it now assumes the form of a college—thanks to that noble man [the Bishop of Lincoln], through whose almost unparalleled munificence we shall to-morrow have the privilege and blessing of dedicating the noble College building he has given to the diocese and the Church. All these things show that there is life in the Cathedrals, and that we are not mere “dry peas rattling in a withered pod.” Still, there are portions of our Cathedral fabrics which we are not using, and which I think ought to be used with great advantage, under due regulations, towards making these Cathedrals efficient centres of religious activity. In those stately Cathedrals you see a grand nave, transepts, and choir; but, lurking behind beautiful carved oaken screens, are side chapels, each of which was in former days the centre of religious life. We may not altogether approve of the way in which the pious feelings of those past days found its expression; but we answer, that those feelings, in spite of imperfections, are capable of a healthy development. We have many of these beautiful chapels in all our Cathedrals. Some I find decent, though cold and empty. Others are the receptacles for lumber and rubbish. Others are desecrated into vestries for lay clerks and choristers. That was not what they were intended for, not what they should be, and not what I hope they will hereafter become. What I wish to suggest to Cathedral bodies is, to consider whether it may not be practicable to bring these chapels again into regular religious use, by connecting them definitely with various religious organisations in the city and diocese. We wish to extend the influence of our Cathedrals, making that influence magnetic, and felt in every part of the diocese. And that cannot be done better than by establishing a sacred link of holy love between the different religious organisations of the diocese, and their mother church. Among these organisations are nursing institutions, sisterhoods, young men’s religious associations and guilds for holy living, Sunday School teachers; and if each of these could be made to feel that they have a home of their own in the Cathedrals of the Church, and that they have a right at every time of the day to come in and pray there for themselves and their corporation, and that at certain seasons they could meet there for the celebration of the Holy Communion, and so band themselves together in holy love, great good might be accomplished. There is an objection which meets one at first. There is a feeling, which I cannot but feel is based on a mistake, that there should be only one altar in each large church. I remember my honoured friend, the Bishop of London, saying, when that objection was mentioned to him, “Nonsense! A Cathedral is not one church; it is many churches.” And so, in St. Paul’s, it is treated as many churches; and there are many altars under that glorious swelling dome, such as I trust we shall yet see in every Cathedral in England. It is a matter which will require very great care, and very strict supervision; but if we are to stand still until we can walk without danger, we shall never advance at all. I desire, however, that the greatest possible liberty should be granted for those services; that there should be the greatest elasticity, consistent with loyalty to the Church of England; that these people should be permitted to have their own services and devotional exercises, subject of course to the supervision of the Dean,

but certainly not to that of the Canon in residence, who should not be allowed to use his petty authority, for a few months in the year, to interfere with that which is considered for the real good of the diocese.

The Rev. CANON W. B. HOPKINS.

I STAND here as a plain and simple parochial clergyman, and as a working canon, and I should not have addressed the meeting but for some remarks that have been made by previous speakers. I am one of those who think a good deal of "the Church at large." I think that every cathedral, every diocese, every parish, and clergyman, is interested in the dignity and honour of the Church at large. I am not against reform, but I just want to put in one word of explanation. I was one of the Ely Cathedral Committee, and signed the protest to the report, to which reference has been made by Mr. Magniac. We all valued in the highest degree the services of the laymen on that occasion; and I only wish that we had many more such laymen in every diocese, and that they would all give us, in the kind and cordial manner he has done, the advantage of their opinions and experience, in dealing with those great questions which affect the Church. But I believe that protest would not have been signed, if the report of the committee had made it perfectly clear that residence meant work in the diocese. None of us objected to work, or thought it would diminish the dignity of the office. But it appeared that residence only meant work in this sense: that every canon was bound to nine months' residence at Ely, whether the Bishop gave him additional work or not. If it is clearly understood that residence means work in the diocese, I say for myself—as I believe I can say for others—that I have no objection whatever, but, on the contrary, should be delighted to see Cathedrals made centres of work, as indeed they are. Our own Cathedral has been utilised to a very great extent in that way. There have been three great gatherings there lately, one a gathering of the parochial choirs, one in connection with the Sunday School Centenary, and another in connection with Temperance. The Dean and Chapter are always glad to see these great gatherings. In the gathering of Church Choirs from all parts of the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Suffolk, there were numbers of working men, rejoiced to give up a day for no other attraction than those glorious services devoted to the worship of God, and in which they themselves take part with a devotion that must impress any one who observes it; showing that such services move them to the bottom of their hearts. A great centre, which is available for meetings and gatherings of that kind, must be a centre of life to the diocese; but those of us who have been as earnest reformers as any cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there is a danger in proceeding too hastily in reforming; care must be taken not to kill the goose that lays the golden egg. The practice in the past has been to rob the Cathedrals of the services of those they ought to have, and add insignificant duties to those left behind. If that is done again, we shall not have any real centre at all—and if you have a circle without a centre, I don't see what kind of geometrical figure it would be. Hence I plead for caution, lest the present good be lessened by hasty reformations.

T. THEODORE DODD, Esq., Sheffield.

I WISH to say what help I think Sheffield needs from York; and I hope the Dean of York will say he is going to give it us. The present religious condition of Sheffield may be gathered from the fact that we have about 97 per cent. of the artisan poorer class who do not go to Church. A very large proportion—I should

think somewhere about 80, or possibly even 90, per cent.—of the Church accommodation is appropriated. Our Parish Church has just been restored, and I am sorry to say it is proposed partially to continue the appropriation, and appropriate one-half of that Church. In these circumstances we want assistance from York to supplement the parochial system. We want mission preachers. We should like the Dean and Canons to come and preach sometimes in our churches at Sheffield, and when they come the churches should be entirely free and unappropriated. I want further assistance from York in regard to the extension of higher education. All will agree as to the immense importance of that. We see the vast progress that is being made in the higher secular education in that town. We want to promote the higher religious education. What I hope for is that the Deans and Chapters will institute some organisation for giving lectures on religious subjects in our large towns. It is quite clear they could not come to every country parish, but I don't see why some of them should not come to our biggest towns and give us lectures. I would ask one Canon to look after mission preaching, and another to look to the higher religious instruction in the Diocese. I am not speaking of Sunday School education, but of people who are grown up and have no other means of acquiring it. I would also advise that a number of country clergymen should be invited to assist the Canons. We all know what assistance they have given in education, and now when some of their secular duties are taken away they would be all the more ready to give such assistance. We do not need an expensive system, with salaried officials, and so forth; we want volunteers, and all expenses would be paid by the town. Those who have spent so much on secular education would not grudge a little for the Bible.

The Very Rev. the DEAN of YORK.

I SENT up my card to the chairman because I seem to be the only representative present of the Order of Deans. I certainly was encouraged when I came into the room and saw present an elder brother, who was quite able to answer for so large a family; but I am sorry to say the Dean of Manchester took up his hat and went away. So the task has fallen to me, and I feel I am a very improper representative of that body, because I am about the youngest member of the family. Looking to me to say anything as the representative of the Deans, would be like going to the nursery and asking the youngest babe in arms to tell you something of the family history. I have listened, with great pleasure, to the discussion. We have had significant warnings about the danger of too hasty reforms in Cathedral matters; and nothing is further from my intention than to go to York and hastily assume the character—the most contemptible of all characters—of the new broom which always sweeps clean. But there is, happily, no need for it. I have inherited a position which is one of the grandest in the Church of England. Mr. Beresford Hope has alluded to the great work done by my predecessor, Dean Duncombe; and the longer I am in the position I hold, the more I know about what the Cathedral was before he was made Dean, and the more I see the beauty of the fabric, and the order which prevails in the whole system, and the reverent tone which animates it, the more I appreciate his work, and the more I am overwhelmed with the difficulty of maintaining so magnificent a prestige. I admit, however, that reform in certain Cathedral matters is necessary, and as to these we shall no doubt have the advice of the Commissioners. There are three points which I hope the Commissioners will keep before them. The first is the relationship of the Bishop and the Chapter. We have been told that the Chapter is to be looked upon as the spouse of the Bishop, and that the Bishop has, in later times, deserted his spouse to flirt with the Archdeacons and Rural Deans in the summer-house. This,

probably, arises from the fact that the Bishops do not always select their own Dean and Chapters, but are compelled to inherit those of their predecessors. I don't know whether the parochial Clergy would find that their work in their parishes was rendered more easy by the fact that their predecessors had left behind them their "spouses" with whom they were expected to co-operate in all parochial matters. I only hope that, whatever may be established by the Commission, that at least will be made clear, so that there may be harmony, as far as possible, in the relation between the Bishop and the Chapter. The duties of the individual members of the Chapters need to be more definite and better understood. I hope, therefore, that the Commission will give its attention to the relations of the members of the Chapter one with another, and that these will be definitely marked out so that they will be able to understand them. So far as my experience of a few months of the Chapter of York goes, it seems to me that the different positions are so vague and undefined, and that the utterances of statutes are so hard to reconcile the one with the other, that the only thing which keeps us together, and enables us to perform our duties in harmony, is the tact which is exercised, and the good-feeling which, I am happy to say, pervades all the members of that Chapter. I trust, also, that the Commission which is now in existence will very clearly and definitely put before our minds the relationship of the cathedral to the province and diocese and the city in which it is placed. I belong, not only to the diocesan, but to what is called the metropolitical church, and I shall be happy to see that that connection is practically recognised as well as the other; and I hope, also, that we shall have put before us some way in which we shall not only work in harmony in the diocese, but in the parishes which lie immediately around the cathedrals.

The Very Rev. DEAN MACDONNELL, D.D.

So far from anything I want to say having been anticipated by previous speakers, I think that nobody has yet touched on the subject which I had hoped would have been largely spoken of to-day. Every one has been so bent upon the question as to how existing Cathedrals, like Ely, are to be reformed, that they have never thought of cases where there are Cathedrals either scantily endowed or not endowed at all. Several new dioceses are being created in England, and I hope there will be many more. New Cathedrals will spring up in them, and we have heard nothing about the principles on which such institutions are to be founded; when there are none of the traditions and emoluments which belonged to the old Cathedrals. Every speaker and reader to-day has confessed that our existing Cathedrals have departed far from the original idea of the Minster as it prevailed in England from the days of St. Augustine downwards. Every reform must be guided by the circumstances of the case. It would be the height of pedantry and folly to take the old idea, however excellent, and strain and force existing institutions, which have grown and flourished, into conformity with that idea. The Bishop of Winchester has laid down the lines on which, without revolutionising these institutions, you may gradually approximate to the original intention of their foundation. The Cathedral, or Minster, was originally the Bishop's *Church*. The Chapter was not merely the Bishop's Council, but the Bishop's staff, acting under his control, and doing his work in the Diocese as Curates do work under the Rector in a parish. That principle must in a great measure be restored, if the Cathedral is to be the centre of life in the Diocese. But if, as I have said, it would be folly and pedantry to re-model our old Cathedrals without reference to their history and traditions, it would be equally foolish to raise new Cathedral institutions upon the lines of those which already exist amongst us. Remember that the whole Church throughout the world is anxiously thinking over this matter.

American and Colonial Bishops are considering the propriety of forming Cathedrals where none exist at present; and the question was forced upon my consideration, when I was connected with an Irish Cathedral, which, though endowed originally, was left by Disestablishment "stripped and wounded and half dead." In the new Cathedrals I think that the original idea of the institution as forming the Bishop's church and working staff ought to be rigidly carried out. If you could always procure for a new Diocese such a Bishop as the Bishop of Truro, you would be sure to have an institution growing up which would be worthy of the Church. I would not presume to criticise any step taken by that noble prelate; but there is no need to criticise. What has been done at the Cathedral of Truro has been done well, and it is but the beginning of better things. It does not, however, follow that we shall always have such men at the head of these Cathedrals, and I think the subject is one which deserves careful consideration. Let me express my hope that the Cathedral Commissioners, in whom we have the most implicit confidence, will consider not only on what lines old Cathedrals are to be reformed, but also on what lines new Cathedrals are to be founded.

The Rev. J. ECKERSLEY.

I HAVE a very practical suggestion to make. Nothing has yet been said as to what might be done in the way of making Cathedrals centres of schools of music. I approach this question as a parish priest, and if there are any parish priests here who have had experience in this matter, I think they will bear me out when I say that we want a better kind of choir than we generally have at present in parish churches. I look to the Cathedrals to supply that want. Mention has been made of the suggestion of the Ely Conference. I wish there might be added to the word "Canon" in that suggestion, the words "Precentor and Organist." These might give lectures monthly, which would be open to young men from our towns and villages, so that they might thereby be enabled to take a higher position, as our organists and choirmasters, than they do at present; for I think it will be generally admitted that in our country villages and towns the choirs are not so capable as we should like them to be. We do require them to be quite capable, and should like to see as good music in our parish churches as there is in our cathedrals. If pass examinations were held and diplomas given by Cathedrals, we should prefer having men with those qualifications, instead of having those who have picked up their knowledge of music in some slipshod way, and can pretend to little more than being able to put their feet on pedals and keep them down for a certain time. Here I would ask that the instructions given have special reference to the style of service most suitable for our parish churches. Our musical services are not always regulated with a due regard to simplicity. Choral Festivals have done much good, but they have also done some harm in this way. There is a tendency to introduce, perhaps overdo, the florid style of Cathedral worship. I, for one, should be glad to see a little more simplicity in some portions of our Cathedral service. At any rate, we do not require the florid style in our parish churches. There is a hankering after that style of music, and in many of our parish churches we find that people are expected to join in the Responses of Tallis' Festal Service, not by singing the original plain song, but the treble part, a sort of melody that was never intended for general use at all. Speak of Deans being Precentors! In my humble opinion they are not fit to be Precentors. I do not think that there are half-a-dozen of them who would be able to pass the preliminary examination for the degree of Bachelor of Music at any of our Universities. I think it would be better to have Precentors who have been thoroughly trained for the purpose, and understand their business.

The Rev. PREBENDARY SALMON, of Wells.

I HAVE only one point to bring before this meeting, and I hope that point will receive due consideration. I come before you as one of the Prebendaries of those old endowments where the Cathedral City is a very small one, and where the work is connected with a large agricultural neighbourhood. At present there are four Canons. They each reside three months in the year. I have heard with great satisfaction all that has been said to-day about enforcing residence, and giving each of these Canons specific work. That, surrounded with proper safeguards, would, I believe, prove a step in the right direction; but in future I would have one of these Canonries divided into certain portions, and would have nine of the Rural Deans, and three of the Archdeacons, each called in to residence for one month in the year—occupying in turn the fourth Canonical House of Residence, and thus being able to work with the Dean and Canons who are in residence all the year round, so that the work in the Diocese would act and re-act between the Cathedral and the Diocese. I think it would be a most important connection between the work of the Cathedral and the work of the Diocese, that these men should be brought up from all parts of the Diocese for a portion of the year, and take counsel with those in authority, and go forth from the Cathedral City as emissaries, under the direction of their Bishop, spreading their good work over the length and breadth of the Diocese. I have not time to go into the details, but I commend the subject to the consideration of those who are far abler to deal with the details than I am. I believe that no more efficient way of promoting the good work of the Dioceses can be thought of, than to call up from time to time the Prebendaries, Rural Deans, and Archdeacons, for a month's residence, and to give them work under definite direction.

MUSEUM LECTURE HALL, THURSDAY MORNING,

SEPTEMBER 30TH.

The Venerable ARCHDEACON of NORTHAMPTON took the
Chair at 10 o'clock.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

**THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH AS REGARDS CIVIL LAWS RELATING
TO MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.**

PAPERS.

The Rev. HENRY TEMPLE, M.A., Oxon., Vicar of St. John the
Evangelist's, Leeds, and Honorary Canon of Ripon.

THE title of my subject suggests by its wording that the law of this realm has at least a tendency to become inconsistent in certain particulars with the law which the Church has accepted and held

from the beginning, if not inconsistent also with those deep principles of right and those statements of Holy Scripture on which the Church's law is founded. The suggestion is a proper one: for the tendency, I deeply regret to think, is real. It shows itself, partly in matured action, partly in attempts, hitherto abortive, at special legislation, chiefly with reference to three subjects, viz., the Law of Divorce, the practice of marriage with unbelievers, and the law of Prohibited Degrees.

I shall speak first about the difficulty which Churchmen feel, and which I should think all Christians must feel, about the State law of Divorce.

That law* provides that on proof of the wife's adultery the husband may petition; or on proof of the husband's adultery, coupled with desertion or cruelty, the wife may petition; for a divorce absolute: *i.e.*, not mere separation *a mensa et toro*, with a caution inserted according to the Church's rule,† restraining the parties to single life; but complete separation, *a vinculo matrimonii*, carrying with it the right of each party to marry another. This, you will observe, makes it possible, and in practice, alas! not infrequent, for adulterers and adulteresses to make a profit, so to speak, of their own awful sin. The Act further provides that no clergyman shall be compelled to solemnize the marriage of such guilty parties; but that any one refusing so to do must permit another clergyman of the diocese, if one can be found willing, to perform the marriage service in his place.

Going back to first principles, we have to remember that marriage is a spiritual bond, to which Almighty God is a party, and not a mere *unitas carnis*, having to do with our lower nature. God appointed it in the time of man's innocency, and it signifies to us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and His Church. Now surely it may be asked with much force, whether it be conceivable, *primâ facie*, that adultery, with or without any added aggravations, can dissolve such a bond as this. Or the case may be put in form of dilemma, thus: Either adultery does not dissolve marriage, or it does. If it does not, the parties are still man and wife, after it as before it; and therefore neither of them may marry any other. If it does, then they are no longer man and wife, but absolutely separate; and therefore any condonation, involving re-union, is impossible between them, except they be altogether married anew. Moreover, it is hard to evade this, even as a necessary consequence. For a man must be either married or unmarried. It is a fact of nature, not an effect of statute. I have none the less been born, though you cannot find my name in the Registrar's books.

When we open the New Testament, all the passages bearing on the subject, with two doubtful exceptions, seem to leave no room for second marriage in the lifetime of a former partner. To take the texts in reverse order, for a reason which will presently appear:—

1. "Let not the wife depart from her husband: but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband;

* 20 and 21 Vict. cap. 85.

† Canon 107 of 1603.

and let not the husband put away his wife."* 2. "The woman which hath an husband is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth : . . . so then if, while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress."† 3. "Whosoever putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her that is put away (or, her when put away: or, any one put away) from her husband committeth adultery."‡ 4. "Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her: and if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery."§

Then comes the question: Are these texts to have their apparent meaning reversed by two passages in St. Matthew, which at first sight appear to admit an exception to the rule? or may we even look carefully for interpretations which will avoid so tremendous a difficulty? The verses are these: 1. "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery."|| 2. "Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery, and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery."¶

Now, as to these verses, two important arguments have been raised; one, to the effect that the word translated "fornication" cannot possibly mean adultery, but must be limited to pre-nuptial unchastity; ** the other to the effect that the word translated "except" or "saving," really points no exception at all, but means "apart from," "exclusively of."†† Attention is also drawn to the fact that the exception, if it be one, qualifies only the precedent clause in each case, not the subsequent one: that is, it refers only to the divorce, not to the marriage which may ensue thereupon. It is further urged that if any one of these objections holds, the exception on which our statute law of divorce is founded vanishes at once into thin air.

The language of Catholic antiquity is, so far as I know, unanimous in forbidding the marriage of the guilty parties with one another, though as to the second marriage of the innocent it speaks with less certain sound. St. Augustine, for instance, who in this matter is followed by modern German Protestant divines, seems to distinguish between marriage as a civil institution, and marriage in the City of our God, the Holy Mount of the Church. As to the

* 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11.

† Rom. vii. 2¹; cf. 1 Cor. vii. 39.

‡ Luke xvi. 18.

§ Mark x. 11, 12.

|| Matt. xix. 9. Note the readings:—

μη ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ—Cod. Eph. rescr.

εἰ μη ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ text. rec.

παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας—Vatic. Beza, &c.

¶ Matt. v. 32. παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας.

** "Döllinger's First Age of the Church," p. 366. Cf. "Liddon's University Sermons," Second Series, pp. 310-314, and pp. 327-332; also Professor Conington's Article in "Contemporary Review," May, 1869.

†† "Considerations on Divorce." By a Barrister. Stewart, 1857.

latter, he says,* “The compact of marriage is not done away by divorce intervening, so that they continue wedded persons one to another even after separation, and commit adultery with those with whom they shall be joined, even after their own divorce, either the woman with a man, or the man with a woman.” It seems, however, difficult to deny, though Mr. Keble does so,† that this great father’s utterances on the subject are not altogether consistent with one another.

It is impossible,‡ I think, to do otherwise than give great weight to the considerations which I have urged; and if we could be quite sure that Our Lord did not mean to speak of the marriage compact as dissolved by adultery, Canon Liddon’s observation would have much force when he says in effect that for the Church now to relax her rule as a concession to the hardness of her children’s hearts is nothing less than to proclaim herself “a body of professing Christians who cannot be expected to keep the moral precepts of Christ.”

On the whole question, however, I am bound to say this: that, while the re-marriage of the adulterous man or woman is execrable, seeing that they are enabled thereby to make a profit of their sin; and while, as a matter of counsel, I should always advise an innocent divorcee to accept contentedly the Church’s Canon Law, and either to condone or to remain unmarried, I dare not assert, with the words in St. Matthew before me, that Our Lord absolutely forbids a person so situated to marry again in the lifetime of the guilty partner.

To touch briefly on the second case: it is impossible, consistently with full liberty of conscience, for the State, as such, to prohibit the marriage of Christians with unbelievers, whether these be Atheists, Heathens, Mohammedans, or Jews. But St. Paul, writing to Christians, forbids it plainly enough: “Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers.”§ St. Jerome,|| St. Ambrose,¶ Sedulius,** Theodoret,†† the Councils of Laodicea, Agde, Eliberis, and the Code of Justinian,‡‡ all echo the prohibition. And the Church of the present day, with reference to her own children, must, if faithful to her charge, maintain the same. She must at least refuse her nuptial benediction to those who so transgress. She must not allow her services to be prostituted, and the name of her Lord to be profaned at her altars by those who deny alike His Mission and His Deity. It must, however, be borne in mind that the guilt of such a

* *De bono conjugali*, cap. 7.

† *Retract*, ii. 57. Cf. *De Fide atq. Op. c.* 19.

‡ Bishop Andrewes absolutely condemns dissolution of marriage otherwise than by death. Bishops Hall and Cosin would permit re-marriage to the innocent partner. It is fair to note, however, that Cosin’s treatise on the subject sinks below himself; and that his quotations from the fathers in several instances appear to contradict his argument. The work was originally published without date or printer’s name, and, though its genuineness is not questioned, there is reason to think that some editor or copyist, through whose hands it has passed, has mistaken either his meaning or the tendency and object of his quotations.

§ 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.

¶ *De Abrahamo*, i. 9.

†† *In eund. loc.*

|| *Contra Jovinian*, i. 5.

** *In 1 Cor. vii.* 39.

‡‡ Cf. Bingham, *Book xxii. ii. § 1.*

marriage, unlike that which I have presently to consider, is purged by simple repentance, the test of which is found in earnest effort and prayer for the conversion of the unbelieving partner. There is no question of separation to be raised, or of refusing Communion in default of separation. Indeed, the Word of God teaches the very opposite :* but Communion should of course be delayed where there is no sign of repentance.

The question of the prohibited degrees, with reference almost entirely to one particular relationship, has been argued in our legislature with singular pertinacity during the past thirty-eight years. The Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, as it is called, was first introduced to the House of Commons by Lord Ellesmere, then Lord Francis Egerton, in 1842. Its history has been briefly this :† it has been four times thrown out in the Commons ; it has once passed a second reading in the Commons, and then broken down on the motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair : it has three times passed a second reading in the Commons, and broken down in Committee ; it has once been sent up to the Lords from the Commons, and then withdrawn without a division ; it has been five times sent up from the Commons to the Lords, and there thrown out ; and it has been four times initiated in the Lords, and rejected there.

My objections to the measure are threefold : they rest on reason, Scripture, and expediency.

On the ground of reason, I would point out that the law at present stands on a clear and intelligible principle, viz., that the relations of a man's wife become his relations in the same degree, and in like manner the relations of a woman's husband become hers. Once violate this principle, and what have you to substitute for it ? Nothing but arbitrary statute, tending always to resolve itself into the eccentric and lawless passion of human nature.

On the question of Holy Scripture, the first point raised is whether or not the Levitical Law in this behalf be binding on Christians.

* 1 Cor. vii. 13.

† Date.	Fate.
1842.	Rejected in the Commons.
1847.	Royal Commission appointed.
1849.	Lost in Commons' Committee.
1850.	Passed Commons. Withdrawn in the Lords.
1851.	Rejected in the Lords.
1855.	Lost in Commons' Committee.
1856.	Rejected in the Lords.
1858.	Passed Commons. Rejected in the Lords.
1859.	Passed Commons. Rejected in the Lords.
1861.	Rejected in the Commons.
1862.	Rejected in the Commons on motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair.
1866.	Rejected in the Commons.
1869.	Lost in Commons' Committee.
1870.	Passed Commons. Rejected in the Lords.
1871.	Passed Commons. Rejected in the Lords.
1873.	Passed Commons. Rejected in the Lords.
1875.	Rejected in the Commons.
1879.	Rejected in the Lords.
1880.	Rejected in the Lords.

If it be not, we have absolutely no law whatever in the Bible on this most important subject; except, perhaps, one passage in the prophets,* and two prohibitions in the New Testament, both of these latter founded on considerations of affinity, neither of them on those of consanguinity. I allude to the case of Herod Antipas,† and to that of the incestuous person‡ mentioned by St. Paul.

If we admit ourselves to be bound by the law given in the Old Testament, we find in Leviticus§ thirteen separate prohibitions. A man is forbidden to marry:—1. His mother. 2. His father's wife, that is, his stepmother. 3. His sister. 4. His granddaughter. 5. His half-sister. 6. His father's sister. 7. His mother's sister. 8. His uncle's wife. 9. His son's wife. 10. His brother's wife. 11. His wife's daughter. 12. His wife's mother. 13. His wife's granddaughter. The English of this is that a man must not marry any sort of mother, any sort of aunt, any sort of sister, or any sort of daughter. And of the thirteen prohibitions, seven are founded on affinity, only six on consanguinity. But will any one say: wife's sister is not mentioned? True. But husband's brother is. Daughter is not mentioned. But if a man may not marry his mother,|| we infer that a woman may not marry her father. Niece is not mentioned. But if a man may not marry his aunt,¶ we infer that a woman may not marry her uncle. Grandmother is not mentioned. But if a man may not marry his granddaughter,** we infer that a woman may not marry her grandson. In like manner, while the law stands with the curse of the Canaanites for its sanction, "Thou shalt not marry thy brother's wife; she is thy sister:"†† who will dare to say that a parallel prohibition does not rest upon the woman, "Thou shalt not marry thy sister's husband: he is thy brother?"

But it is said, does not the precept, "Thou shalt not take a wife to her sister, to vex her . . . beside the other in her life time,"‡‡ create an exception about the sister of the *deceased* wife? I think not. Various meanings may be assigned to this text. It may be a prohibition of polygamy. It may be intended to emphasise the law and signify "Thou shalt not marry thy wife's sister, especially in the first wife's lifetime." It may constitute a special exception to the law of Levirate marriage,§§ which was to secure the proper entail of the Holy Land. If so, it means that even that sacred entail must be allowed to lapse, if the saving of it involved the marriage of a man with his wife's sister during the said wife's lifetime. But with these interpretations, and perhaps others besides them, open to us, I am sure it is not safe for us to relax our existing marriage law; resting as it does on the principle that a man and his wife are one flesh.

By the side of these arguments, the question of expediency sinks into insignificance. But this I say, that a change of the nature

* Amos ii. 7.

† 1 Cor. v. 1.

‡ Lev. xviii. 7.

** Lev. xviii. 17.

‡‡ Lev. xviii. 18.

† Matt. xiv. 4; Mark vi. 18.

§ Lev. xviii. 7-18.

¶ Lev. xviii. 12, 13, 14.

†† Lev. xviii. 16.

‡‡ Deut. xxv. 5-11.

contemplated will abolish sisters-in-law; will make their attendance on a wife in time of sickness and sorrow to savour of impropriety; will render the comfort they bring to a widower in his hour of bereavement indelicate, and their guardianship of his children, except on condition of marrying the father, impossible. It will do away with one of life's happiest and tenderest relations.

Then it is urged, Great Britain stands almost alone in maintaining this prohibition. I have not the means of sifting this statement. If so, it is one of a great many blessings in respect of which I hope she may long stand alone; unless, indeed, by other nations aspiring to share them with her. I am not prepared to exchange the social life of England for that of any foreign country which I have ever visited or read of.

I trust in God the perils I think of may be averted. But if the course of legislation should really run on in a stream which threatens to swamp us, what then? Why, the Church must fall back on the old powers which Christ her Lord has given her. For the saving of souls she must use her spiritual censures, and these must be separated from civil penalties.*

For retaining her children faithful to her communion, she must, when necessary, excommunicate, but excommunication† must neither imprison nor disfranchise. I am one of those who deeply value Establishment; who think it unwise in the extreme to strain the relations which exist between Church and State. Those strain them most who tamper with our ancient Marriage Law. If the State will accept and retain this law,‡ well and good. If, where her Statutes transgress it, she will (as Mr. Blennerhassett invites her) leave our ministers free and our altars pure, we may grieve over her deflection from the right, but satisfy ourselves by disavowing complicity in it. But if she proceed to enforce by civil penalties the admission to Church Communion of those who break the Church's law, the Church must re-consider her whole situation. She must not shirk her duty or commit herself to unworthy evasions. She must not tell persons who have broken her law, and refuse amendment, to present themselves for Communion where their story is not known. She must have the courage of her Divine Original. Her ministers must dare to be fools for Christ's sake. They must recognise that there is something for which they can be content to bear even the loss of all things. But they must not, they cannot, betray her trust. *La garde meurt, mais ne se rend pas.*

* Vid. Phillimore. "Ecclesiastical Law," pp. 1400-1419.

† By 53 Geo. III, cap. 127, Excommunication, though disconnected from outlawry, is made to involve a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding six months.

‡ "The Parliament is free, nay bound, to provide a law for the decent and profitable ordering of Marriage, perhaps also of Divorce, as a matter of social contract, among the many subjects of the realm who profess no allegiance to the Church; and Churchmen, as good citizens, must dutifully defer to such enactments, as in any other matter, merely civil and temporal; but neither is Parliament free to ordain, nor the Church to obey, anything which affects Holy Matrimony, as it is a spiritual and supernatural ordinance."—Keble, "Sequel of the Argument, &c." p. 217.

The Rev. CANON MARTIN, D.D.

THE teaching of our blessed Lord in regard to Marriage and Divorce seems to me to be summed up in that one saying of His, where He speaks of the married as those whom GOD has joined together, and touching whom He commands, "let no man put them asunder." The principles involved in what is here laid down it must be the duty of the Church to maintain everywhere and at all times, whether the civil laws of the country touching Marriage and Divorce be in accordance with, or contrariant to, the Divine Law, as expounded by the Church universal. Time was, as we all know, when Marriages celebrated by a Clergyman in Holy Orders were alone held in this country to be valid and complete: and, to be deemed regular, they had also to be celebrated in *facie Ecclesiæ*. Before the time of Pope Innocent III, however, there was no solemnization of Marriage in the Church; the man came to the woman's house, and led her to his own. By the customs of the Anglo-Saxons the Marriage Ceremony was commonly performed at the house of the Bridegroom. During the Commonwealth Marriages were solemnized before Justices of the Peace; but at the Restoration the Act 12 Car. 2 ch. 33 was passed to confirm such Marriages as had taken place since 1st of May, 1642. Before the passing of the First Marriage Act, 26 Geo. II, Ch. 33, many marriages, solemnized in the Fleet Prison or its liberties, or in May Fair, were considered valid, though irregular. From 1753 to 1836 a Religious ceremony was the essential basis of Marriage, the primary and principal contract of society. In the latter year came into operation the Statutes, which require no Religious ceremony, but in lieu of it a compliance with certain specified conditions of an entirely civil character. It appears that these were enacted, not so much to make Marriage a Civil contract, as because without such a provision, there seemed no way of meeting the demands of Dissenters, and at the same time preventing clandestine Marriages.

Thus it is that Marriage has ceased to be of necessity the subject of Ecclesiastical cognizance, and in this respect the law of Christ is no longer embodied in the Civil Constitution of this country. Those of us who are old enough to have personal knowledge of the events of the last forty-four years will probably agree that nothing has tended more to sap the foundation of morals, to secularize and rob of their sanctity life and its relationships, than the recognition of Marriage as a civil contract. We know that exaggeration in one direction produces a reaction in the opposite direction. The Church of Rome exalts Marriage into a Sacrament; against this our own Church upholds the true Scriptural view of this holy Ordinance; but the philosophers and statesmen of our day have discarded the wisdom and moderation of our Reformers, and produced another exaggeration, the fruits of which are seen in modern legislation. As, therefore, we have protested against the error on the one side, we must denounce the wrong on the other. Few, I presume, if any, will contend that under present circumstances it is the duty of the Church to treat civil marriages as false or incomplete. We are on the highest of all principles vindicators of law and order. The early

Church has always recognized such marriages, on the principle that "consensus facit connubium." Our part is to stamp them with irreligion rather than illegitimacy. It is ours to insist on that sanctity of marriage of which philosophy has deprived it ; and while the law follows suit by allowing people to contract matrimony on such philosophic principles, we must strive to reconstruct its religious basis. We must admit that Marriage on its human side is a civil contract ; but we must enforce the truth that it is above all a Divine institution, a holy ordinance of God, and that to enter upon it without seeking the blessing of God, and publickly acknowledging Him therein, is to commit an act of practical infidelity and practical irreligion. It is, as most of us are aware, lawful to marry in the Church those who have been joined together before the Registrar, though not when the ceremony has taken place in a licensed place of worship. May we not hope that in proportion as the religious view of Marriage, as taken by the Church of England, is faithfully kept before men's minds, it will be more and more recognised as true ; that while the teachings of nature, the testimony of experience, the dictates of true philosophy convince the reason, all this will dispose men's hearts to accept the teaching of Holy Scripture, to seek the Divine sanction and blessing on the most important concern of life, in short, to act on the conviction that Marriage is a Divine institution.

All truths are liable in this evil world to be from time to time overlooked or forgotten more or less. It is the great general office of the Church to correct this tendency. The institution of the Church, and the appointment of an order of men in perpetual succession, who should be God's ministers, seem to be graciously designed to maintain the continuity of truth, to keep before men's minds its unchangeable nature ; that they may not break off from the past and live only in the present and the future, may not stumble in their ways from the ancient paths, but ask ever for the old paths where is the good way, and walk therein. In nothing is it more important that the teaching of the Church should be kept before the people, than in reference to the subject which now engages our attention. The Church of England is most careful in her public service to show that Marriage is not a civil contract, but a solemn religious obligation. She reminds us that Marriage is an honourable estate, instituted of God in time of man's innocency ; that it signifies to us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and His Church. She quotes the texts, which shows that the holy estate of Matrimony is in some sense a discharge from natural obligations, since a man is to leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, which a mere civil contract could never authorize. I close this portion of my subject with the suggestion that we who are ministers should make it a part of our duty to give more regular and systematic instruction on matters of Church doctrine, practice, and discipline, line upon line and precept upon precept. We are apt to take it for granted that what is familiar to our minds is equally so to those of our people ; and hence comes to pass what I fear is true, namely, that there is no Communion on earth, whose members have so little

knowledge of its true principles, as the members of the Church or England.

The evil times in which we live force upon the Church the duty not only of maintaining the sanctity of Marriage against all who would make it a civil contract, but also of lifting up her voice against those who are coupled together, otherwise than God's Word doth allow. The Civil Law of the mother country does not as yet (and God grant it never may) sanction Marriages within the prohibited degrees; but there is imminent danger of this not being the case much longer. Colony after colony appears to be relaxing its laws in this respect, and thus creating complications as to property and other matters, which afford to mere politicians an argument in favour of similar relaxations at home. A singular Nemesis has in this way fallen upon England in consequence of her neglecting to make spiritual provision for her colonies; instead of their rising up like children of a good mother and calling her blessed, they are dragging her down with themselves into disobedience to the Divine Law on a matter which forms the very apple of the eye of a religious state or society. The danger of all this is so very real, and the prospect, I am afraid, so very near, that I shall not transgress the limits of my subject, if I say a word in passing on what will be the duty of the Church in the event of the legalization of Marriages within the prohibited degrees. The Church of England does not deal with this question as a matter only of Ecclesiastical cognizance, but teaches by historical testimony, what is the meaning of God's Word on this important matter. She upholds the consensus of the whole Christian Church for the first 1,500 years as to the interpretation of the Divine Law, and thus lays down the great principle that none can marry within the third degree inclusive; consanguinity and affinity being placed entirely on the same footing. About 25 years ago the law as it stands was pronounced, by a very high authority indeed,* to be "the embodiment of the collective conscience of mankind," and to represent "what may fairly be called not only the general, but almost the universal voice of Christendom." This witness is true indeed. The present law, coming from the source of truth, is perfectly logical and consistent; but logic and consistency, when at work in a wrong direction, will demand not only relaxation in one particular instance, but a gradual downward progress, until a point is reached when none but those connected by the nearest ties of consanguinity will be forbidden to marry. Against such a state of things the Church ought to offer her most earnest prayers and most strenuous endeavours, and, in whatever degree it may prevail, to refuse to solemnize or recognize the unions that are contracted under it.

In the matter of Divorce the Church has to deal with things as they are, and not as they unhappily may be. An eminent living commentator thus states the result of his examination of Holy Scripture, and of ancient authorities concerning Divorce. "A man may not divorce his wife except for fornication, but if he divorces

* Gladstone, speech 9th May, 1855.

her for this cause it is not *expedient* for him to marry again in the life time of the partner whom he has divorced; some Latin fathers say (which I cannot but think is the true view) it is not *lawful*. It is the re-marriage which, it appears to me, is forbidden absolutely, while both partners are alive. This forms the great inducement to divorce itself, and makes forgiveness inoperative, and reconciliation impossible. In accordance with this view the 107th Canon (of 1603) provides that in all sentences of divorce a bond should be taken for not marrying during each other's life. The Canon Law permitted no divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*, and of the same *tenour* were the ancient constitutions of the English Church. The *Reformatio legum* appears to advocate a more extensive liberty of divorce; but this did not become Law, and up to a date within our own recollection the Law of England was in its letter and theory conformable to the ancient principle of the Roman Catholic Church, which regarded marriage as indissoluble. About a century-and-a-half after the Reformation a practice gradually crept in of dissolving marriage for infidelity by Acts of Parliament passed for each separate case. These were comparatively rare before the accession of the House of Hanover, but after 1715 they were very frequent. Even in these cases I have understood that a Divorce Bill left the House of Lords always with a clause forbidding the parties to marry again, while both were living; which clause was invariably struck out in the House of Commons."

It was not of course to be expected that the power of obtaining a Divorce *a vinculo* would be always confined to those who could afford to pay for a special Act of Parliament. Accordingly on 27th August, 1857, the Divorce Act was passed, which provides for the dissolution of marriage under certain circumstances, with liberty to the parties to marry again, while both are living. Under this Act a clergyman appears to be obliged to marry the innocent and injured party. After a great struggle a concession, as many of us remember, was wrung from Lord Palmerston to the effect that a clergyman is not bound to marry the guilty party, but must lend his Church for the purpose, and, it is believed, publish the Banns. A Minister in Holy Orders, entitled to officiate in the Diocese, is the party to be called in. I am not aware how many cases of this kind have occurred; but I remember one in which the officiating Clergyman was held to be entitled because he had formerly a licence in the Diocese, which appears to me to be entirely contrary to the spirit of the Divorce Act.

I have read that a member of Parliament has introduced a Bill to relieve Clergymen from having anything to do with the marriage of divorced persons, and thus remove the danger of a serious conflict between the Law and the consciences of many of the Clergy.* This Bill, I suppose, is never likely to become Law, while we are an Established Church, because, the politician regards the clergyman

*Under the present Law it appears that a man or woman may marry again the person they have been divorced from; which under the Mosaic Law was abomination. Deuteronomy xxiv., 4. Jeremiah iii., 1. A Priest could not marry a divorced woman—Leviticus xxi., 7. Ezekiel xliv., 22.

as a State functionary for the solemnisation of Marriage, and he must in this point of view accept the laws and conditions which the State imposes upon him. In the debates on the Divorce Act it was openly contended that the wishes of those, who desired to obtain a religious sanction to an irreligious act, must override the convictions of any of Christ's Ministers, who conscientiously objected to perform such marriages. It appears to me that our Marriage Service abundantly bears us out in the belief that in the judgment of the Church the Marriage tie is indissoluble except by death. The contract is not dissolved by an act of sin, but by the nature of a contract the party who breaks its conditions loses all claim to benefit under it. I cannot but think it is a mockery and a profanation to use our Marriage Service, while both parties to a former contract are still alive.

Under these grievous circumstances it is the duty of the Church at large, as well as individual Ministers, to bear with patience any sufferings for conscience sake. It has been pointed out, that, where a large proportion of citizens are alienated from the Church of a country, the Marriage Law must be either distinct from the Church, or must make special exceptions in favour of other religious bodies. The latter, I need not say, is now the case in England. There was a commission appointed on the subject of the Marriage Laws in 1865, which made their Report in the year 1868. This Report, which I have not been able to meet with, dwells, I believe, on the great advantage of securing for the Empire a uniform Marriage Law. In order to this, and to prevent the danger of constant collision between Church and State, there seems nothing for it, but the entire separation of the Civil and Religious ceremonies, the Civil constituting the Marriage in the view of the State, the Church impressing the seal of religion upon it, where there is no Canonical impediment, in the case of those whose consciences lead them to seek it. I do not presume to discuss so important a question; but no one can have read carefully an able paper on Marriage Law Amendment, read at a meeting of the Cambridgeshire branch of the English Church Union, without feeling that there is much to be said in favour of this view. There are, it appears, six ways in which people may get married in England, five in Ireland, and in addition to marriage with a religious ceremony there are three methods peculiar to Scotland.* This is a state of things which the temper of the times is not likely long to tolerate; many and important changes will be seen by those who may be spared a few years longer. If the State refuse to accept the Church's interpretation of the Divine Law, and there be no longer any national standard of religion and morality, the Church must still maintain the principle of the sanctity of the Marriage contract, its indissoluble nature, and the conditions under which it

*In England.—In the Church.—1 Banns; 2 Licence; 3 Registrar's Certificate; 4 Purely Civil Marriage; 5 Nonconformist Ceremony in presence of Registrar; 6 By Friends' or Jews' Ceremonies.

In Ireland.—Disestablished Church.—1 Banns; 2 Licence; 3 Roman Priest; 4 Presbyterian Minister; 5 Purely Civil Ceremony.

In Scotland.—1 Marriage with Religious Ceremony; 2 Per verba de presenti; 3 Per verba de futuro subsequente copula; 4 By habit and repute.

may be entered into. A definite system of belief and an inflexible rule of morals on the part of the Church may lead a country to repudiate her as national, and reduce her to the level of a sect. But, as has been forcibly remarked, it was as a sect,* and moreover a sect which everywhere was spoken against, that the Church achieved her early triumphs. In like manner, by returning to her first works must she purify a debased and lapsed Christianity, and so have her part in the final triumph of truth and righteousness, when her Lord shall come again.

J. T. DODD, Esq., Barrister at Law.

1. In essentials the Church will keep her own Law.

The duty of the Church and Churchmen with regard to Marriage Law is, where the Church has plainly spoken, faithfully to keep her Law.

For the Church is the Kingdom of Christ, the City of God, founded for all nations, and all time.

And like other kingdoms it has its own Laws, which its loyal subjects must obey, whatever may be the law of any particular State.

And therefore although, for instance, the Law of Turkey permits polygamy, yet the Christian Church in Turkey does not allow Christians to contract polygamous alliances, or recognise such as lawful marriages.† The same principle is applicable to England. The connection of Church and State can make no difference. The Church can consent to no union with the State which will lessen or impair her mystical union with her Divine Lord.

And the liberty of the Church is fully guaranteed by the law of the land.

In the words of Magna Charta "The Church of England shall be free, and shall have all her whole rights and liberties inviolable."

To show that the Church in England has its own Law, not derived from the State, I will go, not to Civilians or Canonists, not to Theologians or Text-book writers, but to a recent decision of Lord Justice James. That learned judge said, in the case of *Niboyet v. Niboyet*: "Before the Divorce Act the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Court as the 'Court Christian' was a jurisdiction over all Christians who had become by baptism members of the Catholic Church, and its jurisdiction had nothing to do with the nationality of the parties." He says further:—"Though the Laws of the State sometimes interfered by way of coercion, and regulation, or prohibition, with the Courts Christian, the Courts Christian acted *proprio vigore*, and administered their own Laws, not the Laws of the State, and administered them in their own name, not in the name of the

* *Church Times*, 13th August, 1880, p. 523.

† As to Mormon Marriages see *Hyde v. Hyde and Woodmansee*, 1 L. R. P. D. 130.

Sovereign." He goes on to say that, before the Divorce Act, "The purity of the Matrimonial Home was under the watch and ward of the Church."

I will not now stop to ask whether morality has gained or lost by the institution of the present Divorce Court, whose latest eccentricity has been to divorce two people, neither of whom desired it.*

It would be easy to show by the authority of Lord Coke and other secular judges (among whom I may include Lord Penzance) that the Church has a law of its own.

In consequence of the short time at my disposal, I can now only touch upon a few points of this law, which need special attention either on account of their intrinsic importance or because they are subject to attack or misconception.

2. Divorce and Mr. Blennerhassett's Bill.

The first principle of the Marriage Law of the English Church is that marriage is for life, and not merely during good behaviour. A marriage cannot be dissolved.

This was the law before the Reformation, and, as it has never been lawfully altered, it is so still. The occasional instances of lax practice between 1548 and 1604 cannot affect it; and the Divorce Act, which has never been openly received, or tacitly accepted, by the Church, can no more have altered the Law of the Church than Decrees of Convocation, even with consent of the Crown, can alter the law of primogeniture, or give the franchise to women.

Previous speakers have explained to you the history of the Divorce Act, and how in certain cases a Clergyman may be punished if he refuses to assist or permit the marriage of divorced persons.

The Canons of 1603, as you have twice heard, while providing for judicial separation, carefully took security against re-marriage. The Law of the State is otherwise. The Divorce Act, 20 and 21 Vict., c. 85, enacts that after a divorce both the guilty and innocent parties may re-marry.

It seems that any Clergyman refusing to marry the innocent party would be punishable; but it is provided by the Act, ss. 57 and 58, that, while no Clergyman shall be compelled to re-marry the guilty person, he shall be compelled to permit any Clergyman entitled to officiate within the Diocese to have the use of his Church for the purpose of performing the marriage ceremony. Now I am not going to decide whether divorced persons may re-marry or not, but I do say the present Law of our Church is that they may not. Indeed, there has always been in the Church a marked difference in opinion with regard to the innocent *husband*. Many primitive writers, like our present Divorce Acts, laid down a different law for men and women.

And as to the guilty party, and the co-respondent, it is impossible even to glance at our Marriage Service without seeing that throughout marriage is considered symbolical of the mystic union of Christ and his Church. And we cannot but feel it a profanation to

* This was a divorce of a lunatic, on the application of his committee, for the unfaithfulness of his wife.

use such a service for the union of an adulterer and adulteress—a union which our Church considers not matrimonial but bigamous.

I was glad at the Church Congress at Sheffield to hear the cheers which greeted the Archbishop of York when he said, "Romish or anything like Romish the Church of England will not be." I say now, "Mormon or anything like Mormon, the Church of England will not be." I was glad to see the Bishops have unofficially announced their resolution not to grant licenses for the re-marriage of divorced persons.

We must ask them to assist the Clergy in obtaining a like liberty.

Last Session Mr. Blennerhasset introduced into the House of Commons a Bill entirely relieving the Clergy from any obligation to have anything whatever to do with the marriage of any divorced person.

The Clergy would neither be compelled to marry or to publish banns for either divorced party.

Nor would they be bound to lend their Churches for the weddings. In common fairness the Bishops should unanimously support the Bill. Now I think as many of us as value the Church's Law, and the Church's liberty, ought to support this Bill. I go further, as many as value the holiness of marriage should support it.

And one great argument in favour of a change of the law is the impossibility of putting the present law into execution.

Suppose a Clergyman refuses to publish banns for the marriage of a divorced woman and her co-respondent. What is the remedy? Would some court try to imprison him? Any attempt to thrust a man into gaol because he refused to assist in a marriage of this sort would cause an outcry throughout the land. Public opinion would never sanction any long continued imprisonment of a Clergyman because he believed that marriage was permanent. But probably during the tedious delays of the law, the patience of the couple seeking marriage would get exhausted and they would retire to the less conspicuous shrine of the Registrar. Let this bad law be repealed before its weakness is publicly exposed.

3. The Prohibited Degrees.

Next in importance to the permanence of marriage, comes the prohibition of marriage with near relations, either by blood or marriage. Canon Temple has discussed this question. So I merely say that with regard to deceased wife's sister, I think the proposed change would not only ruin the logical position and consistency of our law, but would deal a blow at the happiness of family life. It would pave the way for changes of a still grosser character. I am almost loth to say that I think every Churchman should oppose the Bill, because I think it should be opposed by every man who thinks the security of the home is the safety of the nation. I think that any alteration by the *State* alone of the prohibited degrees need not affect the Church.

Thus the Roman Church in England prohibits various marriages permitted by the State. The Society of Friends forbids the marriage of first cousins, and before every marriage enquires whether there is a subsisting engagement. So with regard to the prohibited degrees the Church will keep her own laws.

4. Marriage with Non-Christians.

It was one of the principles of our earliest forefathers, the primitive Aryan Race, that marriage between near kin was forbidden. But also they forbade marriage outside the tribe or nation.

All Christian people form one "holy nation," and so Christians would do well to marry Christians. And I think the Church should refuse to solemnize marriages with non-Christians. Our Marriage Service is totally unsuited to such "unequal" marriages, and was never intended for them. Our ancestors had a most objectionable way of dealing with the subject.

If a Christian married a Jew or Jewess, the offender was burnt or buried alive.* But I think such unions are true marriages, and that the primitive Church held them to be such. It is clear that a man who marries a non-Christian is restrained by morality as well as law from repudiating his non-Christian wife and marrying another woman. Dean Hook took this same view, as I shall show by a quotation hereafter.

5. Register Office Marriages.

While in all that is essential to Christian marriage, the Church will hold fast the faith of our fathers, yet in all non-essentials she will strive in every way to conform to the regulations laid down by each particular State, and to the wants, and even the whims, of each nation.

It is well known that the Church has always strongly urged that marriage should be solemnized by a Priest. Thus it is ordered by a Saxon King that "at nuptials there shall be a mass priest who shall, by God's blessing, bind their union to prosperity." It was principally on the strength of this constitution that the House of Lords, in *The Queen v. Millis*,† said that by the Canon Law of England the presence of a Priest, or, since the Reformation, of a Deacon, was *necessary* to valid marriage.

Lord Campbell in vain protested against this decision, which I believe is contrary to the facts of history and the law of the Church. He points out that a Deacon is no more a mass priest than a sexton. Yet for a long period the Church of England has permitted marriages by a Deacon. And since 1837 the State has sanctioned marriages without any religious ceremony in the presence of the Registrar. In what light, then, does the Church regard register office marriages? In York Convocation the Dean of Durham said "that a marriage was not recognised by the Church until the religious ceremony was performed."‡

I think you might as well say that the Church does not recognise anyone as dead until the Burial Service has been performed. And it is often said that marriage in the register office may be legal marriage, but it is not holy matrimony. This I entirely deny. The Bible contains much about marriage. It begins with a marriage in Paradise, it ends with one infinitely more glorious. It speaks of bridesmaids, groomsmen, wedding feast,§ wedding dance, and wedding presents, and wedding crown, but never even suggests the

* Phillimore, 723.

† York Journal of Convocation, 1879, p. 44.

‡ 10 C, and F 534.
§ Judges xiv, 10.

necessity of a Priest. The idea is never alluded to by the writer of the Song of Solomon.

Though we learn from St. Ignatius, Tertullian, and other writers, that the Church from the earliest times strongly *urged* that marriage should be surrounded with the visible signs of religion, yet the Canon Law did not consider any form or ceremony whatever as necessary to the validity of marriage. In this respect it followed the later Roman Law.*

It only looked to the free consent of capable parties, to a life-long union separate from all other.

Such was in the language of Lord Stowell, "Marriage in the sight of God."† Lords Stowell, Campbell, and a number of Common Law Judges agreed in stating that the Canon Law, with regard to the constitution of marriage, was the Law of England. So the old Ecclesiastical writer Swinburne, in his book on Espousals says "that it is a present and perfect consent the which alone maketh matrimony." Neither public solemnity nor living together was necessary.

A mere consent *per verba de presenti* in the Christian Church, without the presence of any priest, was a perfect contract of marriage, though the public celebration was afterwards required by the rules and ordinances of the Canon Law.

This appears from the Decretals, from Sanchez—"De Matrimoniis," and, more especially, from De Burgh, Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, who (in a treatise, composed at the end of the fourteenth century) expressly affirms that the Priest's co-operation is not necessary, as not being of the essence of the matrimonial sacrament, but merely recommended by the Church.‡ So that, according to these ancient authorities, and a host of others, the sacrament of marriage might be mutually administered by the contracting parties to each other, without the aid of any minister of religion, or religious ceremony.§

The Church regarded marriage without the Priest as holy matrimony, just as it regarded lay baptism as holy baptism. And just as in the case of lay baptism it urged a subsequent public reception into the Church, so after an informal marriage it advised a subsequent religious ceremony.

Marriage before the Registrar is in all respects as binding and effectual as when celebrated with a religious ceremony "For a perfect marriage in whatever form contracted must be always the same in its nature and consequences. It is divine, and by divine appointment. It can never therefore exist as a mere civil contract. Its solemn character, its mystic attributes, and above all its indissolubility, are entirely independent of ecclesiastical observances."||

Marriage in the register office, then, is true Marriage, symbolical of the Union of Christ and the Church, and so to be fully recognised as such.

* See Gibbon, v. 364.

† Phillimore, 708.

‡ McQueen, p. 2.

§ Comp. Jeremy Taylor, Ductor Dub., L. iii., C. 5, R. 8, p. 709.
McQueen p.

The views of Dean Hook on this subject are worthy of notice:—

“Holy as the Church in those ages regarded the estate of matrimony, and incumbent on her members as she deemed it to be to take the vow at the altar, we never find that she attempted to impeach the validity of those marriages which were contracted under a merely civil form. On the contrary, the marriage of a churchman with a heathen or heretic was censured; being therefore uncanonical, it could not be performed according to the rites of the Church; and yet, though the offending party was compelled to do penance for a breach of the Canons, his marriage was, nevertheless, considered perfectly valid. If, on the other hand, he broke his marriage vow, although that vow was not contracted in Church, he was considered as an adulterer, and did penance as such; or if on the other hand his wife were converted, no new marriage took place.

I think that it would be difficult to prove that the sacerdotal blessing, or any other religious rite, was ever considered necessary as a *sine quâ non* to the validity of marriage, until a law was enacted to this effect by Charlemagne, about the year 780, whose example was not followed in the East until the year 900, about which time a similar regulation was introduced by *Leo Sapiens*. It appears to have been adopted in England about the year 944.”*

I think that, when people have married before the Registrar, it is almost absurd to try and induce them months, or years afterwards, to go through the ceremony of marriage in Church. On the continent the two take place near together, and are in fact one transaction. If a man is married you cannot marry him again, any more than when a man has received lay-baptism can you baptise him over again. If my married friends will pardon the simile, marrying a married man is like killing a dead one. It is like saying our grace “For what we are going to receive, etc.,” after we have finished our dinner. It is clear that the fact of a marriage not taking place in a consecrated building is of little consequence, as marriages were usually celebrated in houses till the time of Pope Innocent III.† At the same time I regard it as extremely desirable that marriages of “Churchpeople” should be solemnised, not in the register office, but by a Clergyman, with praise and prayer, and that marriages should take place with the Church’s nuptial benediction. *Ascendat Oratio, descendat Gratia*.

When I spoke before this Congress in 1878, I urged that Church marriages should be encouraged by giving people a much freer choice of the *place* of marriage, and by taking care that the ordinary fees for banns and marriage should in no case exceed the cost at the register office, viz., 7s. But I should really like to see fees for marriages done away with altogether, and a voluntary offering substituted. Many of the fees now charged are stated by high authorities to be of doubtful legality.

It would also be convenient to have some short suitable service

* See Report of Commission on Marriage Law. App., p. 13.
Bac. Abr. Marriage, Tit. C.

for people who marry at the register office, and afterwards desire the Church's blessing.

I consider, therefore, that the Church ought in the fullest way to recognize register office marriages, but to sweep away every obstacle which prevents the happiness of that marriage which is blest, not only with the spiritual grace which comes from the blessing of distant Eden, but also with the outward and visible sign of that grace by the present blessing of the Church.

6. True view of marriage. One most important duty of the Church is to keep up throughout the land the true view of marriage.

The Bishop of Derry, in 1865, said that marriage was essentially a civil contract.* This view is taken by a considerable number of Lawyers, Statesmen, and Churchmen. Some writers hold that marriage is an evolution from polygamy, polyandry, and other lower forms of quasi-conjugal association.

But the Church teaches that it was ordained in Paradise. It is like the old question whether man is derived from the ape or the angel. Certainly as regards marriage I may borrow the well known words of Lord Beaconsfield, and say I prefer the angel.

Marriage whether between Christians or non-Christians cannot be considered as a mere social or civil contract.

The marriage contract derives its efficacy from the Law of Nature, which is the Law of God, and not from Civil Law. Lord Stowell speaks of marriage as a contract according to the Law of Nature antecedent to civil institutions.† It is the parent, not the child of civil society. I need not dwell on the well-known doctrines of the Roman Church on this subject, but I will cite the opinions of bodies who have never been suspected of any Romanizing tendencies namely, the Presbyterians of Scotland and the Society of Friends. The modern Scotch Law is substantially the same as the old Canon Law. The Presbyterians still retain the Canon Law maxim "Consensus facit matrimonium;" "Consent makes marriage."‡ Minister and Registrar are neither absolutely necessary, though marriage with a religious ceremony is strongly urged. The Lord-Justice General of Scotland, says:—§

"Present consent to be husband and wife between persons labouring under no incapacity to contract makes marriage between them, without the necessity of a religious ceremony, or of a compliance with any statutory forms or solemnities."

And the marriage regulations of the Society of Friends say|| that "Marriage being an ordinance of God, appointed for man's help and blessing, ought to be entered upon in the fear of the Lord, with a reverent attention to his counsel and guidance."

They proceed:—¶ "We hold, as we have ever done, that marriage is God's ordinance and not man's; not a mere civil contract but a religious act." The form of marriage is simple. The parties take each other by the hand, and the man declares to the following

* Report, App., p. 34.

† See Report, App., p. 32, Phillimore 707.

‡ Report, App., pp. 57, 144.

§ Regulations, p. 1.

¶ Report, p. liii.

|| Regulations, p. 2.

effect:—*“ Friends, I take this my friend C.D. to be my wife, promising, through divine assistance, to be unto her a loving and faithful husband, until it shall please the Lord by death to separate us.”

A like declaration is made by the woman.

But I think there is strong reason for doubting whether marriage is a contract at all.

Lord Penzance said, when deciding on the invalidity of a Mormon marriage:—“ Marriage has been well said to be something more than a contract either religious or civil—to be an institution. It creates mutual rights and obligations, as all contracts do, but beyond that it confers a status. The position or status of “husband” and “wife” is a recognised one throughout Christendom: the laws of all Christian nations throw about that status a variety of legal incidents during the lives of the parties, and induce definite rights upon their offspring. What, then, is the nature of this institution as understood in Christendom? Its incidents vary in different countries, but what are its essential elements and invariable features? If it be of common acceptance and existence, it must needs (however varied in different countries in its minor incidents) have some pervading identity and universal basis. I conceive that marriage, as understood in Christendom, may for this purpose be defined as the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman, to the exclusion of all others.”

In a recent case Lord Justice Brett said:—†“ Marriage is the fulfilment of a contract satisfied by the solemnization of the marriage, but marriage directly it exists creates, by law, a relation between the parties and what is called a *status* of each.” The *status* of an individual used as a legal term means the legal position of the individual in or with regard to the rest of a community. I think this remark supplies us with a far truer view of marriage than that generally held. Marriage is founded upon a contract. The promise to marry is a contract. But marriage itself is a status. Mr. Patrick Fraser, a learned Scotch lawyer; Mr. Bishop, an American lawyer; and Mr. Arthur Tilley, an able English writer, all take this same view.‡ If marriage is a contract, why may not its terms be varied like other contracts? Other contracts may be limited as to time, or may be on conditions, or with limitations. But you cannot have a marriage for a term of years, or during good health, or subject to a month’s notice on either side. No deceit as to the position of the parties, moral, civil, or religious, will avoid a marriage.§ A man or a woman may obtain marriage under false pretences or fraud of the grossest kind, yet the marriage is valid.|| But the legal maxim is “*Fraus omne contractum vitiat.*”¶ So I draw the inference that marriage is not a mere contract. And I hold this to be the case whether marriage is solemnized in the presence of an Archbishop or a Registrar, whether in Westminster Abbey or the Workhouse.

* Regulations, p. 9.

† Niboyet v. Niboyet 4, C. R. P. D. 11.

‡ *Law Magazine and Review*, November, 1878.

§ Phillimore, 720, 799.

|| Error Personæ forms an exception.

¶ Broom, 292.

Mr. Pollock, one of the most recent and learned writers on the Law of Contracts, admits that marriage is different from other contracts.*

Thus he points out that infants may contract marriage ; also that marriage cannot be rescinded for fraud. He remarks that marriage, although including a contract, is much more than a contract.

It is the Law of England, and probably of all civilized countries, that unless the party imposed upon has married the wrong person, and thus given no consent at all, there is no degree of deception which can avail to set aside a marriage.† How different this is from a contract ! If you consider it as a contract, you find yourself in a mesh of difficulties. Continental writers have wasted much ingenuity in debating with which class of contracts marriage should be reckoned.‡ And Savigny takes the trouble to state that a Corporation cannot marry. I think this shows the " Civil contract " theory to be utter absurdity.

The Church, therefore, should not try to decry register office marriages as mere civil marriages, but teach and preach that husband and wife are joined together, not by Church or State, not by priest or registrar, but by God. For if the priest makes the marriage the Church may dissolve it ; if the State makes it Lord Penzance may grant a divorce ; but if God has joined them together, let no man put them asunder.

7. Reforms needed. Another duty of the Church is to assist in general reform of Marriage Law. Let the hours of marriage be extended.

Let Nonconformists marry without the presence of the Registrar. Mr. Blennerhassett introduced two bills this last session for these specific purposes.

Let people have a much wider choice as to the church in which they may marry.

Mr. Blennerhassett's Bill of the first Session of this year dealt with this.

Let the Church aid the State in every reform of Marriage Law ; for the real good of the Church and State is one. Holy matrimony is not limited to conforming members of the Church of England.

Nonconformists, Roman Catholics, and Jews can love and marry as happily as the most orthodox of Churchmen.

In truth, questions of Marriage Law are of interest alike to every Englishman. The purity of marriage is the strength of the nation. Every needless obstacle put in the way of lawful marriage tends to weaken our country. Lower the idea of marriage and you instantly cause immorality. Make men think that marriage depends on Acts of Parliament, and they will soon say, " If an Act of Parliament can make a marriage, so it can invent a Court to dissolve it." If it were only a civil contract, why should it not be capable of rescission, like other contracts, if both parties desire it ? If marriage differs from unlawful cohabitation, merely because it gives certain legal rights,

* See Pollock, 37, 475.

† Of course in the case of Force or Duress no consent is given.

‡ Pollock, 37.

men will say there can be no more harm in omitting the marriage ceremony than there is in making a contract for the sale of land without writing, which cannot be enforced on account of the Statute of Frauds. No! marriage rests on no ordinance or statute of man's making. The Society of Friends can teach us better than that. Roman Catholic Ireland and Presbyterian Scotland can teach us better than that.

Marriage was instituted in the time of man's innocency, and forms the one blessing which man brought with him out of Paradise.

ADDRESSES.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF MANCHESTER.

I AM very sorry to have missed hearing the papers that have come before you. I was obliged to go elsewhere, and I therefore may not touch on the points brought forward by those who have read papers to you. I want first to clear the question from some difficulties. I find that men in London clubs say to me sometimes, "What has the Church to do with Burials and Marriages? Why can't they let people alone. Burials and Marriages are civil." Of course, we Churchmen are obliged to say what you have just heard from the last speaker, that we regard Marriage, if not as a Sacrament, at least as of a sacramental character. It is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual mystery, and though not ordained by our blessed Lord himself, and not therefore included in our definition of a sacrament, yet it has a sacramental character on the authority of the holy Word of God. Just in the same way the Sabbath day has a sacramental character. It is a sign betwixt God and men that He is the Lord who sanctifies them. Many other things may have a sacramental character. This explains why Churchmen must look upon the Marriage ceremony as a sacred thing. Of the other matter I need say nothing; the State has settled all about Burials. There is a danger at the present day for which we ought to be prepared. I think it is extremely likely that the laws relating to Marriage will be simplified by some legislation like a *coup d'état*; that is to say, that we may get Marriage Laws of the *Code Napoléon* brought upon us all of a sudden. The State would then recognise nothing but Marriages before the Registrar, who will have the mutual consent witnessed by others, and signed by the parties, therefore conferring on the offspring the civil rights which result from Marriage. Some change is extremely probable; for the state of our Marriage Laws is absolutely disgraceful. At present, according to the Royal Commissioners on the Marriage Laws, a man may be married in England, not married in Scotland, and unable to tell whether he is married or not in Ireland. Not only are there different laws relating to Marriage, but these have been subject to strange treatment, in Ireland especially. In Ireland some time ago I was told of this Roman Catholic grievance, that if a man, being Roman Catholic, turns Protestant, he may be married by the Protestant clergyman next day; but if, being a Protestant, he turns Roman Catholic, he cannot be married by a Roman Catholic Priest until six months have expired. This practice is founded on a shew of reason, that Marriages by persons not recognised by the law of the land as public functionaries would not have the security of legal registration; but it is one of those barbarous things which either has been swept away, or, if it still exists, deserves to be swept away. The best solution of the problem is, in my opinion, that those of us who are seeking Matrimony should be legally married before a Mayor or Civil Registrar.

and then go to the Church and have our own religious ceremony. If this plan were uniform throughout the country, it would agree with the Scotch system, and might easily be adapted to the needs of Churchmen. That it would lead to dispensing with the Church's marriage ceremony, I do not think. It does not do so in France, and certainly in France there is not so much respect for religious sanction as there is here, except amongst the women, and I suppose that they probably would insist on the religious ceremony being still observed. In France you go before the Maire of the Commune, and there you are married for all civil purposes, and then some people go on to the neighbouring Church and receive the Church's blessing on their contract. There are some difficulties in the way of adopting the French plan at present, but they are not insurmountable. I am afraid our people are getting already accustomed to being married by the Registrar only. For this reason, we should try to remove every hindrance which leads people to neglect the laws of their Church. One of these has already been mentioned, viz : fees. I wish, with my predecessor, that all fees could be abolished. I have advocated that plan, but then I met with this reply, "It is not much matter to you because you do not take them." If my friend says they are an important part of his income, I agree that it would not be fair to abolish them without compensation. Then let him be publicly compensated. Yet it remains a fact that fees are hindrances. It may be said that they are so small they are of no consequence. Whether legally or not, a gentleman whom I have before me takes a fee of 7s. That is clearly a fee of some importance; but a man can have his banns published and be married, and obtain a certificate of the same for 4s., at Manchester Cathedral. Objection to such a fee is not very reasonable. No person has a right to marry and undertake the responsibilities of married life, if 3s. or 4s. is an important object to him. I am afraid that many people in the manufacturing districts marry very early and imprudently. Where young people can earn 16s. or 17s. a-piece, they set up housekeeping together when 16 or 17 years old, and the consequence is that you find people 19 years old going to the Workhouse with children.

Again, it would be a good thing to issue licenses at a cheaper rate. On one occasion I remember the Chancellor of a Diocese was very indignant with me for wishing to reduce his fees. He failed to convince me that he could have a moral right to any portion of them. The old plan of a certificate of publication of banns ought not to cost more than 1s. 6d., and licenses need not cost more. The custom lately of being married after banns instead of by license is, in my judgment, a very good one. "Putting up the banns" is an old custom intended for all, and the licenses seem to me to be a remnant of the middle ages. The system was contrived, in order to put fees into the hands of episcopal officers. A committee appointed in the Diocese of Lichfield some time ago made a general recommendation to the effect that licenses should be made as cheap as possible. Another difficulty wants attending to,—perhaps we feel it more in large populations than elsewhere,—and that is, the verification of the statements of persons about to be married is made the duty of the parson. It is not possible he can do this very efficiently. In a parish, say of 20,000 people, where most parishioners are of the working class, they are constantly changing their abodes. They go and come, and you can't find out much about them. Indeed, they hardly know anything about their parish. This wants alteration, and I would suggest that the Churchwardens—these valuable officers of the Church—for whom the Archbishop of Canterbury has great affection—should undertake that duty. Residence, again, for marriage purposes, is merely a legal fiction. A man goes to a public house, or an hotel, and takes a room for three weeks, and the "residence" does not mean anything more than paying the hotel-keeper's bill. In the same way, if a man pays 2d. or 3d. at a lodging-house for his bed, they do not even ask for his name; if he wants to be identified, he may give his name, or the name of any person whom he may wish to oblige. Now, such a residence

as that is purely fictitious. There is no need of ascertaining whether a man has slept at a lodging-house for a certain number of nights in order to make his marriage a proper one. I should do away with the condition of residence altogether, for it is troublesome and without value. Why should not a person get a certificate from the resident parson or magistrate or churchwarden, that he is a fit person to be married whenever he pleases?

Questions which arise out of the spiritual character of Marriage are of importance in this respect. Under the present rules adopted by the State, Church discipline may be impossible. The State allows the marriage of divorced persons. In the Act which authorises divorces and re-marriages, it is recognised that the law of the land does not agree with the law of the Church. Therefore, the Act does not compel any Clergyman to perform the Marriage Ceremony between persons either of whom is divorced. Any Clergyman can refuse to perform the ceremony in such cases. He must, indeed, allow it to take place in his church, but he is not bound to do it himself.

With respect to the admission of such person to Holy Communion, a very troublesome question would arise. Of course the ordinary way is to say, "Do not ask any questions." That may satisfy some persons, but others are not so easily satisfied, and, if they knew of Scriptural impediments, would have very great scruples indeed in admitting to Holy Communion persons not joined together by God. Probably they would rather risk the civil action which might be brought against them for refusing.

The permission of divorce is a very difficult question. To bind two persons together, one of whom perhaps is living in a state of sin, is a very hard and harsh thing. A man may put away his wife for cause of adultery. This has our Lord's own sanction. The theory in Roman Catholic countries is that there is no such thing as divorce; in practice, however, Roman casuists are very astute, and by a Papal dispensation, as we have seen lately, parties are enabled to get a divorce. It is for the sake of avoiding sin and avoiding other difficulties which might arise, that divorce has been allowed. It would be much better if we adhered to the old plan that divorced persons should not be married again. I cannot help feeling that the law of God forbids it. "He that shall marry her that is put away committeth adultery." These words should be our Christian guide.

H. O. WAKEMAN, Esq.

FORMER speakers and readers have treated this question chiefly as it concerns the Church of England and the duty of the Church in regard to the laws of marriage and divorce at home. I want to approach it a little more from the outside; for if there is one question more than another on which we feel a large interest, not merely as members of the Church of England, but as members of that far wider body, the Catholic Church of Christ, it is this marriage question, and especially that part of it relating to divorce. It is impossible to read accounts coming from America, the charges of our colonial bishops, and the newspapers of Germany and France, especially the latter, without seeing that the same question and the same difficulties press upon them as upon ourselves. It almost looks as if the question of divorce and marriage was the one question upon which the powers of the world were setting themselves to fight the great battle against the Church in our time. What, then, is this question? It is simply this: whether marriage in the future is to be in Christian countries what it has been for 1800 years; whether marriage is to be holy matrimony, or a mere civil contract? The difference between the two is, of course, well known to all. Christian marriage is an union of men and women made before the Church on earth, and ratified by God in Heaven, founded on mutual love in Christ,

typifying the union of Christ and His Church, and like that union indivisible and indissoluble. Civil marriage is the union of two people for mutual convenience only, without a thought of the future, without a thought of the family—for mutual convenience only, and terminable on the demand of both parties, or even, in certain cases, on the demand of one. If it be thought that I am over-colouring the matter, that this is not really true, you have only to look at foreign countries, where these opinions have been either wholly or partially successful. Look at the state of morality in America and in Germany. You will find that marriage there is really a simple contract, just like one of partnership, not even for life; partnership which is terminable, like all partnerships, by mutual agreement, or in certain cases not even by mutual agreement, but on the demand of one contracting party only. Look specially at the case of France, where the struggle now has reached its height. Next to the question of the Religious Orders there is not a question which is more to the front in France than that of divorce. Look at the *projet de loi*, introduced last year in the Chamber of Deputies, by M. Naquet, and read the sinister words of Alexandre Dumas, the man of Society, as he well describes himself, and the man of the Theatre, as against his opponent, the man of the Church, See what the law is they propose, and do not for a moment think that that is outside our question and does not touch us in England, for we have already in England started on the same course. The Divorce Law of 1856, the approaching legislation in regard to marriage with a deceased wife's sister, are all a part of the same struggle which is now being brought to a head in France; and already in a good many magazine articles and newspapers of the day you will see the same arguments brought forward for a change in the marriage law here, as are being brought forward with such success abroad. What is the nature of the divorce, what is the change in the marriage law, which they propose? Divorce, according to that law, may be effected, first, by mutual consent. It simply requires the two married parties should agree to separate, and they are divorced *ipso facto*. Secondly, it may be a divorce on the demand of one party, for certain specific causes, adultery, abandonment for two years of the one party by the other, drunkenness, incurable illness, conviction for crime; or, finally, any reason which may seem sufficient to the court, may be pleaded for dissolving the conjugal bond. That is the marriage law with which I do not hesitate to say the Church throughout the world, and the Church in England, is threatened. That is the marriage law which would be the logical outcome of the principles of civil marriage. It is for us to consider, and for the Church to consider, what our wishes and views should be with regard to such a marriage law. What would be the effect of it? Can it be anything else than moral and social deterioration? You have a marriage dissolved by vice, by crime, and by sin. What is that but putting a premium on vice, crime, and sin, in a certain sense, if it be true, as M. Dumas asserts, that the marriage bond is to many an intolerable yoke? For the argument in favour of such a divorce is liberty and equality. The words of M. Dumas are, "Save me from this intolerable yoke which you churchmen put upon me,—a yoke which neither our forefathers nor we are able to bear." Give me the liberty to break it off my neck for myself by committing crime and yielding to sin. Is not this indeed moral deterioration? The problem, therefore, with which we are to deal is, whether marriage, according to the law of the land in England is to be Christian marriage or civil marriage? The effect of a change in the law will be the abolition of Christian marriage, the substitution of contracts terminable at pleasure, the moral deterioration I have alluded to when the law of marriage becomes a premium on sin and vice, and the abolition of that family life for which the Christian marriage exists. For, by the law of divorce, the family is neglected, which is the main object of Christian marriage. You have then, I repeat, social and moral deterioration, the abolition of Christian marriage and family life, as necessarily resulting from

the change I have spoken of in the marriage law. If that is the problem before us, what is the duty of the Church? What are the duties of churchmen with regard to such a matter? In the first place, obviously, to resist any alteration in the marriage law: but if resistance fails, as it has done in America and Germany and will in France, what then? First of all, the Church has a right to be freed from all complicity in the evil thing. That has been referred to by former speakers, and I need not say much more about it. But, as you know, by the present law the Church is bound to allow her buildings to be used for the re-marriage of divorced persons. In the name of liberty and justice that should be swept away, and the Church should be free to set up her laws, to follow them, and be true to her faith without any interference on the part of the State. Next to freedom from complicity in what is wrong, comes the teaching which the Church ought to give on the subject to her members. The Church has to teach her own members that the law of the State is not the same as the law of the Church. It seems to be a truism to say such a thing. Take, for instance, the simple question of drunkenness. There is no State law against drunkenness; a man may get drunk in his own house as much as he pleases. But if a man is known to be a drunkard, there is a law of the Church which reaches him, a moral law which is recognised by every one. Society recognises it, and Society, to a certain extent, visits that sin with social excommunication, making the drunkard feel that he has sinned, if not against the law of the State, at least against the law of Society and the law of God. So it is with swearing, and other such sins; and we have to teach the people the same with regard to the Church's law of marriage. We want to teach the people that there is a Church law of marriage which they must not break any more than the Church's law against the sins of drunkenness and swearing. If we do that, if we can only make people true to their marriage obligations, we shall get results to the Church far greater, I think, than any one at first sight may imagine; an appreciation of the reality of Church life to begin with,—a realisation of what the Church is,—a spiritual society, having spiritual laws, responsible to God and God alone; next, a renewal of union at home and abroad, for it is the one question about which the heart of the whole Church throughout the world beats in unison. We shall have more of that union among ourselves, about which we heard so much yesterday; we shall have more chance of union with the Church abroad; and last, but not least, we shall be more true to our Divine Master.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. W. CUNNINGHAM.

IF we try to consider the cause of the severance between the law of the Church and the law of the land in this matter, it appears to me to lie in the low tone of morality which is at present current in this country with regard to marriage and married life. How far that low tone of morality is due to the neglect of the Church to be true to her own teachings, it is not worth our while to consider; but it seems to me that the law as it at present stands only embodies a still more objectionable state of public feeling. This, I think, we recognise over and over again when we complain, as we so often do, of the very large number of thoughtless marriages that are undertaken, of those who come together lightly and not keeping in view what the responsibilities of the state they are entering upon really are, without remembering that they are entering on the holy estate of matrimony, and undertaking the responsibility and the duty of rearing children to be good citizens of the State, and to be members of the kingdom of God. And this is

assuredly a very great responsibility. Surely we may see how great the responsibility is when we remember that one great branch of the Catholic Church has found that the undertaking of such responsibilities is incompatible with the other responsibility of the priestly office. Yet, there are not a few who seem to rush into matrimony without thinking of this duty. When we consider the state of feeling in many manufacturing districts, or even the state of feeling as it has been represented in high society, where those who have *not* been married are kindly received, it seems to me that there is a very widespread opinion in many quarters that the married state differs very little indeed from a continued state of fornication, save that it is approved by the convention of society and blessing of the Church. The first thing, therefore, that we must seek to do is, I believe, to try and raise the tone of morality in regard to married life wherever it exists. I believe it is necessary to do so actively. I have, within the last week, become aware of the existence of a league in this country, which is active in its propaganda, and which comprises a considerable number of medical men among its adherents. It supports a newspaper and distributes tracts, the avowed object of which is to undermine the current morality in this country on the subject of marriage, and to endeavour to assist people to enjoy the pleasures of fornication without undertaking either the duty or the responsibility of family life: and I say, when we have an organised attack on the civil institution of marriage, it is indeed time for the Church to come forward once more, and if possible once again save an institution for the State. This is a very delicate matter. It is a very difficult matter to say how we can raise the tone of society on this great question. I believe one important thing is that we must strive to put forward the neglected virtue of continence as one to be aimed at; for just as chastity is the virtue of the celibate state, so continence should be aimed at in the married state, not perhaps to such an extent as conflicts with other duties, but as it was pursued by good Catholics like Sir Thomas More, or approved by such men as Defoe. It does seem to me that it might be possible to assist those to whom such virtue did not come easily, to assist them to acquire continence by more strict attention to the times and days of abstinence..

The Rev. PHILIP HAINS rose to order. He wished to know whether it would not be better that this subject should be dropped.

The Rev. W. CUNNINGHAM—My point was that the whole tone of society in regard to married life is very low, and that the only way in which the Church can check the evil is to endeavour to raise that tone. (Cries of "Go on.")

The CHAIRMAN—I think that Mr. Cunningham is decidedly within the range of the discussion. Whether he is as near the subject as the text I think is rather an open question. If the meeting, however, thinks that Mr. Cunningham is within the subject, then he may proceed.

Mr. HAINS—Of course I bow to the decision of the chair, but I beg to submit that the duty of the clergy in regard to married life is quite a distinct subject to the duties of the clergy in regard to the laws of England.

The CHAIRMAN—We must leave it to Mr. Cunningham to say nothing against which there is a strong objection, or to violate in any way good taste in his remarks.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM (resuming)—It seems to me that the Church Marriage Service is specially designed for those who are communicants, and if we do not dare to repel from the altar at that time those who are not such, still we may at least endeavour that the communicants undertake that duty in the right way; and we must remember that the Church has advised that the first act of their joint lives should be the partaking together of the body and blood of our Lord. So far as we can, it appears to me, that in every possible case we should urge upon those who are about to marry that this eucharistic service should follow immediately on marriage. If we do so, we shall be taking a step in the right direction, in enabling

them to begin their married life in the best possible way, and striking perhaps a blow at the indulgences which too often accompany the wedding party when they leave the Church, such as over-eating, over-drinking, and foolish talking and jesting, which are not convenient. If in speaking to you on this subject I have been guilty of trespassing on the bounds of good taste——

The CHAIRMAN—I am bound to say that I do not think any apology really necessary.

The Rev. THOMAS BOOKER.

It seems to me that our position will not be improved so long as the Church remains on the defensive. I believe no general ever won a campaign except by taking up an aggressive position. (A Voice: "The Duke of Wellington.") Certainly he was very frequently aggressive. The subject before us, however, is the duty of the Church as regards the Civil Laws relating to marriage and divorce. Have we no duty in trying to amend these laws;—to teach the State that the Seventh Commandment comes between the sixth and the eighth? If a man commits the greatest sin against the Ninth Commandment, I believe it is felony, and you punish it with penal servitude; if a man commits the greatest sin against the Eighth Commandment, it is felony, and you punish it with penal servitude; if a man commits the greatest crime against the Sixth Commandment, it is felony, and you punish it with death, although sometimes that sentence is mitigated. Now, if the State believed that the Seventh Commandment came between the Sixth and the Eighth, the State would punish the adulterer with penal servitude; and if you could get the State so to punish the adulterer, almost all other difficulties by degrees would vanish. If a married woman is subject to temptation, and knows that her paramour will be incarcerated—that she will not only lose a husband but a paramour—I say you would give the woman in the hour of temptation such a defence, from a merely worldly point of view, as she has never yet had. This adultery deserves such a punishment as I have indicated. Its guilt is as deliberate as that of the burglar; it is as wicked and as selfish, and it is a thousand times more pitiless. What misery he inflicts! He brings disgrace on the woman and upon her family; he brings disgrace on her children if she have any. He puts a stigma on her; and what does he do to the innocent husband? He leaves him with a wound to rankle in his heart, which will never be healed in this life, or at least until he is prepared for a better world. He inflicts injury beyond the power of man to heal. Adultery is so pitiless, so selfish, that he who commits it deserves to be punished with penal servitude, and the only reason people do not think so is that no attempt has been made to inflict it. Suppose you carry a bill to that effect, instantly the adulterer will be looked upon as belonging to the same category of criminals as forgers, burglars, and everything that is low; and the moment any person in respectable society harboured any design against a married woman, his friends would say: "My dear fellow, you will get yourself into a horrible mess; you will be a desperately low fellow, and we shall all cut you." I say you would thus raise a social stigma against everything in the nature of adultery, which would, more than anything else I know, tend to diminish adultery. Of course the option of commencing such an action would be left to the husband; and if he chose, no one would be able to interfere with his generosity to his wife. Of course "Let him who is without sin among you cast the first stone" requires that the wife should have power to administer an oath to her husband that he had never committed adultery against her; for if he had, he ought to have forfeited his right to prosecute her for adultery. It seems to me that this would be aggressive warfare against the causes of divorce. It might very well be

taken up by some enterprising members of either House of the Legislature, and any such person would acquire an enormous amount of popularity. He would have all Irishmen with him to a man; he would have the greatest part of the respectable people in Scotland with him, as well as the greater part of respectable people in England. There should be a certain amount of time given after the passing of the Act before it came into operation, in order to enable people to get rid of their entanglements, and precaution should be taken to punish any witnesses who had committed perjury in such cases. I will not mention names, but a certain candidate at an election who found himself opposed by a person of noble family, took it upon himself to say: "Why does not my hon. friend bring forward a Bill for inflicting penal servitude upon the sons of peers when they commit adultery?" Well, that was unjust in suggesting that it is the upper classes who are particularly prone to adultery, and it was unjust in indicating that there ought to be a more severe punishment on members of the upper classes than on the lower classes. I saw a statement in a newspaper that during the last year there were 500 divorces for adultery—a statement which I could scarcely credit. I do not suppose that perhaps more than two, perhaps not even one of those cases, was a case in which the son of a peer was the co-respondent; and, as far as I have observed in the newspapers, the great bulk of these cases are of parties belonging to the lower part of the middle section of society. The most immoral class of people about whom I have heard as a class (I am speaking simply of what I have heard), in regard to the question of the sanctity of the married life—people who are almost trained to think that it is a matter of no consequence whether you are married or not; or, if you are married, that you can soon get rid of your wife—that class is the coal miners of North Derbyshire.

H. C. RICHARDS, Esq., Gray's Inn.

ALTHOUGH I am not a married man, I have, for the last seven or eight months, had a rather unpleasant experiment, as far as my moral susceptibilities are concerned. I have been reading, I may say, with a gentleman having a very large practice in the Divorce Court; and in rising to address a few words to the meeting, I would say that the Church should set her face as a flint against any recognition of the sentences of that Court, by refusing to re-marry those who have, so to speak, liberated themselves from their fetters. I can assure you that a vast proportion of divorces are not so much on account of any adultery committed, but that one or other of the parties is desirous of getting married again. They have seen some one else, in fact, whom they desire to make their paramour, some one else for whom they desire to break the Seventh Commandment. I can assure you that a very large proportion of these divorces come from the lower middle class. A question again and again brought to Chambers is, "If you please, how much can I get a divorce for?" For £25 you can do the thing respectably. I do think that we ought not to increase facilities for adding to the number of divorces. When a person of the upper classes does transgress, all the newspapers have a full report of the case, but if you spend a few days in the Court, you will find that, while there may be one person of the upper class once a week, the cases of persons of the lower middle class would occupy from Tuesday morning till Friday afternoon. I think there is another question we must face, for, under this present Parliament, I fear that the Bill for legalising Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister will be passed. In all fairness to the Prime Minister, I may say that some years ago, when he stated his intention to vote for the measure, he said he should do so only on the understanding that there was a clause inserted providing that such marriages should only be contracted at the Registrar's Office. If the "State

chose to break her Canon Law, it is the fault of the State, and it must take the consequence. But if the State chooses to abrogate the Canon Law, the Church does nothing of the sort; and therefore the clergy should set their faces as a flint against any such changes, and the laity must also stand shoulder to shoulder in order to support the clergy. This brings us to another question. A very small percentage of the laity really know what are the teachings of the Church, and what are her requirements in this matter; and it is for the clergy to make use of the pulpit for plain dogmatic teaching on the subject. One thing has struck me, and that is the way in which working men speak against divorces—I mean those working men who are thoroughly in earnest, and who have some grasp of Church principles and Christian life; and I must say that I should very much regret any alteration of the Marriage Laws, to which, I think, we must certainly look forward, because we cannot forget that the Royal Commission on the Marriage Laws was emphatic in its declaration that some such alteration and some codification of the law were necessary. At the same time we must remember that the Commissioners willingly agreed that in any such change the religious sanction should not be put on one side. I must altogether deprecate the idea of making civil marriages compulsory. I fear, if we did so, that the uninstructed people—because Churchwomen and ordinary women in England have not that grasp of Church principles which the women of France possess—I am afraid they would think that if they got married at the Registry it would be as good as the Church. Therefore, although the law requires simplification and codification, I should be the last to wish to see a premium put on civil marriages. Whatever we do, let the Church be true to the Divine Master, to her ancient Canon Law, and to herself; and then, I am sure, come whatever changes there may, God will defend the right.

The Rev. Dr. HEATH.

HAVING recently read a paper before the British Association at Swansea on this subject, I may not probably be considered inconsistent in offering on this occasion a few remarks. I have heard a great deal this morning with which I entirely agree, and I have heard many other things with which no ecclesiastical lawyer could agree, because they are not law. I believe that marriage should be maintained in all its sanctity, and that the Church should exercise her potent influence in all marriages contracted; but in the first place, I have heard a good deal of Canon law as to which I think there is a great mistake—and many eminent divines do make a mistake on the Canon law. This country has received—it has not acknowledged—the Canon law only as far as this Church and State has received the same from the 12th century down to the present time. That is the law that prevails both in ecclesiastical and civil courts. Then with regard to the conflict of laws in the three kingdoms, public attention ought to be called to this point. Marriage in Scotland may be repudiated in England, or a marriage in Ireland may be repudiated in England. Furthermore, we have heard this morning, it was quoted by a learned judge that *consensus facit matrimonium*. So far that is good; but if the learned judge made the remark it did not apply. The Council of Trent has made that decree good. That is the law of Scotland, but it is not the law in England. England never received the decrees of the Council of Trent. The kingdom of Scotland has; hence the confusion. One of the speakers this morning stated that on a Saxon Canon, in the case of the Queen *v.* Milley, the judges decided that a marriage was not valid. Now, the judges did not decide on that Canon. They decided on a Canon that was passed in the 12th century, which the English prelates received from Rome, that no marriage was valid in England unless it received the benediction of the priest. That was the Canon that decided

that case. Consequently, the man who had committed bigamy in Ireland, and really wanted to get rid of his wife, escaped punishment through that Canon. His marriage had been solemnized by a Presbyterian minister in Scotland, the wife possibly being a member of that sect. The consequence was that the late Sir Robert Peel brought two bills into the House of Commons, which were speedily enacted, to correct this state of things. It was very properly quoted by the Dean of Manchester, with which I fully agree, that in Ireland at the present time if a man goes over to the Romish Church his marriage is not considered valid unless he has been a member of that Communion six months. You probably recollect the case that caused such a stir in this country, and as to which the judges recommended that immediate action should be taken to repeal that law, and it has not been repealed to the present day. I refer to the famous Yelverton case. Then with regard to our work in the Church, I think we should do what we can to show that we, as ministers of God in each parish, are concerned to facilitate lawful marriages; and furthermore, I would recommend, what I have adopted myself, that as some persons dislike banns, and go to the Registrar's office and have their names put behind the door, stating their intention of being married—instead of allowing them to be married there, we should open our churches to them if they are worthy and upright persons. There is an amount of profligacy, in country parishes, of which this respectable community know very little. I have been shocked on looking over the parish registers in past years to see how many, not entered into the matrimonial state, are entered as the parents of illegitimate children. We must try to remedy these things, and I agree with the Dean of Manchester that we should facilitate marriages by giving up our fees. I was once challenged at a public meeting to prove what I said as to licenses. A lawyer who had been put up to have a shot at me, and who, as an apparitor, thought his fees were in danger, asked: "Prove that you have to pay 50s. for a marriage license." "Prove it," said I, "I paid nearly that sum in this very town recently when I got married." The truth is, we should do what we can to facilitate marriages. Marriage is honourable in all; then let us do our duty.

The Rev. I. J. COWDEN-COLE.

VERY many of the objections that are made to the Bill for legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister arise from the fact that this particular question is regarded as an outwork for the defence of the Marriage Laws in general. I cannot but think this to be somewhat unfortunate; and that marriage with a deceased wife's sister is able to be separated from the other degrees of affinity which are prohibited; and if this is so, it must have a great deal to do with the expediency of legalizing such marriages. Now, one of the chief objections that is made to the law as it at present stands, is that it entails legal and civil penalties upon those parties who transgress the law by contracting marriages of this sort; and this often affects those who are in a humble station in life, as well as those who are in a higher station. An incident which is told of Keble brings home the point of civil disability rather forcibly. Keble, you know, held very decided opinions upon marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and the story I have heard of him—great and good man as he was—is, that a poor shepherd in his parish sought to contract a marriage with the sister of his deceased wife. Upon hearing what was about to take place, Keble thought it his duty, first to try and prevent the marriage taking place, and then, when he had failed in doing so, he used his influence to get the man dismissed from the employment he held under a tenant of the squire of his parish; and not only did this, but wrote to the Incumbent of the parish where the man had gone for fresh occupation, acquainting him with the whole of the

circumstances. Now this, of course, is rather an unfortunate thing for the world to say about a Churchman. In a discussion on this subject which I had in my own neighbourhood in the local press, this point of civil disability was brought forward as one of the strongest arguments to support the passing of the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill. I certainly thought it a difficult argument to meet, considering the times in which we live. What most people seem to ask for is that in civil matters they may be allowed to settle what they consider expedient to be settled, by a reference alone to the State. And certainly there is a great deal of justice in such a plea. For the civil power, I will be bold to say, is not co-extensive with the religious power. The Bishop of Durham, in his address yesterday afternoon, made use of the parable of the "Draw-net," which gathered of every kind, as an illustration of what the Church was. But if the Church is to be as a "net," it would certainly imply that the Church was to be an institution gathered out of and within the civil power. Therefore, in matters which belong to natural law, and which concern the welfare of individuals, apart from their religious convictions, and their relationship to society at large, I say, in these matters, the Civil Power is supreme, and has a perfect right to do whatever it may think best and expedient to be done. Therefore, although I look at the question myself from a religious point of view, and personally think it an unfortunate thing that the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill should have a chance of becoming law, yet I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that it is a Bill which is very likely to be passed in our own day. And so, I think, we had better make up our minds to look at it as a matter which concerns chiefly the State, and not as it concerns us ecclesiastically considered. It has already been said this morning that whatever the State may do, the Church can still have her own law on the subject. Let her, then, have her own discipline, let her say to her members, "You shall not transgress this particular law; if you do, you must cease to be members of the Church." But how stands the question at this present moment? A person who may almost be non-Christian is accounted a member of the Church, and this because the Church is held to be co-extensive with the Civil Power. Church law and State law, then, must expect at times to come into conflict, unless the Church were to ratify the law of the State, which it cannot do, when in opposition to its own Divine Law. Only by the removal of the tie between Church and State could the Church hope to remove the possibility of conflict. And then, I say, the Church will have a perfect right to make its own laws, and we may be sure that those laws will be in consonance with the Word of God, which it has received from the far-off ages, and which it will hand down to the ages yet to come.

The Rev. PHILIP F. J. B. HAINS, Vicar of St. George's,
Wigan.

I DID not intend to offer any remarks to the Congress, but I have received some information to-day, which I did not possess before, relative to the refusal of the Bishops to grant licenses for the marriage of divorced persons. Unfortunately I am one of those clergymen who have married a divorced lady, but I may say I did it ignorantly. Had I known she had been divorced, I should have declined performing the ceremony, or rather, I should say, solemnising the sacrament; and, strange to say, notwithstanding what has been alleged by a previous speaker, I married the lady by the license of my Bishop, consequently the Bishop was as much responsible for the act as myself. I am very sorry that I should have done this, even ignorantly, because I am one of those who consider that matrimony partakes, not only of the character, but is a sacrament itself. I hardly know, indeed, how to distinguish between a holy ordinance that partakes of a sacramental character, and a sacrament. To me it is a distinction without a

difference. Our Church, I believe, nowhere denies that Matrimony is a Sacrament. All that she declares is that it is not of the same order as the Lord's Supper and Holy Baptism, for the visible sign is not "ordained by Christ Himself;" but Matrimony has "an outward and visible sign," though one not of Divine institution, "of an inward and spiritual grace"—and that constitutes a Sacrament. St. Paul calls it "a great mystery," or as the word may be translated, "a great Sacrament," as the Vulgate renders it, "*Sacramentum hoc magnum est.*" I was rather surprised at the remark of a previous speaker, that there was no instance in the Bible of a Priest being present at a matrimonial rite. Why, the very first instance of Matrimony, when man was in a state of innocence, was instituted, and ordained, and solemnized by God Himself, and I know of no powers of the priesthood but what stream from that Higher Power; and the very first miracle which the Saviour wrought was at the marriage of Cana in Galilee, which "He adorned and beautified with His presence." He was there, with His Apostles, and He is not only the Apostle, but great "High Priest of our profession." Although the word "Priest" may not be used in connection with Matrimony in the Bible, yet I believe the connection is inferred. It is unfortunate that the law of the Church and the law of the land should be so conflicting in various points on this subject. A previous speaker remarked that there were no less than six ways of being married in England, five in Ireland, and four in Scotland. I believe, however, if he had multiplied those in Scotland by another four, he would not have been very wide of the mark. I have heard of persons in Scotland, whose marriage was pronounced legal, who had never once seen each other, or even been in the same town—they were married by correspondence. In Scotland we, Episcopalians, are deemed Dissenters, and the law of our Church would always conflict with the law of the land if there were to arise any action at law with regard to Matrimony. What we want, therefore, is to have some uniform settled law on this subject; the same throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland. It is rather a hard thing for those who entered the Church before all these various changes in our Matrimonial laws took place, when they are called upon to conform to the new state of things, to suppose that their conscience is like a nose of wax, and that it should change whenever the law of the land changes. With regard to those who have entered the Church recently, they have done so with their eyes open, and know what will be required of them; but with regard to some of us, who were clergymen before the alterations, and who, believing that Matrimony is a Sacrament, and that the law of Christ on divorce is in conflict with that of the land, and that the higher law forbids us to marry divorced persons,—how is it? It becomes a very hard question for some of us who entered the Church of England before these changes. What, then, is our duty? Either we must obey the law of the country, *i.e.*, of the Church, as long as we are clergy of the Established Church, or we must leave it. I cannot uphold the conduct of those who, when the State changes the law of the Church, persistently violate it, and yet continue members of the Church. We cannot have the privileges and emoluments of the Establishment, and all the liberty and freedom of Nonconformity. If men will not obey the laws of their Church, then let them leave it. They cannot keep their cake and eat it also.

The Rev. H. M. FLETCHER.

THE reason why I seek to occupy a few minutes of your time is that allusion was made by former readers to Mr. Blennerhassett's project of law, as designed to repair a wrong which the State has done to the Church. How has the State done wrong to the Church? It has changed, so far as it has power to change, the law of marriage. It has obliged the Clergy of the Church to yield

up possession, for a time, of the Churches of which they are guardians, for purposes which they believe to be contrary to the law of the Church. The previous speakers and readers who alluded to this subject approved as I trust we all do, of Mr. Blennerhassett's Bill. But I think that the action of the State, in altering the condition of the law of marriage, has necessitated new action on the part of the Church; and I believe that, until that new action is taken by the Church, the religious conscience of loyal Clergymen and of the faithful laity of the Church will not be satisfied. It will not, I believe, satisfy the conscience of the loyal Clergy and the faithful laity that, by Mr. Blennerhassett's Bill becoming law, supposing it did, they would be freed from the obligation, under which the present law places them, of giving up their Churches for the solemnization of rites which they believe to be contrary to God's Law. Their conscience, I believe, will not be satisfied, till the Church—the whole body of the Church—has asked and obtained from Convocation a new law of the Church, which shall inflict ex-communication upon every Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, who, at the bidding of the State, violates the law of the Church. I do not believe that the Church can remain in a wholesome condition, or can command that respect from the world which she ought to command, if it be seen that some of her Priests are allowed to do that which the law of the Church has forbidden. If it be that the law of the Church is not changed, that by the law of the Church marriage is indissoluble, what a spectacle is presented both to the Church and the world by the sight of one of the Church's Priests, or one of her Bishops, solemnizing what is called the marriage of a person who still has in this world living a person who is united in holy matrimony to him or her! Therefore, it seems to me that if the Church is to fulfil her duty, in the changed condition of the law of the State, there must be a law of the Church enacted condemning to excommunication any Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon, who violates in this respect the law of the Church. I do not think that it should be left to the discretion of any individual Bishop, whether he shall censure, or refrain from censuring, a Priest who should so act, but there must be a canon of the Church of England that *ipso facto* excommunicates a Priest who, with knowledge of the circumstance, attempts to solemnize the marriage of divorced and guilty persons.

The Hon. C. L. WOOD.

It was often urged, and I think it was urged this session in Parliament, as one of the reasons why the law should be altered in favour of permitting union with a deceased wife's sister, that such marriages in England, prior to Lord Lyndhurst's Act, were not absolutely void but voidable. I should like to say a few words on that subject, because that statement is absolutely erroneous and mistaken. The state of the case in regard to such unions in England from the very beginning was as follows: The only courts that were able to take cognizance of matrimonial cases, up to very recent times, were the Ecclesiastical Courts. You are also aware that from the very earliest times there has been very great jealousy on the part of the civil courts in regard to the procedure of the ecclesiastical tribunals. With respect to this particular matter, the ecclesiastical courts were precluded by the civil judicature from raising the question of the legitimacy or otherwise of children born from such or any other unlawful unions after the death of either of the parties who might happen to have contracted them. The result was that, there being no authority which, under such circumstances, could discuss the question of the legitimacy of children so born, the children resulting from such unions were, to all intents and purposes, legitimate, so far as the power of inheriting was concerned, although the union itself, far from being only voidable, had itself been null and

void *ab initio*. As a proof that such is the case, although the ecclesiastical courts were not able to deal with the question of the illegitimacy of children born from such unions, after the death of one of the parties they were allowed to proceed against the survivor for incest. It is therefore incorrect to say that such unions were only "voidable" up to the time of Lord Lyndhurst's Act. They were absolutely null, and have always been considered so by the law of England, from the introduction of Christianity to the present day. Should further proof be needed, not in regard to England alone, but in regard to the sentiments of the whole Church on such a subject, it is well to remember, that such unions were never permitted until the time of Alexander VI, the last of the Popes whose example we should wish to follow, who was the first to give a dispensation for such a marriage in the case, I believe, of a king of Portugal or of Spain; and, as was stated by Lord Hatherley at a meeting in the spring of this year, that the Parliament of Paris in the last century refused to recognise a marriage between a man and his deceased wife's sister, although a Papal dispensation had been given, on the ground that the Pope could not dispense with the law of God. We cannot disguise from ourselves, after what has occurred in Parliament this year, that a very serious attempt will be made next year to permit these marriages. Under such circumstances, it seems to me that there is a very great duty imposed on all Churchmen, from the Archbishop of Canterbury down to the very humblest of us, and that is to say that such a change in the law shall not take place. If, however, for our sins, such marriages be allowed, then I say: "Whatever the State may allow, the Church, through her clergy and her lay members, must declare that she at least will in no way give her sanction to such marriages."

The Rev. THEOPHILUS BENNETT, Vicar of Brownsea Island,
Dorset.

I THINK the question before the meeting is not exactly that last discussed. It is the duty of the Church with regard to Marriage and Divorce, and I do not see how the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill should come in. What is the duty of the Church with regard to marriage? In the first place, it is the duty of the Church to promote it. The Vicar of Wakefield said "it was always his opinion that the man who married and brought up a family, did more for the State and gave more hostages for his good behaviour than the man who remained single, and deplored the increase of the population." Therefore, I think that the Church ought to promote marriages. In the City of Manchester there was a Clergyman, who never had any lack of Sunday School Teachers, and he traced that fact to a little ante-room where he allowed the males to meet the females. In the second place it is the duty of the Church to *cheapen* marriages. When I went to my living in Yorkshire I found the fees were rather high, and, much against the will of my old Clerk, I reduced them. I said to him that the Church provides for the Offering, and I think that if ever a man is likely to be generous it is on the day of his marriage. I trusted to the generosity of the bridegroom, and, in a pecuniary point of view, I am happy to tell you I did not lose by that arrangement. I think another duty of the Church with regard to marriage is to make it *happier*. We ought to do what we can to make those we marry live happily together. If there is any difference between the husband and wife the Clergyman is the proper person to try to reconcile them. But let me tell the Clergy who may undertake it, that, of all the *tasks* that could be set him, perhaps this one is the hardest. I have experienced that myself. Blessed are the peacemakers, and doubly blessed is the man who can make peace between husband and wife. I recollect once marrying an Italian to a

fine young woman at Plymouth. Six weeks afterwards he came to me and said, "Sir, I have got tired of the woman, and I want you to unmarry me." I said that that was quite beyond my province. "Oh, did you not marry me?" he said. "Yes," I replied, "but I can't unmarry you." But, I added, I will go to the woman and reason with her, and then ask you to come to me at the end of six months. I went to the young woman and found her ready to listen to reason. Six months afterwards the Italian came to me and told me he was very happy. I think, therefore, it is the duty of the Clergy to make marriages happy. We, as married Clergy, have a great advantage over the unmarried Priests of another Church. I think it was Prince Albert who said that the marriage tie, as exemplified in the Clergy of the Church of England, was one of the glories of the Church. I hold, therefore, that the Clergy should set a good example in this matter; and we all know "example is better than precept." I often say to people when I marry them (and I read the service from beginning to end), "See that you act up to that Service. If you do so, depend upon it you will not have an unhappy life." And I often tell my married hearers to read over the Marriage Service. It is said "Let the husband see that he be not *bitter* against his wife." It is the very thing husbands are apt to be. And it is also said, let the wife see that she *reverence* her husband. That is the very thing a wife does not do. Lord Shaftesbury said, when the Pope was about to be declared infallible, that it was a pity the Pope had not a wife, for, if he had, the wife would not allow him to remain for one hour under the delusion that he was infallible. Turning to the serious part of the question, I can say that what fell from Mr. Barker went straight to my heart. I think if we are to punish breaches of the other Commandments as felony, we should include also the Seventh Commandment. If there is one part of Hell hotter than another, one part where the punishment is more severe, then, to that part the adulterer will be sent, if he repents not.

The WARDEN of KEBLE COLLEGE.

I WISH to turn your attention for a moment to what seems to underlie too many of the arguments used for a change in the law of marriage. I think that the most plausible thing said, for example, by that author whom Mr. Wakeman quoted, M. Dumas, is, in substance, this,—“By maintaining marriage legally, you are maintaining the form over the spirit. You are maintaining things which you call, in your ecclesiastical rhetoric, sacred marriages, but which are, in fact, abominations of every kind.” That is obviously a matter of fact. When we maintain marriages, we are maintaining connections, many of which are as unlike those our Lord would have as possibly can be, and our first duty assuredly must be to put before people, in every way we can, what the true character of Christian marriage is. Perhaps from some natural reserve, or to whatever cause it may be owing, I do not think that hitherto the subject has had a proper place in our teaching. But, do what you will, it will always be true that you cannot get everybody to live up to the true idea of the institution of marriage. And it is urged that, while you maintain that holy matrimony is indissoluble, you cannot get people up to the standard of marriage which that implies. Well, now, does not this really raise the question whether we are to have any outward institutions of a religious and church kind at all? Is there not really involved in this discussion the question whether we are to maintain institutions and rules at the expense of individuals? In that case we shall compel a married couple to live together, perhaps in the midst of heartburnings and miseries and odious cruelty. We may soften the mischief of that as much as we can by separation and so forth; but we shall be maintaining, for the sake of a general rule and principle, marriages which are utterly unlike, in their spirit, to Christian marriages. Now, is it not the

case, I say, that any institution, if it has outward form at all, must be maintained at the expense of individuals? And is it not also the case that, in proportion as the standard of individual life is low, the sacrifice on the part of individuals must be greater. Therefore, if there be, among Christian people, an inadequate view as to what matrimony means, must it not be true that in maintaining it by our Church law we shall necessarily sacrifice to a principle, to a sacred law of right, many individuals? But what would be the alternative? The only alternative is that the Christian Church should not impose any law of marriage, but leave this to the Christian feeling and conscience of individuals. Which means that the Sacraments of the Church would be desecrated by people living in every kind of connection; and the desecration of the Sacraments is only the clearest instance of the violence done to the whole character of the Church by allowing such persons as her members. You must use Christian discipline in some form; only let us recognise what is really involved in the arguments of the advocates of divorce, and then we shall see what we have to face in doing it. And let me add this, if the Church does stand out for morality in the matter of marriage, she will not be the loser. We have been told of what the working people think of divorces, and that is only one instance of what will be proved in the long run. Young men are in the habit of saying, "Why be religious? Christian men and non-Christian men are about equally moral." The more, therefore, it is made clear that the Church has entered the lists as the champion of morality, the more Christianity and the Church of England will flourish.

The CHAIRMAN.

WHATEVER may be the different opinions of members of this Congress, they will join, I hope, in accepting the valuable suggestion of the Dean of Manchester, that marriage licenses should be cheapened. Many of us have agitated for that change for years. I cannot altogether agree with the Dean's suggestion, that people should be married where they please. I fear that would lead to a great deal of clandestine marriage. There is a very simple suggestion which an Archdeacon ought to make. In the old days, a Table of Kindred and Degrees was always ordered to be hung up in the Church. I never now find that such a thing is done; and how are ignorant people to know, unless you make these forbidden degrees plain to them in this public way? It is the duty of the Clergy, too, to preach upon this subject of marriage. How many of us ever heard a sermon upon marriage? I, myself, cannot plead guilty to never having preached one; but I never heard one. How very few preach either on purity or marriage! That, I think, is an omission deeply to be regretted, and one which accounts for much of the ignorance that prevails as to any difference between the civil and ecclesiastical law. Just as you will find among your people those who mistake registration for baptism, so, of course, ignorant people think that a marriage sanctioned by the civil law is just as good as one sanctioned by God and the Church, unless you instruct them to the contrary, which I trust we shall all be more ready to do in future.

CONGRESS HALL, THURSDAY AFTERNOON,**SEPTEMBER 30TH.****The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 o'clock.****HOME MISSION WORK.**

**HOW TO REACH THOSE WHO ARE NOT IN THE HABIT OF ATTENDING
A PLACE OF WORSHIP; MORE PARTICULARLY MIGRATORY AND
SEAFARING POPULATIONS, AND THOSE WHO ARE COMPELLED TO
WORK ON SUNDAY.**

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

BEFORE calling upon the readers and speakers appointed to address the meeting this afternoon, I wish to take this opportunity of stating that I have received, as your President, sundry addresses and resolutions, both from societies and from individuals, accompanied by the request that I would read them, or in some way have their contents made known to this Congress. I have had one, for instance, from the Association known as the Peace Society of Leicester— a body of which, of course, I desire to speak with due respect; another from the President of the Anti-Vaccination Society—a society of which I also wish to speak with all the respect that is due to it. I have also several letters from individuals; amongst others from one who desires that I should bring the subject of Unfulfilled Prophecy before the Congress, and recommend to your use the work of a favourite author of the writer's. I hope I shall not be considered disrespectful to those persons if I state that it is contrary to the rules of the Congress that it should receive or have read at its meetings any addresses, and that of course for very obvious reasons. Addresses and resolutions, in the first place, take a long time to read, and time is valuable; and, besides, if we were to admit one we should have to admit all, and the Congress would, in that case, present the aspect of a hoarding in the public street all covered over with advertisements. One thing more, however, I wish to say in order that there may be no misunderstanding. There is one address which is about to be presented, and which is of a character so entirely exceptional and welcome that I felt I was bound to receive it. Even that address, however, will not be presented to the Congress, but to myself, at the *Conversazione*, after the Congress is over; and when you see what it is, I think you will admit that it is one that I could not refuse to receive.

PAPERS.

The Rev. CANON MONEY, Vicar of St. John's, Deptford.

A FEW weeks ago four African chiefs quitted the shores of England for the centre of Africa. They had been sent here by their king to see what England and England's Queen were like. He had som

idea that next to himself she was the greatest sovereign upon earth. These chiefs visited our great cities and manufactories and arsenals. They travelled on our railways, and wondered at our greatness and wealth. They saw, also, our Queen, and received from her a Bible for King Mtesa. But what struck these Waganda Envoys more than anything else were the Church spires which they saw, as they were whirled along, pointing up to Heaven. What could these be? The explanation was given, and these swarthy men quickly understood that these spires were intended to point the people from Earth to Heaven—from Nature to Nature's God. They have gone back again to their country and their king, and they will not be slow, I believe, to declare that England owes her greatness and her happiness to England's God. But what would have been their feelings, if they had been told that, whilst the Churches to which these spires belonged, both in town and village, were open for men and women to worship God in, there were thousands who never entered them, or joined in the services which were there carried on? But it is not necessary to come from Uganda, from the heart of Africa, to wonder at such a state of things. We all marvel at it, and we all deplore it. "In a Manchester parish," says the Bishop, "containing 1,233 houses, the heads of 906 families professed that neither they nor their families attended public worship." Of these "93 were Church of England, 94 Roman Catholics, and the rest belonged to different denominations, Wesleyans being the strongest." Most truly does the Bishop add, "this fact is a scandal and a peril to society." The population of London has been estimated at 3,577,304, and it is considered that 58 per cent might be able to attend public worship at one time if they had room. The provision made by all religious denominations for London is 1,119,776, whereas it should be 2,074,836, so that there is a deficiency of 955,060 sittings. The religious census of 1851 disclosed the fact that out of a population of near 18,000,000 in England and Wales more than 5,000,000 were absentees. But then comes the inquiry—among what classes are these absentees to be found? Not among the wealthier, but the poorer classes; not amongst the employers, but the employed. By the former classes it would not be deemed respectable to be absent; by the latter, it is not considered irreligious, or unchristian even, or as indicating that they have no hope hereafter.

But what are the causes of this absenteeism? Many have been assigned;—the provision made within the church itself for their accommodation, the length and formal character of the services, the dullness of the sermons, or the mechanical and unimpressive manner in which they are delivered. "I do not like," said a poor woman to me once, referring to a written sermon, "to see a preacher carrying his brains in his hand as he goes into the pulpit." "These sermons," writes a working man, "are often delivered, either with an evident lack of all earnestness, or with an earnestness that, it is as palpable, is directed solely to clerical mannerisms and oratorical effects; and in tone they are more sectarian than broadly or charitably Christian."

But there are reasons besides these, reasons for which the

ministers of religion are not to be blamed. There is the want of good clothes. God, it is true, does not look at clothes. But congregations and the guardians of the temples do, answer the working classes. Nowhere do the pomps and vanities of this wicked world assert themselves more strongly than in the House of God. "Broadcloth and silk shrink from fustian and print in the church, as much or more than they do in the theatre," writes a working man. The inconsistencies, too, of Church-goers are marked by the lynx-eyed multitude, and they know how much there is of empty profession and unreality mixed up with regular attendance at public worship. The lives of Christians are more considered than the life of Christ. The living epistles are more studied than the written word. Thus the Sunday School scholar, as soon as he leaves the school, finds himself amongst those who regard it an unmanly thing to be religious, or to attend public worship. He yields to the force of example, or it may even be a certain amount of persecution, and the theatre and the music hall and the public-house carry the day against the House of Prayer, and the service of God.

But what are the influences to which he now is subjected. If the condition of the working classes is fast becoming, as it has been said, "an Aaron's Rod among the questions of the day," how deeply important becomes such an inquiry! Is there not reason to believe that in this respect the mass of the people are deteriorating very rapidly? I may not here describe the places to which they resort for amusement, but one who knows them well says, "They are only larger and handsomer and more attractive drinking shops. The audience begins to drink directly the doors are opened, and remains drinking till they are closed, and, in a mob of two or sometimes three thousand people, the higher the seasoning and the lower the wit and the more abundant the double *entendre*, the greater is the applause."

One of 300 thieves who had been collected together for supper, said, "The greatest curse of my life was the music halls. They have been the means of my ruin." What an account of idleness and indifference and waste of God's gifts is this of a crowd of idle boys and men, loafers in Bishopsgate-street, "who seemed to have nothing to do, and did not appear to care much about doing that; they took no note of the Sabbath bells which called them to worship. To them the Sunday morning was simply a waste of time. They had turned out of their homes and lodgings, and were simply walking up and down the street till it was time to open the public-house." Have we not here a strong argument for the closing of public-houses on Sunday?

But there is a place which even competes with public-houses, and that is the Hall of Science in Old-street, which is generally crowded by an audience who pay gladly to hear Mr. Bradlaugh. From the Hall of Science Mr. Bradlaugh has passed to the House of Commons, to the deep regret and sorrow of all who desire to fear God and honour the King. But Mr. Bradlaugh, we are told, is outdone by Mrs. Besant, "who takes the Bible to pieces and turns it inside out, and holds up to ridicule all its heroes and prophets and

kings and apostles, and Christ Himself, with a zest which seems perfectly astonishing, when we remember how much Christianity has done for the elevation of people in general and women in particular."

I have not time to speak of the impure, soul-polluting literature of the day, nor of the crowding together of men and women, boys and girls and pigs. In St. Giles' there were 3,000 families in single rooms, in the parish of Holborn 12,000.

But I am here to ask of what is all this symptomatic, and whither does it tend? We really seem, when we hear of these things and when in imagination we look at these scenes, as if we were crossing the borders of the kingdom of darkness, and coming into the presence of the Ruler of the darkness of this world. Impiety and blasphemy, drunkenness and impurity, stalk before us. In the square mile of which Dean-street is the centre, it has been reckoned that 12,000 of our poorest population are crowded; "men and women who have sunk exhausted in the battle of life, and who come here to hide their wretchedness and shame, and in too many cases to train their little ones to follow in their steps. The children have neither shoes nor stockings. They are covered with filth, they are innocent of all the social virtues, and here is their happy hunting-ground. They are a people by themselves." Can we wonder that, according to Colonel Henderson's report last year, drunken and disorderly cases had increased from 23,007 to 33,867? It is well that we should think of Heathenism abroad, but do we not need to be constantly reminded of that Heathenism at home which threatens to submerge this dear land of ours beneath a flood of ungodliness, vice, and intemperance.

It is not, however, merely for the purpose of reminding you of these things that the subject of reaching those who do not attend a place of worship has been assigned to me. What are the efforts which those that believe that Christ's Church has a mission to these masses ought to put forth? Certainly we may not fold our hands, and give the matter up as hopeless. Faith in Christ and in the power of a living Christianity must lead to work for Christ, for those who are Christless. But I am painfully convinced of this, that before we consult together as to the efforts we should make, we ought to consider the hindrances which seem to paralyse every effort, and defeat the most lovingly-devised schemes. Of these hindrances I believe the greatest to be the differences and disunion amongst Christians themselves.

In those remarkable addresses which the Primate has been delivering this point is touched upon. The thought which seems to press with overwhelming power upon his Grace's mind is this: In the face of the forces which are gathering against our common Christianity, ought we not, as the soldiers of Christ, to fling minor differences to the winds, and to stand shoulder to shoulder against a common foe? But I would make a similar appeal, because of the appalling effect produced upon the masses by the bitter disputes and religious animosities which exist amongst Churchmen and the Churches. Whether the recent Burial Bill will tend to disarm hostility to the Established Church I do not know, but I am sure it

ought to do so ; whether it will help to promote a better feeling amongst all who call upon Christ in this our land I do not know, but I am sure every true Churchman ought to strive and pray for such a result. Our hands are tied, and our best endeavours are defeated, by the working classes being enabled to point their finger at us, and say, " See how these Christians hate one another."

But what is the lever by which we may hope to move those masses who at present neglect the means of grace and the House of Prayer? I answer, love ;—the love which led the good Samaritan to the side of the wounded traveller. But, then, who is my neighbour? This is the question we want all Christians to put. Has it not been this love which has moved the hearts and won the confidence of the wildest of spirits in the worst parts of Paris? If personal influence, personal love is to be brought to bear upon the masses, the Clergy alone cannot do this. We must have the lay element more largely introduced. We must have men and women hastening to the rescue. And is not God pointing the way by the gifts He is bestowing, and the blessing He is giving. Lay help is required ; will lay help be given? In the diocese of Rochester, the Bishop has recently established on an extended scale a Lay Helpers' Association. He himself last winter addressed 23 meetings of Church workers. The object is to deepen a sense of responsibility in all Churchmen, to recognise the smallest effort to work for God, and to direct and organise the efforts of those who are willing to enter upon such work. God grant that before it is too late the Christian men and women of England will take this matter up, and reach the homes and hearts of those who are not in the habit of attending a place of worship!

Much has been done by the Church Pastoral Aid Society, the Scripture Readers' Society, and the London City Mission, to find the wanderers. But what we need is, as that true friend of the working classes, the editor of "Hand and Heart," urges in an interesting "Plea for the Evangelisation of the Masses by Voluntary Lay Help," to secure the association of Christians in Church fellowship, by forming congregations in Mission Churches, where four intelligent, thoughtful, warm-hearted laymen would assist one clergyman to take the charge of 8,000 people now altogether neglected. These Mission Churches should be utilised during the week in such a way as to create and foster a ready mind for its higher use on the Day of days. I have one such Church in my own parish, where the Rev. Charles Bullock has himself preached, so situated, I am thankful to say, that we are not disturbed and impeded in our work by the newest fashions of the day. In this Church and Mission Hall I have the help of earnest laymen, whose addresses might be listened to with profit by those of the highest culture, whilst at the same time they are admirably adapted to the character and wants of those for whom the service is specially intended.

With regard to migratory and seafaring people, and those who work on Sunday, special agencies are needed to reach them, and such, thank God, are at work. The red ensign of the Mercantile Marine of the British Empire alone waves over 38,615

ships, carrying 358,158 seamen. The British Royal Navy consists of 60,000 seamen and marines, in about 270 of Her Majesty's ships. In 200 of the smaller ships no provision is made for personal pastoral care of the men and visitation of the sick. To all these the Society for Missions to Seamen sends its Chaplains and Readers. They also work among fishermen, bargemen, and boatmen, amounting to 25,000. Thirty-eight emigrant ships, with 13,725 emigrants, were visited in Plymouth Sound alone in one year. There are other kindred societies, to which I cannot now refer, for carrying on work amongst soldiers, canal boatmen, navvies, and railwaymen, and others. In the middle of the last century John Wesley, George Whitfield, and others were enabled to arouse the kingdom from one end to another, and chiefly by open-air preaching. Three hundred and seventy-five members of the Open-Air Mission are engaged in preaching at races, steeplechases, fairs, wakes, feasts, fêtes, and regattas, besides special Missions and Services in 171 town and villages. A few days ago I heard a nobleman on the beach at Eastbourne preaching very earnestly from the text, "What must I do to be saved?"

The question for us is, What shall we do to save these wanderers? Remember that they come, many of them, from those classes of which I have been speaking, who neglect God and His House of Prayer. They have been, themselves, to a certain extent neglected, and we have now to make up for past neglect, and also to meet an immediate and pressing necessity. Whether we think of Church work in our great towns, in our villages, in mountains, moors, and dales, by the wayside, in the public-house, on the sea, upon the banks of our rivers and canals, or in our churches and schools, there is one thing which is essential that our work may abide and that our Saviour may be honoured; we must give to lost sinners *the pure Gospel*. We must give it in love; with a charity that does not grudge the success of others, that hopeth all things, that suffereth long, and is kind. In this land we have a Church honoured of God and man, a Church imperfect as all Churches on earth must be, but enshrining in her formularies and Articles the fundamental truths of our faith. But there are other Churches, too, differing from ours in forms and ceremonies and organisation, but still holding the same great truths, and proclaiming the same precious Gospel as we do. What we want for the work which lies before us, is that we should cease to contend with one another, and that we should contend only for the faith once delivered to the Saints. Our position is weakened and our struggle paralysed by unchristian jealousies and political animosities. I suppose it is possible to dwell upon some matter, utterly insignificant when compared with the great duty of evangelisation, until it is so magnified and exaggerated, that for it men are willing to sacrifice the cause of Christ and the salvation of souls.

But I am convinced that if the masses are to be reached, the Christians of England must give up this internecine warfare.

To every body of Christian worshippers in this country the words of our Lord may, with peculiar emphasis, be now addressed,

“First cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother’s eye.” But, for the sake of finding fault with one another, we are losing precious opportunities, and giving advantage to the enemies of the truth to blaspheme. Assuredly God will hold us responsible for this, both in our corporate and individual capacity. To each one there comes a call to do what he can both to win and to bring back within the fold the lost, the torn, and the wounded.

“What wouldst thou be?
 A blessing to each one surrounding me;
 A chalice of dew to the weary heart,
 A sunbeam of joy, bidding sorrow depart;
 To the storm-tossed vessel a beacon-light;
 A nightingale song in the darkest night;
 A beckoning hand to a far-off goal,
 An angel of love to each friendless soul:
 Such would I be.
 Oh, that such happiness were for me!”

But as Churchmen, as members of a body pledged to serve Christ and in love to serve one another, let us seek that help without which we can do nothing. If we are wanting in love, in faith, in zeal, in wisdom to plan, in power to execute, it is because we are not looking as we should for the gift of the Holy Ghost. If the early Church needed a Pentecostal effusion, so do we. We need the coming down upon our Church and land of that great power by which alone hearts are changed, minds are elevated, and lives consecrated to God. Those multitudes, who never thank God for the means of grace and the hope of glory, are still the objects of a Saviour’s pitying love, and a Heavenly Father’s care. Shall they not also be the object of our Church’s most earnest and prayerful effort? Shall we not, for their sakes, pray to be delivered from unhappy divisions, and to be united more closely in self-denying, loving effort to save them from sin and to draw them to God?

The Rev. J. GOTT, D.D., Vicar of Leeds.

I SPEAK of the Church in her migratory tribes. The subject is urgent and very great, and I can imagine no scene so fit for its discussion as a Congress. For we ourselves are a migratory tribe this week, and it is well that the Church, in migration, should gird herself to minister to the migrations of the Church.

I. I will state their case.—They *number* nearly one million and a quarter, and their *men* alone mount up to nearly a million, and *such men!* those hardy fishermen, those gallant sailors, and those navvy athletes!

These are the chief families of wandering England:—Fishermen and their kindred, 250,000; Sailors in the Home Merchant Service, 250,000; Emigrants in our Harbours (yearly), 250,000; Sailors in Colonial Ships frequenting English Ports, 100,000; Sailors in Royal Navy, 60,000; Bargees, 33,000; Navvies, 40,000; Railway Men, 85,000. To these you may add the families of those navvies, and the children of the bargees, and the hoppickers, who encamp for an autumn month in Kent and Surrey. I hear of 10,000 in the

Farnham district alone, and that only covers the small area of five miles diameter. Nor can I count the ubiquitous gipsies and their imitators.

And all this is a new thing among us.

The whole of our steam packet fleet has been called into existence in the last 30 years.* In the middle of the sixteenth century England possessed 135 sea-going ships, most of them small. The total war and mercantile marine loaded in 1602 a tonnage of 45,000,—not a quarter of what the small town of Bremen now possesses.†

Neither navy nor bargee was known a century ago.

In the lifetime of many who are here, there were no railways to make a Congress possible.

This is the number of the migratory tribes of England.

But their *moral condition* is a very different matter. And yet, if they are without our grace, it is only because they are without our means of grace. It is only on my knees that I dare to think what I should be, if I had neither clergy nor church, neither sacrament nor service, neither religious friends nor a Christian home.

And the main point of my paper is this,—If these men are bad, *their sins lie at our door*; with *them* God will deal very mercifully, and, at the worst, they will be “beaten with few stripes.” And I hold that it is worse for us to neglect them, than for them to neglect God. It is a heavier breach of the third commandment when we are silent about God to them, than when they speak His name in vain. And we break the fourth commandment more when we don’t work for God among them on Sunday, than they ever can by working for man all that day long.

I once was used as the means of converting a Norfolk wherryman, and, to show his gratitude, he presently gave me a hare he had poached that Sunday morning, as he sailed down the river.

Mr. George Smith, of Coalville, a name I quote with great reverence, probably knows and loves the bargees better than any Englishman has ever done, yet he is obliged to confess that 95 per cent. can neither read nor write, 90 per cent. are drunkards, 60 per cent. are living in open fornication, and only 2 per cent. are members of any church or sect. He tells us that 13,000 men and 13,000 women are living together unmarried in our barges, and 40,000 illegitimate children are growing up on their decks.‡

II. Yet, in spite of all, much is being done. *The thing is begun*; and there are results ripening among us. The priest has already gone in among these people, and the plague begins to slacken.

(a) Even among the hoppickers, one of the smaller tribes of the wanderers, an organised work is going on, full of energy and common sense.

Here is an example :—

Two thousand, touched by the very genius of wandering, have just finished their month of hopping in the parish of Farnham.

The rector met them with the welcome of the Church; his district visitors mingled among women and girls. Every Sunday afternoon,

* Kolb’s Condition of the Nations (p. 109).—STREETER. † Ditto (p. 130).

‡ Our Canal Population, pp. 119, 140.

the rector and his three curates (besides their full work in their two churches, schools, and surplice duties), held short, hearty services in the chief centres of the strangers. The scene was rough—generally a barn, or the pure greensward; but it was a real Service of the Church, and the clergy were in surplice and stole, with a few of the choir before them.

(b) Among the fishermen of Yarmouth, whose fleets cover acres of German ocean, trawling for turbot and sole, a plan, begun by Mr. Crosse, chaplain of the Beechmen's Church, has been continued till lately with great success. When the mate of a ship was brought under the power of Christ, if he proved himself a fit person, he was solemnly appointed 'Flag-holder.' At a special service, the blue flag of the Mission to Seamen, with its white angel bearing the Bible, was given into his hands, some short but sufficient training was put into his mind, a few books into his locker, and he embarked on his six weeks' voyage a recognised servant of the Church. Whenever the time allowed, he hoisted his Christian flag; the neighbouring fishermen collected in his vessel, and a pure, hearty worship arose to God from the bosom of the sea. The Flagholder kept his Christian log, which he gave in to the chaplain as soon as he returned to land.

(c) The sailors, who drop anchor in most of the harbours of our island, find their own church and chaplain waiting to welcome them, supplied by the "Missions to Seamen." At Swansea, I hear from Commander Dawson, that 50 to 100 "strangers" (the ecclesiastical name for the subject of my paper)—worship every Sunday; and if, as he supposes, these change once a fortnight, about 2,000 strangers worship there every year. He, every Sunday, brings six or eight sailors to the altar, and when the Church Congress was held there last year, the sailors entered so heartily into the spirit of the week, that they came to service every night, and on the last evening of the Congress the little church doors had to be shut a quarter of an hour before the service began, as there was no standing room left.

At Bristol, the Church has well spent nearly £8,000 in building a reading-room, and chapel above it, for the sailors who frequent its channel, and from 50 to 100 men of bonâ fide salt attend its daily service.

(d) Nor are the navvies far behind. Last Sunday week the Bishop of Lincoln confirmed eight of the men employed on the Leeds Waterworks, in the little wooden church we have built among their huts, before the altar which they had especially begged and helped us to put up.

(e) And *results* are already descending from God all around us, falling among us as manna among the wandering tents of the desert.

In the wherries of East Anglia, within a year or two of the commencement of the Wherryman's Mission, swearing was rarely heard up the five rivers that debouch into the sea at Yarmouth. I have daily heard those constant oaths, and I have listened to their eloquent silence.

In the navy camps of Yorkshire, the free fight among 200 men, with which they celebrated every Sunday afternoon five years ago, is now only a thing of history.

In the fishing grounds of the North Sea, the Sunday is now spent in rest, which used to be spent in trawling, and as many fish are caught in six days as were taken in seven days when I paid my first visit to Yarmouth. This change has wholly sprung from the men, against the effort of their masters; it was, literally, a Church strike.

The hoppickers at Farnham are becoming strangers to the police; their committals for being drunk and disorderly have been only nine in a thousand this season. Last season (two years ago,—there were no hops last year), they were 29 in a thousand.

Admiral Ryder tells us of a large man of war, which, in five years, had only one court martial, and that was held on a foreigner;—only one accident, and only one death, among 100 officers, with their proper complement of men; and all this he attributes to the ministry of one real chaplain.

The sailors who landed at Swansea last year subscribed £90 to their own evangelization.

This is something, and there is much more of this kind of success. Yet, what is it but the gold dust that a stranger picks up from the bank of a Californian river, telling of the boundless veins and seams of ore that only wait for his skilful mining?

England is far behind other lands, although our faith is purer, and our discipline is more primitive.

The North American owner supplies his ships with a library of devotion, navigation, and general interest.

The Scandinavian Church provides clergy and churches for their seamen in many of the foreign ports where they touch.

The captains of the Norwegian trading ships usually act as chaplains to their crews, conducting prayer, and reading sermons to them, besides taking care that they are supplied with Bibles, Prayer and other devotional books. But we are told that only one out of 666 English vessels, sailing from Sunderland, Bristol, and Hull, has any religious service on board.

O, very rarely is any English shipowner the Christian master of his men.

What, then, should we do?

This million of souls is clearly extra-parochial. Here and there a parish priest may have time for it; but even if he have, the "strangers" will rarely enter the parish church; mostly they have no Sunday clothes; they don't yet understand the grand old service; they feel outside the whole thing. And it is no disgrace to the parochial system if it fails under a strain which it was never built to bear. Here and there a parish priest ably and gallantly meets this extra call. But the ministry of the wandering tribes is a special one, drawing out gifts that are dormant in honeysuckle cottages, and bringing to the front men who had not succeeded in the old Parish Church. A new call like this always finds or makes new men; and it would be infidel to doubt that the same divine wave of generation that produced the navy and the bargee, and multiplied the sailor two-fold, to minister to *our* new wants, has brought forth side by side the home missionary to minister to *their* new wants.

But where shall we find these clergy, when we cannot draw enough for our parochial needs, and how shall we pay them?

A Bishop told me last week that it would be better both for his parishes and for his clergy, if two small adjoining villages were thrown into one, and if one-third of his clergy were thereby set free for other work; he added that the Bishop of the next Diocese to his would gladly see half his small villages so amalgamated with the remaining half.

If this be so, we have at once a staff and an endowment equal to this new occasion. But, failing this resource, I believe there are hundreds of laymen who will be attracted into holy orders by the enthusiasm, the freedom, and the courage of the work; men for whom the quiet days and uneventful years of the old parish priest have offered no charm; men who now often join the ministry of the Nonconformists, because it seems more dashing and free than the daily round and common task of the Tory rector; men who now emigrate or fox hunt, but whose forefathers joined the military religious orders, or followed the crusades, for very love of holy enterprise.

This new order of Clergy should be as disciplined, equipped, and marshalled as those who serve the old Parish Church; and how easily and successfully this may be done has been shown by the Bishop of Truro, who has appointed one of his canonries to this home mission work, as trainer and captain of those clergy to whom God has given this special gift. He has already a young clergyman under him, and a number of the best parish priests of the diocese, gifted with missionary fire and love, volunteer their service under him for so many Sundays a year.

As for the gift itself: when has it ever been wanting in the Church? Only when its *need* has also been absent. The need touches us to-day on every side, and it is bearing the gift upon its broad wings. And already this Christlike gift of seeking and saving the lost sheep of the Church has been grandly called out and trained by the Parochial Missions and Retreats that are well known in every town of England.

We belong to a branch of the Church which has the unique gift of a Prayer book—one identical service in the simplest and noblest mother tongue—to give to all those million wanderers in every seaport of the world, and in whatever cathedral or wooden church of England the wandering navvy or hoppicker may enter. When the wandering churchman is far away from his clergy, a distinguished sailor writes to remind me that the Church puts into the sailor's hand a substitute for the living teacher,—in temptation, sorrow, and peril, in sickness and in death, for baptisms and for spiritual communions. I have known, he says, the Prayer Book all this in the Pacific Ocean; and I have known it the same to hundreds of sailors. Do teach them to use the Prayer Book for their personal needs, and you will do much to preserve them from that unbrotherly "Brethrenism" which is the grave of many convinced souls.

The generation which has found 3,000 clergy able and willing to leave home and country to convert the heathen, is not likely to be wanting to itself and its children, when the terrible fact is once

really felt, that half England is a heathen land, and that tens of thousands of our bravest, strongest, and most industrious men are a wandering tribe in every sense of the word.

Don't you know how one young clergyman of Bristol, in 1835, began to work as a volunteer home missionary, by visiting the ships in the Bristol Channel? At the end of 20 years he had to leave the work; but out of that singlehanded enterprise, wrought by a nameless English priest, arose the Missions to Seamen, with 76 unpaid chaplains, its 47 paid clergy and scripture readers, and its five paid labourers of the boatman class, doing the work of the Church on 46 waters, with more yachts, boats, chapels, reading rooms, &c., than I have been able to count, at a cost of £15,000 a year.

The generation, which has produced a Plimsoll to move the Parliament and the country to raise the bodily condition of the mercantile navy, can hardly want one who shall stir the Church, secular and clerical, to raise the spiritual state of this vast and gallant race.

The time has come when we should form a new preaching Order, either Diocesan or National, under a Bishop or Vicar General of its own, in whose ranks should be found,

1. *Missionaries*, gifted and experienced, whose lips the angel of the Lord has touched with a coal from the altar of Heaven.

2. *Young Clergy*, working under them, and catching their light and heat.

3. *Laymen*, gifted and skilled, paid and unpaid, not only as scripture readers, but as lay preachers, under the Bishop's license.

We are the children of men who have done greater work than even this; we are the heirs of those who turned the world upside down. Rather, we are the children and the heirs of *One* greater than men. Shall we not prove our birthright?

The Work is all round us,
The Power is all within us,
The "Well-done" is all before us.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. A. B. GOULDEN, Vicar of St. Alphege,
Southwark.

I WISH to say a few words in regard to the state of matters as it presents itself in one of our metropolitan districts. I come from a parish where one of my parishioners, a butcher, was taken before the magistrate for selling bad food. The sanitary officer, in giving his evidence, said, "It's true the meat is not first-class, but people in the neighbourhood like it a little green near the bone." The people throw their family refuse into the middle of the streets, into the narrow courts, alleys, and lanes. The family washing is done in little hovels, and hung up to dry on cords reaching across those streets, courts, and alleys. In these circumstances, the atmospheric conditions are such that you cannot be surprised if people are unable to keep perishable articles of food very long. In fact it is impossible under

such conditions to keep meat in a proper state for twenty-four hours, or to keep milk or any kind of food for any length of time. Hence, Sunday trading is almost a necessity amongst these poor people; and yet all who buy and sell on Sunday are black-balled by Christian men and Christian women. It is simply impossible for people living, as a large number of our English people are compelled to live, in our back streets, courts, and alleys, to do anything else than buy and sell on Sunday. It is necessary that they should have food; and, that being a necessity, it is a question for the Church to consider, whether that necessity shall be recognised, or whether the Church is bound to reject them, unless they give up the practice of buying and selling on Sunday; or whether there should not be some re-adjustment of this matter, whereby she might receive them, provided they would sanctify the Lord's Day by attendance at an early celebration or some other service of religion. I know there are many earnest men and women who deeply feel the position in which the necessities of life thus place them in regard to their exclusion from Church communion; and we know there are many who are living in sin and wickedness for want of the spiritual help that is thus denied them. I have felt the difficulty myself, and I know there are many who would gladly receive them with open arms into communion with the Church, but I know the answer of some of our Christian brethren, "These people can have no communion with the Church, unless they give up their buying and selling on Sunday." We apply to them a principle of Puritanism which we do not recognise among ourselves. We do not recognise it in the case of professional men and others, who ride and drive in their carriages on Sunday, and in many cases work on Sunday. Let us ask ourselves then whether we should not have some consideration for those poor people whose necessities often leave them no alternative, and see whether something cannot be done for them in the direction I have indicated. It is a question which this Congress and the Bishops and higher clergy of the Church might very properly take up and determine. It is not for us to go out into the dark lanes and black spots of England to do anything contrary to the mind and spirit of the Church. Our one desire is to spread the Gospel of God, to make known its glorious truths, and win souls to Christ. We may hold our mission services, and have our prayer meetings, and bring souls to the foot of the Cross, and there is an end of the matter. These people may live still lives of holiness, but cannot be recognised as being in communion with the Church, because they buy or sell or work on Sunday.

I think, therefore, there ought to be some re-adjustment of the principle on which the Lord's Day is to be observed. I do not wish for one moment to lose our great and blessed comfort of an English Sabbath. The English Sabbath is one of our joys and one of our comforts; but let us bear in mind that people are not all in the same position, and that we ought to deal with men as our Lord Jesus Christ dealt with them, and act according to the principle that He has made known to us by His Holy Word, that men ought to be dealt with according to what they have, and the opportunities they enjoy, and not according to what they have not. I therefore want to ask the Church, through this Congress, that there should be a re-consideration of this subject, as to whether there should not be some limit to the required observance of the Lord's Day. I could make allowance for people who are compelled to sell on Sunday their ices, herrings, fish, or whatever else it might be, when they could not possibly keep till Monday; and I think they have a right to claim that their case should be considered according to the circumstances in which they are placed, and that they should have greater liberty on that account. In order to meet their difficulty it is not sufficient for us to allow that works of "necessity" release them from the obligations of the Fourth Commandment. We must supply early services suitable to the comprehension of the people; and I feel perfectly sure that, directly the stigma was removed from the poor

costermonger, he would take pleasure in attending church. If he could come to service in the morning, and afterwards go out and sell his fish, greens, potatoes, or whatever else he had on hand—if the act were allowed and sanctioned by authority—then, I feel sure, there would be many more Christians in South London than there are. I have often as many as 150 communicants on a Sunday morning. I may mention the case of one man who, although he earned more by selling his ices on Sunday than he did all the rest of the week, “chucked up” his ices, as he said, in order that he might come to the communion. But that is an exceptional case. What we want is some liberty as regards the observance of the day in reference to poor people, with some relaxation of the strictness of our Sabbatarian notions, and with plenty of bright, short, hearty, and straightforward services. The costermongers like services that are simple: they like something that goes straight on—something they can understand, and about which there is nothing to find out. Our Prayer Book, with all its beauty and solemnity, is too complicated for the uneducated, who have grown up unaccustomed to its use. I may mention a case in which I had some trouble in prevailing on a man to come to Church. At last he came to Morning Prayer, but he felt ill at ease. He tried to do as he saw others doing, but often found that whilst they were doing one thing he was doing another. He could make nothing of it, and he said, “I shan’t go there again: you made a fool of me.”

The services of the Church of England are fitted admirably for educated and intelligent people, but we must remember that we have also to deal with people who are not educated and intelligent, and who, in many cases, can hardly read a word of their Bibles. What we want is, something they can understand—*e.g.*, the Holy Communion Service is within their grasp, because they hear the same old familiar words Sunday after Sunday—Metrical Litanies, with plenty of hymns of the Moody and Sankey type, and hearty extemporaneous prayers. People will come to hear such simple services for the honour and the glory of God. I know from my experience of them that in their midst there is much deep piety, self denial, and love for the Lord Jesus. They only want to be dealt with rightly, according to their abilities. Exhort them in plain Saxon English; tell them exactly what you mean; and then I am perfectly sure that the lost masses will yet be reclaimed and brought back to the Church.

Two changes are needed. First: Some relaxation (granted by authority) in regard to the strict observance of the Lord’s Day. Secondly: The multiplication of Church services suitable to the comprehension of the people. Finally: In order that the great object in view may be attained, we must have the assistance of organised bodies of lay workers, who can give all their time and energies to the grandest work that man can possibly be engaged in, *viz.*, the evangelisation and civilisation of his fellow countrymen. Do, then, as Christian men and women, have generous consideration for those poor people, and be large-hearted in dealing with them, “according to what they have, and not according to what they have not.”

H. H. BEMROSE, ESQ., (Derby).

PRECEDING speakers have given expression to some thoughts I had desired to put before you. I will not therefore touch so much on the details of work, but will take the liberty of addressing you upon the subject generally. The question before us is how to reach those who do not attend any place of worship. I take it that our present enquiry refers to the working and lower classes of our population. The question assumes that we do not reach them. This is admitted not only by the Church of England and this Congress, but by religious denominations generally. The complaint comes

from all sides that a large proportion of these classes do not avail themselves of the means of grace. Some of the causes which contribute to this state of things have been brought before this Congress in such a way as to make every thinking man and woman lay the subject to heart. The Bishop of Bedford alluded the other night to the alienation of the agricultural class from religious observances, and to the fact that class interest was stronger than personal feeling. Then in towns we have had quietly going on for years a disintegration of classes a severance like that which obtains in London, where a great portion of the City is let for business premises, and, instead of the former admixture of classes, whole districts are occupied by classes of the lowest description. Then there is class union, and there are political causes at work which we cannot afford to ignore. These things seem to be "in the air," and I am inclined to think that we are slowly, but not less surely, going through a great revolution which will, in a larger or smaller measure, result in a reconstruction of society. This question then becomes deeply important to the Church, because I hold that, if there is any healing for the nation, it lies by the side of the river which flows from the throne of God. One's mind naturally goes back to the foundation of Christianity. They tell us that when our Lord came to earth, a great heathen oracle gave forth, "Great Pan is dead!" There are many who say now that Christianity is effete,—its work done, and it is about to be superseded by a new philosophy. But the Gospel has lost none of its power, and least of all has it lost it towards those who are low in the social scale. If such have peculiar temptations, they have also a peculiar fitness for receiving that Gospel. To no class is it so welcome, or so full of consolation, bringing, as it does, the promise of the life which now is, as well as of that which is to come.

I ask then, Is it presented aright? I mean not as to the message itself, for I suppose that never has a full and present salvation, through personal acceptance of the Lord Jesus Christ, been declared through the whole world as widely as during the last few years. But I speak of the *mode* in which it has been presented. It is asked, Why do not the classes in question come to Church? I would rather ask, Why should they come? A Scotch minister asked an aged and infirm woman how it came that she was so punctual in her attendance at Church. She replied, "The heart gangs first, and the feet follow after." We have not the bodies of men at Church, because we have not gained their hearts. We have a liturgy unparalleled for its scriptural character, consecrated by the use of centuries, but which it requires usage to appreciate. Our accumulated services, often a strain to those accustomed to them, are unattractive to others. Then there are social difficulties, some of which it may be difficult for us to enter into, but which are none the less real and great. There is "the clothes difficulty." Then, as regards the sittings in Church, we have too much of the "sit thou here" and "stand thou there." Then the atmosphere and surroundings of many buildings are such as to make decency and purity well nigh impossible. And I fear that we have failed to identify ourselves with the difficulties and position of the working classes as a class. Again, we must not forget the influence of the society in which men live on Church going habits. The traditions and customs of the upper and middle classes are such as tend to foster the habit of Church going; while the working man for the most part requires a strong personal motive to induce him to attend a place of worship, his attendance is a sort of profession of religion, and he has to make a sacrifice and brave the opinion of his class and neighbourhood and it may be of his own household. In endeavouring to answer the question before us, then, I venture to submit a principle to be admitted and acted upon. In so doing, I ask the indulgence of the Congress, while I urge what, from a layman's point of view, appears to me the solution of the problem. I submit that we should draw a clear and definite line between the two branches of the Church's work:—her

evangelistic work in gathering in those who are outside, and her work of edification, in building up and retaining those who attend her services. I submit that there is a broad distinction between these two works. Let me remind you that the principle for which I contend is admitted by us. In our parochial missions we employ any and every means to attract people. We use other places than the Church—public rooms, the wayside, and the street; we have special suitable services, and we avail ourselves of all the help which laymen can give by preaching and otherwise. History, too, has its teaching. There were the preaching friars of the middle ages. In the last century there arose Wesleyanism, which would never have grown into a separate system but for the Church's "too much stiffness in refusing." Mention has been made here of more recent movements, and of the "Salvation Army." Some may consider these to be diseases; but, according to the laws of disease, are they not rather symptoms—symptoms that the Church has failed in one part of her duty?

How is the remedy proposed to be carried out? The Clergy have their hands full, nor would I suggest or desire any interference with their functions in the Church. But may I call to your mind a Good Friday Collect? After supplication for unbelievers and those out of the way, we pray for all estates of men in the Church, "that every member of the same, in his vocation and ministry, may truly and godly serve Thee." I ask, then, on the part of the clergy, a full and frank recognition of the right and duty of the laity to bear an individual part in the ministry of reaching those outside. For the laity I claim that right as members of the royal priesthood of all true believers, with an acceptance on their part of all its responsibilities and duties. But what work can they do? I reply, much, and much that the clergy cannot do.

Time forbids my speaking in detail of the kinds of work. I will mention only one work for which there is need at least in more towns. I mean the Mission Room, not such as supplies the place of the Church to an outlying hamlet or scattered parish, but such as should be opened right in the centre of the poorer districts and streets of our towns. These should be placed under the sole charge of laymen—of course, I understand that all this work is done by the authority and with the sympathy of the clergy. I have such rooms in my mind, where men and women have been reclaimed from vice, indifference, and drink. They have been handed over for baptism, for confirmation; and marriage has sanctified unhallowed unions. Children have been gathered into schools; and the Temperance Society, Band of Hope, Bible Class, and Mothers' Meeting, and night schools, have done their work. The individual has first been changed, and then the home and the neighbourhood. This is the natural order of the work and its blessing; for we must ever bear in mind that the individual is the unit of the Church's work. It is by the loving ministry of man to man, in the house, by the bedside, by friendly offices in temporal difficulties, by sympathy and help in the haunts of vice, that men are won to Christ. There is needed for this an unbounded faith in the love and power of God to save to the uttermost. There must be a conviction that there is something in those most lost which will respond to love; that

Down in the human heart—
Crushed by the tempter,
Feelings lie buried, which grace can restore:
Touched by a loving hand,
Wakened by kindness,
Chords which were broken shall vibrate again.

May I appeal to my lay brethren? Have we not been selfish? Have we not sat in our churches wrapt up in our own enjoyment of spiritual blessings with the ninety and nine, unmindful of the one that is lost? What Christianwomen can do for the lost of their own sex, let me ask you to read in a pamphlet on "Work in Brighton," by Miss Ellice Hopkins.

Have not our homes been a snare to us by their very sanctity and seclusion which have preserved our loved ones, while we have been unmindful of the dangers and conditions of those not so blest as we ?

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. W. R. COSENS, D.D., Vicar of Dudley.

MY apology for again intruding myself on the Congress is that for twenty-four or twenty-five years I have been constantly engaged in the work of Home Missions. From the time when I worked for that great society, whose name, by the way, has *not* been mentioned to-day—the Additional Curates Society—until the present moment, I have been more or less called upon to go in and out amongst the working classes of this country (in London especially), and for many years past amongst the colliers and iron-workers; and I have thought that a few words might be spoken to this Congress as to the means we have found useful in drawing to the Church those who would have been lost in years gone by but for the earnest work of the Wesleyan Methodists amongst them. Thank God, we of the Church of England are now rousing ourselves with, I trust, sufficient energy to grapple with the difficulties which beset us in this sphere of our labour. So many able remarks have already been made as to the means of carrying out this work, that I shall confine my remarks to two or three points on which I think they may be useful to those who, like myself, have to work amongst certain classes of the community. I can fully endorse what was said by Mr. Bemrose, that our work is to gather in *individual* souls. I am certain that, however much we may preach here and there in our parishes, whether from the pulpit or in Mission Halls, we shall never do the work thoroughly unless we go out amongst the people and minister to these men and women individually; and, in order that we may have this work well done, I would say, by all means utilise the personal labours of that staff which we have around us in our Church—the personal labours of our choir-men, our bell-ringers, and our Sunday School teachers. One of my bell-ringers is superintendent in a Sunday School, and constantly brings children for Baptism and Confirmation; and I hope to see to-morrow three men, uncles of another bell-ringer, who have grown up to be old men without having as yet availed themselves of the privileges of the Church to which they nominally belong, not having been baptized. Allusion has been made to the work in Mission Rooms. I think we cannot sufficiently multiply the number of these rooms, if we can garrison them with God-fearing laymen and will take the trouble to look after them. Out of the work begun by me, in a formerly Ranters' Chapel, some ten years ago, and greatly helped by colliers, has grown up a magnificent new Church, now endowed. There is much to be done amongst the colliers. You can hardly conceive the deep germ of true religion which lurks in the hearts of those men, with their rough exteriors and sometimes coarse language. Much good has resulted from prayer meetings. Let us not despise the prayer meetings. High Churchman though I am, I am one of the first to say, let us have prayer meetings, where we shall not do all the praying, but where it shall be done also by those whose hearts have been touched by the grace of God. I remember that, after a prayer meeting, one of these colliers came to me and said: "I don't know if I could do it; but you have impressed me with the need for personal work, and I will see whether in my pit I could not carry it out;" and he did so by reading a chapter daily at the men's dinner-hour. Here we have an instance of the influence of the Church of Christ upon the collier's mind. In connection with this I may mention an incident which happened to one of my old college friends. It was on Maunday Thursday, a few

years ago, and he met a collier, who said to him: "I shall not be able to attend Church to-morrow, as it is my turn to keep the fire going at the siding in the shaft; but I shall be with you, God willing, at the Communion on Easter Day. He went to his work, and, before Good Friday had passed away, there was a sad story current in the village of a pit accident. It was true. Through some misadventure in the working of the cage, he was killed. But mark the influence of the Church on the mind of that man, who, fathoms deep in the siding, had been studying his Bible and Prayer Book, which were found open, with the leaves turned down at the services for the day; and, though he did not join in the Communion in his little village church that Easter Day, he joined, we believe, in a much higher service amongst the saints in Paradise. The next point on which I wish to say a word is, as to the necessity for organization in regard to missionary enterprise—for carrying out actual missionary work. I mean in endeavouring to carry out, not general, but parochial missions. In our town parishes we might be greatly helped by the country clergy. Many of the country clergy are present here to-day, and I would say to them, as I have ventured to say more than once before: O, that you would come up from your happy country villages and help us in the work we have to do in our town parishes. There is plenty of work to do for those who can spare the time and will do it. Why not come, and refresh your own souls and the souls of our people by giving us your help, when time will allow, in our large town parishes? I put this before you as one who is simply desirous of promoting God's work amongst the colliers, and who feels that there is much more one could do, if only we had the proper agency to do it.

The Rev. GEORGE EVERARD, Vicar of St. Mark's,
Wolverhampton.

I HAVE a large parish at Wolverhampton which has increased from six to nine thousand souls since I went to it; and of these there are in one street some fifteen hundred who are of the very lowest of the low. The question is, what can be done with them? I want to do all that lies in my power, but it is no easy matter. I have but one curate and Scripture reader. I will tell you, however, what I try to do, and perhaps it may serve as a word of encouragement to those who are labouring in other parishes. Every Sunday morning we have a little band of faithful workers who meet together in the vestry at ten o'clock, and then go out and visit the working classes at their homes, urging them to come to Church in the evening if they cannot come to the morning service. They carry with them some short tracts or papers for reading; and we have found particularly useful the beautiful little packet of Sunday tracts by the Bishop of Liverpool. And here I would say in the interests of the working classes that I do most earnestly protest against what has been put forward by a previous speaker as to any modification of the Fourth Commandment. Let us teach only what we are warranted in teaching by Divine authority. Do not teach a man that he ought to be free to trade on Sunday, but rather try to make him see that he will be happier if he gives up some of his means, and lives a little shorter, to have the Sunday as his own. But may I say also that the Church will of course not meet the case of the poorest and the neediest who want suitable clothing in which to come? In our parish we have a noble Mission Room, which will hold some four hundred persons; and in connection with that Mission Room every Sunday evening I have some very devoted men and women—two young manufacturers, a working man who works for one of these manufacturers, and some ladies—who give up their Sunday evening services for the love of Christ, and go to the very lowest parts of our courts and our worst streets. They invite people lovingly and kindly, and if they

meet with repulse, they answer it lovingly, and give a word of counsel from the Book of God. And what is the result? You might have gone into that Mission Room last Sunday night, and there seen gathered together from the lodging-houses and courts and alleys of the parish those who never have been found in the Church. Let laymen lend a hand in this work, and they may fill both the Mission Room and the Church. One word as to the Message, which I believe is what will win back those who have neglected the House of God. There is a striking passage in the Epistle to the Romans, where it is said—"Behold the goodness and the severity of God." I believe that both the goodness and the severity of God are to be proclaimed. "O tell of His goodness"; but I am sure, too, that we need to remember His "severity," for in every page of the Book, from Genesis to Revelation, I find the goodness and the severity side by side. There are many now-a-days who would exalt the goodness and try to cut out the severity from the Word of God. I do not wish to be more merciful than our Redeemer, and I find that no man ever spoke so much of eternal punishment, of "the worm that dieth not, and the fire that is not quenched," as He who laid down His life to save men from it. Let us not be wiser than God, but let us speak as we find it, the whole counsel of God. When it is done, God will bless it. Let me mention a case in point. A young person went from my parish to Manchester utterly careless about her spiritual condition. She went into a Church there and heard a clergyman preach an earnest sermon on that text—"the worm that dieth not, and the fire that is not quenched." After three weeks, under the deepest anxiety about her soul, she came back to my parish, and every word about the love of God spoken at one of our open-air services there reached her heart and showed her how she might gain "the peace which passeth all understanding." Another case I might name. The writer of many of the most beautiful hymns we have, told to a number of his brethren that a few years ago he was first awakened to a sense of his position by the thought of everlasting punishment. Let the loving words of Dean Goulburn on "Everlasting Punishment," and the malignity of sin, be read and thought over in our country. Let me ask every one present here to-day—every one in their different parishes—to give us their hearty and loving sympathy and brotherly and sisterly help in rescuing those who are wandering, and in bringing them back to the House of God. While we speak of eternal punishment, yet, let all we do be done in love, to lead people up to the loving and merciful Redeemer, who ever ought to be proclaimed Christus Consolator—the Great Healer of all our woes; for I believe that is what will bring the wanderers back to the fold.

WILLIAM HAGGARD, ESQ., (Chairman of Quarter Sessions, Norfolk).

THIS morning I was present at that most interesting meeting, presided over by the Bishop of Lichfield, in the Temperance Hall, where the question of reforming our Cathedral system was discussed. The discussion rested on the different relations of the Bishop, the Dean, and the Canons to each other, and their respective duties; and there was one thing which struck me very forcibly. *I believe the Church of England to be more than anything else a Missionary Church*; and I think that if there is one thing more than another we ought to endeavour to do in reforming our institutions, Cathedral or Parochial, it is to open the Church freely to the people. That has been done so very much already in the new churches, where it is possible, because benevolent persons came forward to build and endow them on that footing. It has been so, happily, in our Parish Churches, in the agricultural districts, because there is

room there for all. It has not been so, however, as I think, in our cities—our great Cathedral cities. I think the great Metropolitan Church of the Diocese ought to open its doors more freely than it does. Take, for example, a great market town like Norwich, where men come from all parts of the country, from the agricultural as well as from the manufacturing districts, from the confines of Scotland, from Ireland, and from everywhere, as dealers in stock, drovers and others, to transact their business. To transact their business they take three or four hours, and then they have five or six hours to idle away in the public houses. I cannot help thinking that something might be done to improve this state of things, and I speak from personal observation. I heard this morning some Cathedral difficulties explained of which I was not before aware. I was told this morning that the Bishop has no right to preach in his own Church without the authority of the Dean. I did not know that before. Deans of the “old” foundations could do anything, I understood the speakers to say, but it is different it appears with regard to Bishops and Deans of the “new.” At any rate I think that where there is a great Cathedral Church there ought to be opportunities given to people, who flock in by thousands on market day, to attend at least one service on that day. It is this feeling which has induced me, living a life of retirement, to intrude myself on the platform at this great meeting, but in doing so I carry out a suggestion made to me by the Prelate who presided this morning. Mr. Beresford Hope, at the meeting this morning, told us about the new Commission that is sitting in reference to our Cathedral system. I hope sincerely that, whether it be of the “old” or “new” foundation, whether it be in the power of the Bishop or in the power of the Dean, the Commission will consider whether some arrangements cannot be made for opening the Cathedrals of our great cities on days when there is an unusual concourse of people to the city. By opening the Cathedrals, I do not mean for a few favoured persons for the stalls and the few free seats in the choir, but their *vast naves* to those who, when business is done and before the railways clear them off to their country or sometimes far distant homes, would gladly attend a short service there. Is it too much to expect that, where there is a large number of clergy in a Diocese, many of the young—I do not speak of elderly men who have borne the brunt of the warfare of hard parochial work throughout their lives—but where there are young and energetic men, able and willing to perform good service within the confines of the Diocese,—is it too much to expect that some dozen of them should be selected who, under proper care, superintendence, and authority, would attend on market days in Cathedral cities like Norwich, and give the benefit of their learning and devotion to those people who, if they have opportunity of enjoying such advantages at “home,” yet half an hour taken for a service in a great, ancient, and splendid Cathedral, must have to them an influence wholesome as a religious service and ennobling as members of the Body Politic? I am convinced that if they had the opportunity they would attend such services, *providing they were not too long*. The question of seats is one which requires serious consideration, and I can speak from experience on that point. If the bedesmen happen to recognise a stranger as one likely to be “good for” half-a-crown they will find him a seat readily enough, but otherwise you must stop out “in the cold;” and if that applies as I have seen it apply to members of the Grand Jury, having to stop over a Sunday at a great assize, and then eventually be only too thankful for half a seat, offered by a humble friend, who had secured one of the few free seats—what must be the case of the large number of petty jurymen, witnesses, and so on, who have to attend the great assizes, and who willingly would, had opportunity been offered by a free and open service in the glorious *nave* of *their* Cathedral?

—for the Cathedral belongs to the Diocese, not to the few officials connected with it—have refreshed their hearts by attending a service there. Whether it is under the old or under the new foundation, God grant that we may have our Cathedral Churches soon open for us.

The Rev. PREBENDARY CADMAN, Rector of Holy Trinity,
St. Marylebone.

I CAN only say a few words, but I desire to speak more particularly of the responsibility of the Clergy of our Church at this time. Individually, our lay brethren expect a great deal from the Clergy. I am not one to find fault with that. I trust we may all of us be stirred up to respond to their call, and to say to our lay brethren, "If you will only stand by us, we will go with you, until the great ends we have in view are accomplished." We have been reminded of the illustration our Blessed Master has given of the great work we have to do, when he told one of His apostles that He would make him "a fisher of men." That illustration seems to teach us that the ministers of God may toil, and, as it seems to them, toil without effect. The Apostle complained that he had been toiling all night and yet had taken nothing. Let me suggest to our dear brethren in the ministry that we must not be too much discouraged if we do not see any immediate results from our ministry. We may toil, and we ought to toil, but, if we take nothing, what we want is the presence of our Great Master to speak to us, and give us a fresh command, or give us energy to carry out His former command a little longer. I think it might be well for us who complain that so little effect has been produced by our toiling if, as a result of this Congress, there were appointed a day—New Year's Day, or some other day—for special prayer for our Heavenly Master's blessing in connection with the work of the ministry. There was a great multitude of fishes on that occasion to which I have alluded, even when not one of them was caught; and there is a great multitude of souls now that the Lord has His eye upon and that may be gathered into the Gospel net. Only we want Him to teach us two things. The first is, to cast our net on the right side of the ship; by which I mean, that we should use the right means—means that should be suggested to us by tact and judgment, as well as by love and energy, for gathering in those whom He has commanded us to gather. The next is, that we should be as the Apostles of old, whom we find sometimes, not casting their nets, but mending their nets; and we Clergy might ask ourselves whether we might not find our ministry more energetic and more effectual if we reconsidered the means of carrying on the work—by mending our nets, so that we might the more surely win souls to Christ. But if all this responsibility rests upon us Clergy, what upon the laity? You must help us; you must sympathise with us. I once heard a story of a Lancashire man, mentioned by Hugh Stowell. There was a fire in Manchester. The fire-escape was brought to rescue someone from the burning house. It was put up towards the window, but would not reach. A strong Lancashire man came forward and said: "Put the ladder on my shoulders, but stand by me so that I may not sink under it." The ladder was put on his shoulders, and a light fellow went up and rescued those who were in danger. So, I venture to say for the Clergy. We are willing to have the ladder placed upon our shoulders, but, Christian brethren of the laity, you must stand by us, and hold us up, and help us. I have only here to add that our services should be accommodated to the wants of our people. I have known services at nine o'clock on Sunday evening for men necessarily employed during the day, or who cannot go to Church from various causes. Sure I am, that, if we Clergy enter thoroughly and earnestly and prayerfully on our work, there will always be found a class of men among the laity on whom we can rely to stand by us and help us in the time of need.

LORD BRABAZON.

WHEN I came here to-day, I had not the aintest intention of saying a word upon this deeply interesting subject; but, having had a little experience amongst working men, I can, perhaps, give one or two practical hints which may be of service. I took part in what is called the "Hospital Saturday" movement, which brought me into contact with a large number of the working population of the City of London. If clergymen would only follow the plan which the Earl of Aberdeen, myself, and others adopted, I believe they would find it useful. We asked and obtained permission from employers of labour to address their people during the dinner hour. We addressed large audiences in connection with various firms in all sorts of places—under cover, in the open air, from wagons, on half-formed machinery, from scaffoldings, by daylight, by torchlight, anywhere, and everywhere, wherever we could get an audience of genuine working men; and I can truly say that we never met with anything but kindness, and the utmost readiness to hear what we had to say. If clergymen would come forward, and approach these employers of labour, and ask permission to address their men at the dinner hour, I see no reason why it should not occasionally be afforded to them as it was to us. Another practical suggestion I might lay before you. Would it not be possible to get together in large towns a certain number of laymen under, we will say, an Archdeacon, or one of the Canons, to bring them together into evening classes for some months, and to train them theologically, if necessary, for the work; and if they were found fitted at the end of the time, to send them out with a diploma from the Bishop, as speakers authorised by him to address the working classes on religious subjects? Everything depends upon those gentlemen receiving the authority of the Bishop, because we cannot have stray laymen going about preaching here and there without our knowing what doctrines they are inculcating. I think, if this were done, important results might be realised; for I am sure you will all agree with me that it is absolutely necessary we should go amongst these masses. Doubtless, there is Divine authority for the Church which will sustain us; but, humanly speaking, if we do not evangelise the masses, they will heathenise us. We talk, with horror, of the return of Mr. Bradlaugh to Parliament; but is it not our own fault? Who can say that it is entirely the fault of those who elected him? Does not some portion of the blame rest with the upper and middle classes, who have held aloof from the people, and neglected the opportunities which God has given them of influencing for good the masses of their fellow countrymen? Yes. If this nation is to remain Christian, the laymen of the upper and middle classes, as well as the clergy, must bestir themselves. We cannot permit the largest portion of the population to remain indifferent to religion. Personal service is required, and that quickly. By sympathy and self sacrifice we may yet overcome this stolid indifference, and grappling the masses to our hearts present to the world the spectacle of an united Christian nation.

**The Rev. H. FAWCETT, Vicar of St. Thomas's,
Bethnal Green.**

DR. GOTT has dwelt on one portion of the great subject of the migratory classes. I want to speak of a different class—those who are continually passing to and fro from the villages of England through our vast towns. Those who have been called to labour, as I have been for sixteen years, in an East End parish, know how constantly we have persons coming from the villages without any letters of introduction from their parish Clergyman, into a dense mass of humanity, where

they are lost to their Church and to God. I want to suggest, then, with regard to that migratory class, that we should adopt some system of meeting this difficulty. It may be a very simple system indeed, as, for instance, a Confirmation card, or card of admission to Communion, with a request that the holder of it on going into some large town should show it to the parish Clergyman. I can tell you that in my experience I have come across numbers who have been lost to the Church simply from the want of some such introduction. They have not known where to go, and have, therefore, not troubled themselves to find out. We have had bright scenes of village life as well as dark scenes. It was my great privilege only this day last week to witness one of the brightest scenes I have ever witnessed during those sixteen years of my labours in London. I was called to a dying-bed, where I administered the Holy Communion; and there I saw the husband with a little cup in his hand, ministering tea, spoonful by spoonful, to his wife; and I saw on that cup the picture of a little village church. On my speaking to him afterwards, he told me that she came from that village; that she had there grasped, as I thought she had, the great and blessed truths of the Gospel; and when I looked at that picture I saw written on it a name known throughout England, and that name was Hursley Church. There she had been taught by John Keble, and she told me of the life-giving power which his teaching had imparted to her soul. I would to God that the Clergy of our village churches would help us to know and so keep a hold upon their people, when they first enter upon town life; for those who labour in London parishes know how much that help is needed. There is another thought I want to impress upon you, and that is, distinctive teaching. I will illustrate that, as time is short, by one example. I knew a young man well who went out to America after having been brought up in one of our Church Sunday Schools. As it happened, it was not my own. He went out to America to a place where there was no church or school. He wrote home—I saw the letter—and he said: “I thank God not only that I was born a Christian, but that I had distinctive teaching. It is that that has kept me—that has enabled me to do some work for God here.” But another thing we want is more labourers—more labourers to gather in the harvest. I can tell you that in the East End of London the people are not living without God so much as some imagine. I can tell you that, if you want to see the fruits of Christian life in bearing one another’s burdens, you cannot see it better than in the East End of London. But we want more labourers for pastoral work—more such men as that saintly servant of God, whose bright, loving countenance remains fixed on many minds—I mean Charles Lowder.

Captain F. J. GRAVES.

I TAKE it that this meeting is the effect of a cause which has given us as Church people very great sorrow, and that is what in military phraseology is called “loss of touch.” We have lost that hold upon the working classes which might be maintained by the ordinary means of grace and ordinary Church work. The question put before us in our programme is, how to reach them? and, as a lay speaker, I will add one word in regard to the relations of the clergy and the laity in the work we are considering. I think that with regard to Church work, we, as laymen, ought clearly and continually to bear in mind that our work is to supplement, and not to supplant, that of the clergy. Nothing has given me greater sorrow within the last few years than to see the continuous flow of Evangelists who are going over to the Plymouth Brethren. If there should be an opening made shortly to enlist laymen in the work of the Church, I am sure there are large numbers still in the Church who would avail themselves of it, and a large number who would come back to us. God speed the day when such a movement

can be set on foot and carried out successfully! Having had some six years experience as a lay preacher in mission work throughout the country, I will refer to the method of reaching the working classes, speaking, however, not so much from my own experience, as from the varied experience of fellow workers met with in that time. How to reach them? Our open church door and ringing bell do not bring them to us. It behoves us to go to them. This is the weak point in our organization. It is to be done, not by ordinary means, but by special mission work. Special efforts must be made to get at the special class under consideration. I believe there are thousands of working men who never darken the doors of the church, that would by special mission work be drawn, first, to enter a mission room, or a concert hall, or even a theatre, there to be spoken to plainly and simply, and then, when their sympathies were awakened and their hearts touched, would be drawn into the church, and become members of the true Body of Christ. I have found very specially that at our mission services women predominate. I believe that by special means, and by speaking to them plainly, we should be able to draw men to the church in far greater numbers than is the case at present. As to the question, how to speak to them, I believe if you want to do the working man any good by preaching the Word of God, you must look him straight in the eye; and whilst speaking of the goodness and severity of God, you must speak of both in love. I believe it is the love of God that wins the heart of the sinner, whether it is preached by clergyman or by layman. These men are to be won by speaking the truth, simply and plainly, from their own level, and not from a stand-point above them. I believe that is the best way by which you can reach them, and bring them back; and by so acting our Church will be filled with the rough-hewn but bright diamonds of God's cutting.

The Rev. G. W. WELDON, Vicar of St. Saviour's, Upper Chelsea.

I REALLY feel that I ought to apologise for attempting to address this meeting after all the able and practical remarks which have fallen from the speakers who have just addressed us. There is a well known principle of mathematics, that you should never spoil a good demonstration. Therefore, if I were to consult my own feelings, I should sit in silence and say nothing. But I received a pressing message from Archdeacon Emery, who wished me to give some account of my experience of Home Mission Work during my incumbency of the parish of St. Andrew-the-Less, Cambridge. No Cambridge man can have any difficulty in identifying the locality known by the name of Barnwell. This was the sphere of our labours. Previous to my going there, much good work had been done by the present Bishop of Rangoon and the present Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, my two immediate predecessors. When I entered upon the duties of the parish, I found only one curate. He and I had to take the pastoral oversight of a parish containing ten thousand souls. What could we do among so many? We were hardly able to discharge our ordinary duties, to say nothing of mission work to the large number of the labouring classes outside the regular inhabitants. We had very few rich residents. The population were mainly poor, but there were besides these a great number of others of a very mixed character—such as navvies, coprolite diggers, cinder-sifters, tramps, scamps, cadgers, gipsies, and all sorts of migratory characters, of whom very few were in the habit of entering any place of worship. I was much perplexed as to how I could reach these people, and as I was almost in despair about it, I received a visit from the Rev. W. J. Beamont, a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, whose name I can never mention without the utmost respect and admiration for a character the most unselfish and the least self-seeking of

man I ever met in this world. In his religious views he was a disciple of Archbishop Laud, but he was so catholic, so self-denying, and so intent upon the practical work of the Church, viz., ministering to the sick and poor, that you never could tell to what school of thought he belonged. By his efforts the University of Cambridge placed £300 a-year at my disposal in order to procure additional clerical aid. The Church Pastoral Aid Society had for years supplied £250 a-year, and the University Grant was made to supplement the latter. Besides this, three or four clergymen connected with the University volunteered to work as curates in the parish. We had by this means seven clergymen engaged in Mission Work—work of the hardest kind. We all worked together in perfect harmony. Though differing from each other on certain points, we presented an instance of unity in variety. Our ecclesiastical crotchets never in any way interfered with our main object in dealing with the vice and ignorance with which we were confronted. It would be hardly possible to exaggerate in describing the degradation in which that portion of the population were sunk. I have been amongst the North American Indians and the Arabs of North Africa and the "Heathen Chinees," but nearer home, here in England, are to be found men and women as practically heathen as the children of the forest, the desert, or the prairie. Such then was the material on which we had to work. And what was the remedy employed? Nothing but the plain old Gospel which St. Paul preached, and of which he said he was not ashamed, because it was the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. The effect of the combined labours of my fellow-workers, to whom, under God, the greatest share of the results was due, soon began to take the practical form of inducing many who never went to Church to go there regularly. But the parish Church being already full, it was found necessary to build another, the foundation stone of which was laid by the present Bishop of Winchester. One of the most efficient of our workers was a young lady, Miss Ellice Hopkins, whose success among the roughest of the roughs was very remarkable. In the course of a few years she was instrumental in bringing several of these navvies to believe in their Saviour. She brought them first to Christ and then to Church. She preached with much power the simple Gospel, and made it intelligible to their uneducated minds, and what she spake to the ear the Lord the Spirit brought home to their hearts. There are those who regard such mission work among such people as next to hopeless. Well, all I could say to those who think so is, Try it. The self-denying labours of earnest minded men and women can never fall fruitless to the ground. To be pitying and patient, kind, brotherly, earnest and hopeful—to be more anxious to cure disease than fearful to catch it—nay, to have firm faith that we shall be as Christ was a minister of blessing to the possessed even of seven devils—this is the temper, and this the faith, which shall enable a man to do greater miracles than any to the body.

The Rev. J. H. LESTER, Normanton-by-Derby.

AT the close of this discussion allow me to urge upon the members of this Congress the great importance of the question before us. One thing I believe is quite certain. If the next few years are to be like the past few years in this country—if we in the Church of England do not deal with the masses, the masses will deal with us. We depend, as far as our organization goes at present, upon the popular vote of the country. I do not say that any popular vote can destroy the spiritual power and life of the Church of Christ, but she may, as at present constituted in this country, be completely changed, unless we can manage to lay hold of the masses in the meantime. I should regard this with the most profound regret, because we have in the parochial system of this country a system which

may become a mighty engine in doing the work of the Church, if only we can learn to use it aright. There is one point that has not been touched upon this afternoon in speaking of the masses. I believe that those masses that are alienated, as it were, from the Church of England and from other Christian bodies, are possessed, not nearly so much with a spirit of Agnosticism, Scepticism, and Atheism, as with a spirit of simple indifferentism. It is not so much a question of antagonism to the Church, as of failure on the part of the Church to combat this spirit of indifferentism and to attract the masses towards herself. And now, where does the failure lie? I believe the failure begins largely in the country villages and parishes. From these there is a great influx of population into the towns; and I venture to say, as the result of my own experience, that large numbers of them are utterly indifferent to the Church, instead of being its devoted members. The clergyman in the country is not overwhelmed with numbers, as he is in the towns; and yet such is often the result. There must be a defect somewhere. There is an apparent incapacity in the Church to adapt itself to the needs of the people, until, I fear, it may be too late. In such a country parish there may have been a clergyman, who for years has been past work, but who is unable with his scanty income either to provide himself with an efficient curate or to resign his living. Meanwhile there is growing up a generation—perhaps more than one generation—alienated from the Church because of the sheer impossibility of the work being done. For, by reason of the restrictions of the ecclesiastical system, it is almost impossible for any one in the Church to make up the deficiency. What we want is such a modification of our ecclesiastical system as will obviate this evil, by enabling, so to speak, the square pegs to be put into the square holes, and the round pegs to be put into the round holes. Previous speakers have referred to special missions in terms of high commendation. I have had experience of missions for some years, and I believe they will not in themselves furnish all the means we require. We must look, rather, to the results of a mission for the formation of a permanent missionary agency to carry on a work of evangelization among the masses outside the Church.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP of BEDFORD.

I OBEY your lordship's summons to say a few words in concluding this meeting; although, after the papers and speeches we have already listened to, it is hard to say anything that would be profitable. Perhaps there is just one thing I may venture to say. My good friend Mr. Fawcett, at the conclusion of his address, said we want more labourers; and I, as an East Londoner, whose heart and life lie there, say not only that we want more labourers, both lay and clerical; but that we want the *right sort* of labourers. And I believe myself that the work which lies before us in our great towns,—and especially in that enormous unwieldy field of labour which the Bishop of London has asked me to help him in superintending—I believe that this vast field of labour does present an object of glorious ambition to any man whose heart is in the right place, who loves God, and yearns to win souls for Him. But it is a work that requires the very best men, and not men of second or third-class capacity. We want the best of our young men, and we want them to throw themselves heartily into the work. We want the best of our University men—men of good intellect and gifts. I am afraid that sometimes it has been thought in former days—though the delusion, I hope, is being rapidly dispelled—that men of inferior power might do for a charge where there are none but poor. It is just there we do want first-rate men. The poor in the East of London are quick enough in understanding. If a

little rough, they know what you mean, and can judge of your words and actions, and are not to be put off with anything third-rate or second-rate. Put a man amongst them, who goes to them with love and sympathy—a man who can look them in the face, eye to eye, and speak straightforwardly to them as brothers in whom he has taken a living interest, and I am certain he will not fail of a response. Why is it that we often find ourselves so powerless, and unable to cast out those evil spirits that defy us—the evil spirits of indifference, unbelief, and crime? Why, but that very often, when we try to do so, we find ourselves baffled, because there is something amiss in ourselves? The last speaker spoke of the failure which he discerned in our country parishes. I believe that sometimes the right place to look for failure is nearer home, and I believe, if our Clergy and lay workers would only deepen their personal religion, and become men of more prayer, devotion, and self-denial, they would be stronger to do God's work, and would see a larger amount of God's blessing rest upon it. The gatherings for devotion that are held now, and have been held for some time past, help greatly the spiritual life of both Clergy and Laity, and are, I am sure, a source and fountain from which will flow forth a stream of blessing which will reach the darkest places in our large towns. I believe that this will do more to strengthen our work than almost anything else. I believe that, if we start properly at the beginning, and make the workers more earnest and holy and self-denying, the work will prosper. All I have to say in conclusion is, that I do trust and pray, that, if there are any here who, either for themselves or for others over whom they have influence, feel the desire to help forward God's work amongst the masses of our people, they will believe that for this work there must be self-denial, self-sacrifice—that the life which wins is the life of a man like Mr. Lowder: for, although I am sorry to say I could not agree with him in many things, yet I believe that by his earnestness, and the simplicity of his self-denying life, he won labouring men in a way in which very few others have been able to do. I have indeed seen the same thing done in a measure by men of very different views; but it is not done without simplicity of life, earnestness of purpose, thorough sympathy of heart, and deep earnest devotion. God grant that we may have more such men, and then I think the problem will be solved.

TEMPERANCE HALL, THURSDAY AFTERNOON,

SEPTEMBER 30TH.

The Right Hon. A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P., took the Chair at 2.30 o'clock.

THE CLERGY.

(a) CHURCH PATRONAGE AND PREFERMENT.

(b) THE POSITION AND CLAIMS OF CURATES AND OTHER UNBENEFICED CLERGY.

PAPERS.

The Venerable the ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD.

THE subject which has been assigned to me embraces a vast number of questions. It would be impossible to deal with them all within the compass of a single paper. Of the appointment to bishoprics, and ecclesiastical dignities generally, I shall say nothing. With relation to parochial charges, I shall pass almost dryshod over the fundamental questions, in what hands the function of appointing to such benefices ought to be placed, and on what principle such appointments ought to be made. I do not purpose to inquire, whether it is desirable (in the abstract) that this function should be vested in the Bishop of each several Diocese, in the Crown, in the lay members of the Church in each parish (collectively or by representation), in the principal landowner or landowners of each parish, or in boards or councils containing a mixture of different elements. Nor shall I inquire, whether any principle of invariable application can be laid down, which should govern those in whose hands such a function is placed. It might seem indeed that a principle was not far to seek, which no reasonable man could dispute: *Detur digniori*. But even if no man dispute the possibility of applying this principle to the matter before us, there is room for endless debate about the definition of merit and the means to be employed for ascertaining the comparative merit of the persons between whom a choice might have to be made. These questions I shall leave untouched. I regard them as at the present moment theoretical rather than practical. If we were met here as members of an assembly whose task it was to frame organic regulations for that part of the Church Catholic which finds its home in England, the case would be different.

I shall assume that the function of which I have been speaking—the function of appointing to parish incumbencies—is to remain in the same hands (generally speaking) in which it now is. I need hardly remind you, that it is at present distributed between the Crown, the Prince of Wales, the Lord Chancellor, the Duchy of Lancaster, archbishops and bishops, deans and chapters, archdeacons, rectors and vicars, universities and colleges, hospitals, companies, societies, parishioners, freeholders, inhabitants, proprietors, and certain bodies of trustees—all of whom are classed together as public patrons; and, over against all these, private individuals, who are called private patrons. It may, however, be of interest to observe that, according to two of the three estimates to be found in the Blue Books of 1874 and 1879, the amount of patronage in the hands of private patrons is somewhat larger, according to the third estimate not much smaller, than the amount in the hands of the Crown and of all other public patrons whatsoever.

I propose to confine myself to one incident of our present system of Patronage and Preferment, which has been of late much before the public, and has been investigated within the last seven years by a Committee of the House of Lords and by a Royal Commission. That incident is traffic in ecclesiastical appointments. I shall not call it simony, because I do not wish to involve myself in verbal controversies.

Such traffic, in many of its forms, is a scandal to all unsophisticated minds. In all its forms, I will say boldly, it appears to me inconsistent with reason and public policy as well as with religious sentiment. No doubt this traffic has subsisted for centuries; but no antiquity can make wrong venerable. In old days, moreover, appointments of all kinds were often venal; legal and political appointments, as well as ecclesiastical. History records one instance of the Roman Empire being sold, though the purchaser did not long enjoy his purchase. But in secular matters the world has grown tired of this abuse: at all events in our own country. The possession of money cannot, it is admitted, prove a man fit to command a ship or a regiment, to rule a colony, to administer justice, to teach natural science, or mathematics, or classics—or to determine what other man is fit to do these things. Can it prove a man fit to teach religion to his fellows, or to determine what other man is fit to do so? Yet a purchase in the Church finds many defenders, after it has been exploded in all other departments. I have been told myself by men of good character, that they can see no harm in the sale and purchase of ecclesiastical appointments. It was stated in evidence before the Lords' Committee in 1874, and again before the Royal Commissioners in 1879, that men of high respectability do not hesitate to purchase such appointments for others and even for themselves, and, moreover, to evade or break the law if it stands in their way. "Clergymen of the highest character," said one witness, "do not recognise any moral crime in the infraction of the present law of simony." They regard (unless this witness is mistaken—and he is a man of large experience) the purchase of a parochial charge as in itself free from objection, and (like poachers or

smugglers) decline to be bound by positive enactments of which they do not see the reason. I venture to think that the law itself is responsible in some measure for this confusion of thought.

The law of England sanctions a portion of the existing traffic in ecclesiastical appointments, while it condemns another portion. It makes a broad distinction between the sale of an appointment to a vacant benefice, and the sale of the right of presenting to a benefice which is not actually vacant. It makes another broad distinction between public and private patrons. It makes distinctions, also, between different classes of public patrons. No patron whatsoever can lawfully sell an appointment to a vacant benefice. No public patron whatsoever can alienate his patronage—although the benefice be not vacant—except under special conditions laid down by particular statutes. No spiritual patron can sell or assign at all any patronage or presentation which belongs to him by virtue of any dignity or spiritual office. But a private patron can sell any part of his patronage, except an appointment actually vacant. He can sell his right of patronage absolutely and for ever (which is called selling the advowson), or for one or more turns, or for a single life or lives, or for a term of years—provided only that if the benefice is vacant when such sale takes place the purchaser shall not have the right of filling up that particular vacancy. In the eye of the law patronage in the hands of public patrons is a trust, of which the patron can make no private advantage whatever; for if particular statutes authorise or permit public patrons to sell they prescribe such an employment of the purchase-money as excludes the private advantage of the individual vendor. In the hands of private patrons patronage is regarded by the law as a thing of mixed character. Its exercise, when the benefice is actually vacant, is a trust, of which the patron can make no private advantage: but the right of patronage itself (as distinguished from its exercise on a vacancy) is a piece of property (“an incorporeal hereditament,” as the lawyers say) saleable, either for all time or for a limited time, for the private advantage of the vendor. How this doctrine of property in advowsons grew up it is not difficult to conjecture. The Canon Law, before the Reformation, laid it down that a man who built a church with the sanction of the Bishop of the Diocese should be allowed to present to the Bishop a clerk for institution to that church. Sir R. Phillimore states the same principle more largely: “Those who had contributed to the erection of Parochial Churches either by a grant of land, or by building, or by endowing, were entitled to present to the Bishop a clerk of their own choice, who was invested with the revenues accruing from such contribution.” The right of patronage thus acquired passed, it would seem, to the first patron’s heirs. There was much to be said in favour of such inheritance, if the heirs remained in possession of the estate within the limits of which the church was built. For their own sake, if they resided on that estate—at all events for their dependents—they had a special interest in the character of the incumbent. Perhaps this right was at first tied to the lordship of the manor. But if it was so, it soon came to be separated. Early in the thirteenth century the advowson of a small Church in Oxfordshire,

with which I am familiar, was reserved to himself by a lord of that manor, when he gave the whole manor with this exception to Oseney Abbey. Before the century was over, another holder of the large estates, of which that manor had formed a part, gave the advowson in question to the See of Rochester. What could be alienated by gift could be alienated by sale. Kennett, in his *Parochial Antiquities*, gives an instance of an Oxfordshire advowson sold in the fourteenth century, by the lord of the manor, to the then incumbent of the benefice. I do not know at what precise date the legal inference was first drawn, that a single presentation was saleable. Diocesan registries seem to make it probable that single presentations were sold frequently in the fifteenth century. At all events they record again and again that such and such a layman presented a clerk to a benefice (which was not permanently in his patronage) as assignee of the patron. Canonists lifted up their voices against all sale of the right of patronage. The Third Lateran Council (1179) "forbade" (I quote from Sir R. Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law*) "even the gift or promise of the next presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice." The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which was drawn up by Commissioners in Edward VI.'s reign, but never authorised either by the Crown, or by Convocation, or by Parliament, echoed this prohibition. But the Common Law of England made its own distinction in the matter, to which distinction I have referred already. It allowed "the sale by a private patron of a mere right of patronage . . . whether for the entirety or for any limited estate or interest;" and it regarded "the right to present upon any future vacancy, or vacancies, as a mere right of patronage." But it held that "a sale or conveyance of a right of patronage (whether for the entirety or for any less interest) does not include, as part of that right, the presentation to an existing vacancy;" which it pronounced "after the vacancy had happened to be severed from the *jus patronatus*, and not to be transferable." [Commissioners' Report, 1879, p. xiv.]

It is a bold thing to question the wisdom of the law. But it is impossible for me to treat my subject honestly without such boldness. In my judgment the doctrine that the advowson of a church (as distinguished from the manor of which it may be an appendage) is saleable property lies at the root of the evil with which I am concerned to-day, and has weakened the hold of the law on the consciences of men in respect of those transactions which the law attempts to restrain. The Clergyman of a parish is a public officer in the realm, so long as the Church is established: he would be an officer in a large society within the realm, if the Church were disestablished. It may be consistent with reason and public policy, that, under certain circumstances, the right of selecting a person for such an office should be vested in a private citizen. It may be consistent with reason and public policy, that this right, like the right of being summoned to the House of Lords, like the right of a freeman in a parliamentary borough, should pass by inheritance. But a peer can no more sell his right to sit in Parliament, or a freeman his place on the register, than the former can sell his vote in a division, or the latter his vote at an election. It is contrary to reason and public

policy that such rights should be transferable by sale. I am unable to see that reason or public policy justifies the sale of the right to appoint to a parochial charge.

It is said, I know, that there are countervailing grounds of public policy in the case before us. Great inconveniences, it is suggested, would arise from the prohibition of the sale of advowsons if a patron were reduced to poverty. I do not deny it. Great inconvenience is, I know, experienced sometimes from the needy condition of freemen in a borough. But the law can find a remedy in both cases, if the inconvenience becomes serious. And it would be no matter of regret if it concerned itself more than it does at present about the quality of patrons. There are other possible disqualifications besides poverty. Again, it is urged that the system of purchase brings moneyed men into the ranks of the Clergy who rebuild churches and parsonages, and tends to attach the richer classes to the Church. May it not tend, also, to alienate the poor? However this may be, if purchase is unreasonable, if it is a just offence to the conscience of mankind, I cannot think that such arguments will long suffice to maintain it. But there is another argument far more weighty than these. The right of patronage has so long been saleable, that a large amount of private property has been invested in it. Mr. Aston, the Secretary of the Bounty Board, computed in 1874, when he was examined before the Lords' Committee, the market value of the benefices in private patronage at £17,000,000. I should do a great injustice to private patrons, if I assumed that all or most of them were in the habit of reckoning their patronage as marketable property; but few, perhaps, would be content to give up for ever the right of sale, however little might be their inclination to exercise it. And, besides, there is no doubt that many men of moderate fortune have bought advowsons in the belief that they and their heirs will always be able to sell them again. One of the witnesses before the Royal Commission last year stated that, in the county of Essex, above £314,250 was invested in advowsons, which were the property of clerical patrons. He who would ask the Legislature to abolish all sale of patronage must be prepared to point out a source from which an enormous compensation fund may be provided. With this difficulty in the way, I cannot hope to see the traffic in Church preferment uprooted.

It does not follow, however, that nothing can be done to check the development of this traffic or diminish its evil consequences. The law of England, as I have said already, has imposed some checks on that development; it has provided some remedies for those consequences. Twice within the last seven years it has been put in evidence that these checks are evaded, that these remedies are ineffectual. May we not reasonably ask for fresh legislation on the lines of that which we have already? The law has declared itself emphatically against the sale or purchase of ecclesiastical appointments when they are actually vacant. The first statute on this subject—and it is still the leading statute—is 13, Elizabeth, c. 6 (A.D. 1589), which includes in one condemnation the taking of money for appointment or election to fellowships and college offices, for presentation to vacant ecclesiastical benefices, for institution or

induction to the same, or for conferment of Holy Orders, or of a license to preach. In the course of years it appeared that this statute was not effectual for the prevention of one at least among the evils which it was designed to prevent. Clergymen being hindered from purchasing a vacant appointment bought "the next presentation," and on the occurrence of a vacancy presented themselves. Once more the Legislature intervened. By 12, Anne, c. 11, s. 2 (A.D. 1713), it was enacted that if a Clergyman bought a next presentation, and upon the vacancy was presented or collated to the benefice, such presentation or collation should be void, and that turn should go to the Crown. This enactment was a plain interference with the alleged right of property in the patron. A particular class of purchasers (which must be supposed to have been numerous—since it attracted the attention of the legislature) was driven out of the market. And there is no record of a plea for compensation. Another notable point in this statute is that it is aimed at a particular class of purchasers—whereas the Statute of Elizabeth was aimed *chiefly* at vendors—and that class clergymen. The Statute of Anne has in view that special point in this traffic against which there is the greatest and most ancient consent—the purchase of a benefice, which is connected usually with cure of souls, and always with some spiritual function, by an individual for himself. This is a point about which Visitation Articles in the sixteenth century are constantly anxious—whether, in Cranmer's homely words, incumbents "have bought their benefices." It is in evidence that these two statutes are ineffectual for that restraint of this traffic at which they seem to aim. Their intention is continually defeated by evasions. More than this: the law itself is continually broken. One of the leading clerical agents in London stated, before the Royal Commission last year, that three-fourths of the transactions in which he was engaged were transactions in which "immediate possession" of a benefice was a feature in the agreement; and, in nearly all of these cases, he said the law was violated. If it were the desire of the Legislature to make it impossible that a clergyman should buy a benefice and come in upon his people as a person who had bought the privilege of caring for their souls, it would be necessary, at the least, to carry further the Statute of Anne, and to enact that no purchaser of an advowson or of one or more turns of presentation should be capable of presentation or collation to the benefice in question on its next avoidance after his purchase.

Nothing so stringent as this is recommended in the Report of the late Royal Commission: but it contains a number of suggestions which are well calculated to check evasions of the existing law. The most important of these is, that the sale of next presentations should be absolutely prohibited. Sir R. Phillimore (Eccl. Law, p. 1114) quotes a remarkable utterance of Chief Justice Best, when he was delivering the opinion of the judges in the case of *Fox v. the Bishop of Chester*; in which case (I may observe) it was decided that the sale of a next presentation was valid, although the incumbent was known to be dying at the time of that sale. "If the next avoidance," he said "be sold after the death of the incumbent, the sale is altogether void. It may be wise to carry the restraint on the

sale of this species of property still further, and to say the next avoidance shall in no case be sold. Undoubtedly much simony is indirectly committed by the sale of next presentations. If it be proper to prevent the giving of money for a presentation, it seems equally proper to prevent the sale of that which gives the immediate right to present." Such a prohibition would be in effect an extension of the Statute of Elizabeth. It was proposed in the Lords' Committee of 1874, and lost on a division by a majority of one. It was recommended by the Royal Commission of last year—two only of the twelve Commissioners recording their dissent. With regard to the sale of advowsons the Commission recommends that it shall no longer be lawful to sell them for short terms of years, or for a single life; and that the purchaser of an advowson should not be allowed to re-sell the same until after the expiration of five years next following the date of such purchase. Another important check on the evasion of the law in this matter would be the requirement of publicity for all transactions which involved the alienation of preferment. The Commission recommends that no sale of patronage should be valid unless it be effected by an instrument registered in the Diocesan Registry. I need not comment on this proposal. It infringes no rights of property, real or supposed; and can be odious only to those who hate the light because they contemplate transgression of the law.

I turn to the evil consequences of the traffic in Church preferment. I am not going to speak of its effect in discouraging religious men or alienating them entirely, nor of the reproach and derision which it brings on the Church from those outside its pale. I shall speak simply of its result in the introduction of unfit persons into benefices. No doubt some men who turn out well come in by purchase. There may be many such examples. But on the other hand, most cases of unfit appointments are, I believe, connected with money transactions, though, of course, not all. I do not speak now of appointments which offend against the rule *Detur digniori*. I speak not of comparative, but of absolute, fitness—whether for any clerical work at all, or for the particular work which belongs to the benefice obtained. If anyone asks for examples, I will refer him to the evidence of Lord S. G. Osborne before the Lords' Committee of 1874. It is probable that his own Bishop—or any clerical friend of large experience—can furnish him with others. It is, indeed, laid down by the lawyers, that "the right of the patron to present is limited by the right of the Bishop to object. The patron must present a *persona idonea*, and it is for the Bishop to judge whether he is *idonea* or not." But the limits within which the Bishop can exercise this judgment are exceedingly narrow. He must be satisfied that the presentee is in priest's orders, and that he is twenty-four years old. These are simple questions of fact. Except these points are established, the Bishop cannot grant institution. He is entitled, moreover, to satisfy himself of the presentee's learning and behaviour. Of his learning the Bishop may satisfy himself by examination; and it seems to be thought that his decision on this point is final. But with regard to behaviour—*i.e.*, life and conduct—the case is far otherwise. The Bishop is expected to

accept, as sufficient evidence on this most important point, a testimonial signed by three beneficed clergymen, who may belong to as many different Dioceses; and he is not allowed to require the counter-signature of their diocesans—if they are beneficed outside of his own Diocese. It follows that the witnesses to character may possibly be themselves men of bad repute. The practical consequences are illustrated by Lord S. G. Osborne's evidence. A Bishop, in a case to which he refers, found himself compelled to institute a man of questionable character, whose Bishop had refused on that ground to countersign his testimonials. I said just now, that a Bishop was required to ascertain that a presentee was twenty-four years of age. On the other hand, he is not allowed to refuse institution either on the ground of youth and inexperience, or of age and infirmity. Lord S. G. Osborne mentioned in his evidence two cases, in one of which a Bishop was compelled to institute to a benefice with a population of 1,000 a man of eighty, who had obtained a license of non-residence in a smaller parish on the ground of age and infirmity; in the other, a man of sixty-seven, so infirm that the exertion of reading-in nearly cost him his life. The clerical agent, to whose evidence I have referred already, informed the Royal Commissioners last year that it was part of his work "to find aged clergymen to fill livings, because the law will not allow patrons to sell livings while they are vacant." (Evidence, Q. 2130.) In the face of such evidence it can hardly be deemed unreasonable, that the Royal Commission should recommend that the Bishop's area of judgment be extended. It would give him power to refuse institution: (1) if a clerk has been less than three years in Holy Orders, or is above seventy years of age; (2) if he is wanting in physical capacity for the benefice to which he is presented; (3) if he has been guilty of immorality after ordination, not sufficiently purged by subsequent good conduct; and (4) if he fails to produce sufficient testimonials from three beneficed clergymen in some one Diocese, countersigned by the Bishop of the Diocese in which the signatories reside. There is another important recommendation which bears upon the same subject. The Commission recommends that notice of the fact of presentation to a benefice should be published in the Parish Church of that benefice six weeks, at least, before the date of institution, in order to give the parishioners an opportunity of raising objections to the presentee, on the ground either of physical incapacity or of immorality. It does not propose to give the parishioners a veto. I have mentioned some of the most important suggestions of the Royal Commission, because its Report is now before the public. I would fain hope that effect will be given to them by legislation. I do not dissemble my own wish that a more drastic remedy might be applied to the evil of which I have been speaking. I do not dissemble my wish that the name of sale and purchase might cease to be heard in this Church of England in connection with ecclesiastical benefices. Excellently well spoke the old Canonists, who condemned alike traffic in things spiritual, and in things closely bound up with things spiritual. But if this is not to be—and I

cannot pretend to see a hope in any near future of such a consummation—some attempts may well be made to check the wholesale evasion of the law which has been now put in evidence, and to prevent the obtrusion on our parishes of men utterly unfit to take charge of them.

The Rev. J. J. HALCOMBE, Rector of Balsham.

THE Clergy lists give the names of 23,000 Clergy of whom (according to the Privy Council returns for 1878) 13,358 are incumbents, and 5,281 are licensed curates, leaving some 4,300, the large majority of whom must be reckoned as unattached and taking only occasional part in the Church's work. These figures lead to the conclusion that although we have confessedly far fewer Clergy than we require, and although the increase in the rate of ordination has failed to keep pace with the increase of our population, we nevertheless have already more Clergy than we can provide for, and that we have in fact reached the point when every additional 100 men ordained compels a similar number to seek a means of maintenance apart from parochial work.

The existence of this large body of unattached Clergy will perhaps be best understood by reference to a summary of the professional prospects open to curates as stated in an able paper lately published by Mr. Mackreth Deane.

He says—"Supposing for the purpose of illustration that all promotion were regulated strictly by seniority, a curate might then expect to obtain a benefice at the end of 11 years—that is when he was 35. For eight years, however, this so-called living would be under £150 a-year; in his 44th year, and for 10 years following, he would enjoy an income of from £150 to £300; from his 54th to 64th year, he would be passing rich on a stipend of from £300 to £600; while for the last two years of his life he would be comfortably off with £600 and upwards."

We have only to call to mind the extent to which interest and purchase confer a preferential claim on a limited number of the Clergy, often securing for them valuable livings immediately after ordination, and we shall be able to form some idea of how large a deduction must be made from even so modest an expectation as the above in the case of those who have neither interest nor private fortune to depend upon. It is under the pressure thus indicated, coupled with the expense and vexation involved by the necessity to which curates are subject of having to seek a fresh sphere of labour on an average of about every two years, that so many are at last forced to seek a better means of maintenance than the Church provides, whilst very many live and die as curates receiving a stipend which (from returns lately obtained from 600 curates of long standing) reaches a maximum of £140 a-year at the end of 20 years' service, and from that point steadily declines at the rate of £5 for every additional five years' service.

Of these facts we have to seek

1st. The cause.

2nd. The remedy.

(1) The cause I believe to be that Churchmen have persistently endeavoured to carry on the work of Church extension by means of additional curates instead of additional incumbents. In other words the present distress and short supply of candidates for the ministry is simply an illustration of what ought to have been a self-evident truth, that though for a time we may get additional Clergy without making any proportionate provision for their being eventually absorbed into the ranks of incumbents, yet in the long run we cannot do so without inflicting great hardship upon individuals, and without at last seriously checking that increase in the supply of men which the demands of a growing population would otherwise secure.

In proof of the correctness of this view, I may point out (1) that when between the years 1841 and 1851 we obtained no fewer than 3,008 additional Clergy, none of the evils which we now deplore were entailed, simply because the Pluralities Act (passed in 1839) practically provided some 4,000 additional benefices, to which they could be promoted, and (2) that as the effect of this Act gradually became less felt, the rate of increase steadily declined, so that the census of 1861 to 1871 shows an increase, in 10 years, only just equal to that of the preceding 10 years, while even this increase was so far in excess of the additional provision of new churches and districts that the inconvenience now become so pronounced had already begun to be seriously felt.

But an objector may urge, If the case is as here stated, how does it happen that attention has not been authoritatively called to it before? The only explanation I can suggest is that the Clerical profession differs far more widely than is generally recognised from every other with regard to the conditions under which its members work, partaking to an extent which no other does of the nature of a service. In every other calling there is a fair field and no favour for all comers, and, the ordinary laws of supply and demand having full scope, though there may be temporary disorganization, everything is sure to come right in the end. Unfortunately it has been almost universally assumed that this would be so in the case of the Clergy. To show, however, that this misconception has not prevailed without at least an occasional voice of warning being raised in the direction which I have suggested, I will appeal to only one expressed opinion on the subject, that of a former Professor of Political Economy at Oxford—Professor Rickards. In an article, published in 1873, he shows at some length, 1st, that valuable as curates undoubtedly are as an auxiliary body, it is absolutely essential that the auxiliary corps should never be allowed to exceed its legitimate proportion to the regular force, and 2nd, that no system of Church extension can answer its end which does not aim at increasing the number of permanent and independent posts, supplementing the ranks of curates only in due proportion to the number of incumbents. Whilst, with reference to the difficulty of obtaining men for Holy Orders, he says “it would appear to be due mainly, if not entirely, to the fact that, from the above principles being violated, the Clerical profession is come to be regarded by prudent parents as the most precarious of all vocations, and the least encouraging to

those who have to make their own way in the world ; and that this conviction especially forces itself upon the minds of the Clergy themselves who have sons to place out in life, and who might naturally be desirous as other parents are to see their children following the same calling as themselves ; and that thus the clerical profession, unlike others, has to a great extent, ceased to be re-productive."

By way of confirmation of these views, I would point to the actual facts of the case as set forth by no less an authority than the late Bishop Selwyn. Pointing out the result of the system pursued in our large towns, he says " Men seek the curacy only as a title for Holy Orders with no intention of remaining in the parish longer than the stipulated time. Thus the work of our more important parishes is marred by a constant change and rapid succession of inexperienced curates. Thus an artificial demand is created for the ordination of many more clergymen than the Diocese requires." By " requires " the Bishop evidently means " has any provision for," his unvarying cry being that the yearly ordinations were not, to use his own words, " sufficient to supply the needs but only to stop the gaps."

Much as Bishop Selwyn felt the need for more men, probably no Bishop on the Bench was more strenuous in his opposition to the demand, which he said was being continually urged upon him, to lower the standard of clerical education. " A rapid succession of inexperienced men," " raw recruits," and " untrained levies," " curates with scanty knowledge and no experience,"—these he foresaw would be utterly unequal to the task of dealing with a population " constantly advancing, if not in real education, at least in acuteness and knowledge of the world."

If then, in spite of the strength of his views on the subject, Bishop Selwyn was compelled, by the mere force of the system which he denounced, to ordain annually a far larger number of men than he could possibly provide preferment for, can we doubt that what has happened in the Lichfield Diocese has happened even to a greater extent under the auspices of other Bishops who have not felt so strongly on the subject, and that it may at least be assumed that in this respect Lichfield was not in a worse condition than the rest of the field of the Church's work?

(2) What, then, are the remedies for this state of things? First and foremost a great national fund, national and yet diocesan, must be set on foot exclusively for the purpose of giving at least moderate incomes to fresh incumbents in our great towns. Looking to the munificent spirit which has again and again shewn itself amongst the wealthier laity of the Church, not to speak of the better endowed amongst the Clergy, it can hardly be doubted that, if they only once fairly realize what has been well termed the stress and peril of the situation, and the fact that " if the Church cannot maintain her hold of the great towns her nationality will be at an end, and with her nationality the only sound basis of her establishment,"—that then they will not be backward in responding to the appeal.

But over and above such a movement as this there is abundant scope for various practical measures of administrative reform

by utilizing existing resources. First, there is a prodigious waste, equal probably to some £750,000 a-year on a capital sum of £25,000,000, entailed by Clergy buying the preferential right to what already belongs to the Church at large. I mean that the incomes of the livings bought and sold represent this sum, and that, if by any means we could prevent purchasers being forthcoming for the advowsons of these livings, it would increase the available wage fund of the Church to this amount.

It will be conceded that the chief, and in most cases, the only motive for the purchase of an advowson or next presentation is not the advantage which it offers as an investment, but the desire to obtain a settled sphere of work, free from the changes inseparable from the nomad life of a curate. Why, then, should not the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty co-operating with the Bishops arrange always to keep at their disposal, say, 100 small livings held by curates in temporary charge, and be always ready to treat with any duly qualified clergyman possessed of private property who might be willing to take permanent charge of such livings. Prevention is better than cure, and I cannot but think that were this measure carried out in a liberal spirit, the traffic in Church patronage would die a natural death, whilst the indirect advantages, especially to curates, would be incalculably great.

Again, under the influence and example of the Bishops, a considerable number, both of public and private patrons, might probably be induced to set apart livings exclusively for curates who for a given number of years may have borne the burden and heat of the day in our great towns. The reversion of the patronage of, say, 2,000 livings secured to curates who should have served a given number of years in a thousand specified centres of population would, I believe, so materially alter the condition of things in those districts, and put so great a premium upon curacies in them, that the money which is now spent in giving subsidies for curates' stipends might be devoted to augmenting the incomes or increasing the number of incumbents.

Again, there are at least some 700 or 800 churches served by curates under the incumbent of the Mother Church. Many of these probably might be made into independent incumbencies, and immediate local efforts set on foot to raise for them the requisite endowment.

Next, I would urgently plead for the building, by some means or other, curates' houses in large parishes. Few people probably realize what curates have to contend with in the want of such provision in very poor districts, and how much their short stay in them is unavoidably due to this cause. In many cases (it would be only too easy to give startling illustrations of the fact) health, and with it all hope of future usefulness, utterly breaks down. Grants in aid for this purpose from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or from existing societies, would probably be sufficient in most places to start a local effort which would appeal so strongly to the sympathy of the laity that it could hardly fail to be successful.

Turning for a moment to the large number of curates ministering in rich town and suburban parishes, I would ask, What prevents any

Bishop giving immediate notice that he would not license another curate unless an income of £250 a-year were secured to him? No one would, I am sure, rejoice more heartily in such a step than the laity who would have to form themselves into a committee to raise the money. Of the many causes of the unsatisfactory position of curates none is so fruitful of evil as the over generosity of incumbents in taking upon themselves a burden which they cannot bear, and a removing of all sense of responsibility from those to whom it would be no burden at all.

I have time but to say one word as to the necessity of observing more literally than we have done in the past the Apostolic rule that those who have laboured well in the Word and Doctrine should be accounted worthy of a double honorarium. The position of the curate who, from the causes pointed out, finds himself unbeneficed at the end of 15 or 20 years' service is one which might well meet with more sympathy than it has done. It is no little credit to him that he resists the temptation to join the ranks of the unattached, as he may in most cases do without pecuniary sacrifice, and thereby at least save himself from the ruinous expense of having periodically to make a fresh home.

To press upon our congregations claims of charity and philanthropy, whilst long-trying and faithful servants of the Church at home are left with wages unpaid to carry on an utterly unequal contest with a sort of social starvation which only too surely saps their energies, if by God's help they do not let it sour their temper,—is a reproach to our Church which we may well labour earnestly to remove.

To conclude,—I would only urge that after all it would be a great mistake to regard this subject as one affecting primarily the interests of a particular class of men. The interest of the Church's work and her mission to the freshly gathering masses of our home population, this it is which lends its true importance to the work.

Would only that I could secure attention for, as readily as I can re-echo, the words of Professor Rickards: "Of this we are well assured, looking at the existing predicament of our Church, at the masses she is unable to reclaim from sin and ignorance, and at the elements of power which are drifting out of her reach, a great work has to be done, or there will be a great downfall."

The Venerable the ARCHDEACON of ELY.

I HAVE been requested to make an announcement which I trust will tend towards the comfort of all. To-morrow evening, as usual, we hope to wind up our very successful Church Congress with a *Conversazione*. The Mayor of Leicester has kindly and liberally undertaken this for us, and he is making every possible preparation at the Museum. But our numbers—and we may be very thankful for it—our numbers have gone far beyond original expectation. Therefore, in order as far as possible to meet the general convenience, it has been arranged that the *Conversazione* shall be held as originally proposed at the Museum, but that the final meeting shall take place in the great Congress Hall at 9; the doors to be open at 8. Possibly many members may find it, therefore, more convenient to go in morning dress to the *Conversazione*. To the *Conversazione* only the full tickets give admission; but, in order that as

many as possible may take part in the final closing meeting at the Hall, day tickets will admit there. One thing more,—at the final meeting in the Congress Hall there will be a new feature which probably will induce many to come there. It has been alluded to by our President at the Congress Hall; viz., a special address to be presented to the Bishop by the Nonconformist Ministers of Leicester.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. GEORGE VENABLES, Vicar of Great Yarmouth,
and Rural Dean of Flegg.

HITHERTO it has seemed to be my duty, since June 1878, to be silent upon the subject of Church Patronage and Preferment. And, accordingly, I have refused, on two or three opportunities, to make any remarks upon it. It would be, however, mere affectation to prolong this silence, and I gladly offer a few thoughts for the consideration of this Congress.

At the outset let me say plainly that, in my judgment, the Church of England may be congratulated upon her system of Patronage, and that she ought to feel very thankful to God in believing that, with all its faults, errors, and abuses, the present mixed and varied system is, taken altogether, one of the best, if not the best, that could be devised. I should be sorry to see all Patronage in the hands of the Bishops, and very sorry to see them with less than they have.

“Trust Patronage” means the appointment to a benefice by men who cannot have the same feeling of interest in the church or benefice of a parish, which appertains to an individual patron, although in some cases Patronage may be well administered by trustees. But nothing is so good as varied and mixed Patronage, much as we have it now. I do not use the word patron as though Dr. Johnson’s cynical definition of the word were correct, but rather in the belief that its older and better meaning is very far from being lost by the majority of patrons. I have had some rather singular opportunities in the course of my life for making observations touching the modes of the selection and appointment of Ministers; not alone in the Church of which I and my forefathers have been consistent members, but also among various communities of Christian people. I have seen their working as well as heard the theories on which their modes of selection are based, and the result in my mind is one of very grateful feeling when I remember the Church’s system of Patronage to be what it is.

The Report of the Royal Commissioners, drawn up about fourteen months ago, declared indeed the existence of some flagrant and gross abuses; and the evidence which is left on record in support of that declaration is a record of facts, some of which fill one with distress and even with loathing. But these instances are probably amongst the worst that could be discovered, and it would be strange indeed, if, amongst many thousand benefices, the exercise of the solemn duty and privilege of the patron were not sometimes even shamefully abused. So long as we live in a naughty world, and men’s hearts are prone to evil, there will be occasions in which we shall be painfully reminded of that wise observation of the Twenty-sixth Article, that “in the visible Church the evil is ever mingled with the good.”

The Church, I am convinced, needs no violent change in her system of Patronage, but such alteration in one or two important matters of detail as would, I think, render any abuse almost impossible, and would also adapt ancient customs to modern demands and ideas. It is probable that if the Church in England were now commencing her career (instead of

being hoar with the work and honours of over eighteen centuries) she would not adopt every feature of the system of Patronage which she now possesses; and yet I do aver that not the Church in America, not the Church in the Colonies, not the Church of Ireland, can hitherto claim to do better in the matter of Patronage than she.

Still it will be her wisdom, if, without rudely tampering with the ancient lines, she can so treat them as to adapt them to modern ideas and demands.*

I will mention two alterations only, connected with the exercise of Patronage; the adoption of which would, I submit, put an end to most of the abuses of which the Church has reason to complain. The first of these is recommended by all the Commissioners. I felt personally great interest in it, and was very thankful that some of the details proposed for the working of it were allowed to be stated pretty fully; because it can thus be seen from the report how carefully the rights of any patron are sought to be preserved. The alteration is, That under certain well-defined limitations and conditions, a portion of the parishioners ("not less than seven baptized householders" is the expression used) should have power to lodge an objection against any clergyman, nominated by the patron, within a given time, if they have any charge against him on the grounds of physical incapacity or immorality.

Now, observe: this objection is to be lodged with the archdeacon or rural dean. He is to confer with the objectors, or (if they are many) with a deputation of them.

If, after a friendly conference, the objection be not withdrawn, it is to be forwarded to the Bishop. And if, after enquiry, the objection appear to be valid, the patron has simply to select another clergyman whom he would nominate to the benefice.

Thus, the parishioners would clearly be able to hinder the appointment of an improper minister; while an honest patron would have no cause to fear any unreasonable interference.

It would deprive him of no privilege, and it would be a protection of the best interests of the parishioners, for which every patron ought to be thankful. And yet what mere speculator would purchase a presentation to a living, guarded as his nomination would be from the power of his foisting upon the parishioners as their pastor a person whose only qualification would be that he had a legal right to the benefice?

It is unreasonable, and has often been found to be most mischievous, that in this age—so different from that in which Patronage began—the parishioners should have no sort of interest recognized in the selection of a Christian priest to minister amongst them, and I submit that nothing could better adapt the good of the old to the requirements of the present, than a mode which would simply allow the parishioners, where it seemed needful, to consult with some Church Official or Dignitary, and then, if it appeared desirable, to send up their objection to the Bishop.

The other alteration is one which I have sought on several occasions to press, but which most of the Commissioners refused to adopt, urging some strong and weighty reasons against it. I was, however, unconvinced, and I feel the value of the alteration suggested more strongly than ever. For it seems to me most pitiful that a clergyman should be sent to take his place amongst hundreds and even thousands of people as their minister in things spiritual affecting them for time and eternity, without some earnest religious effort to establish from the beginning a right and proper feeling

* The same remark applies, methinks, to many civil and political institutions. What would not modern nations give for our traditions and antiquities? If we value them as they do, we shall be careful how we ruthlessly sweep them away. Great Britain is a grand ancient Monarchy. It would make a sorry little new Republic.

betwixt them. Instead of this he goes amongst them a perfect stranger bearing no other credentials than certain legal documents, which give him (very properly, so far) possession of the emoluments of the benefice, but without any sort of introduction to the people, except it be to receive his rent-charge. The Sunday following he reads the Articles and makes his Declarations. But he has almost as heavy a task to perform in order to introduce himself to his parishioners, as if he were a Missionary amongst unknown heathen.

Experience has shown me how thoroughly all this tends to alienate the people, to set up, from the very threshold, a feeling repellent rather than attractive, and to send the parishioners home from church under an impression that they have really little to do with their parish priest, although he is their servant for Christ Jesus' sake!

I felt compelled, therefore, to urge that "No institution to a benefice shall be deemed complete until a sacred ceremony within the church shall have been conducted by or in the presence of the Bishop, or the Archdeacon, or Rural Dean, as the Bishop shall direct; at which ceremony the declaration against simony shall be distinctly read by the presentee, and the proposed declaration of the patron shall also be read by himself or some one appointed in his absence to read it."

I was greatly impressed with the preciousness of this idea ten years ago, in this very town. I have not forgotten the evening of the Epiphany, 1870, at St. Matthew's, Leicester. The great west doors of that beautiful church were opened at the proper time; the excellent churchwardens (model churchwardens) were present; the congregation instantly began a hymn, the procession moved forward, and I was placed, by direction of the Archdeacon, in the centre of the church, amidst the people whose spiritual welfare I tremblingly felt was then to be committed to my charge. The prayers proceeded; the kind Archdeacon (Fearon) ascended the pulpit, and addressed, sometimes the people, sometimes myself, then collated me for the Bishop to the benefice, and concluded with a benediction. And, as I turned about me and shook hands with the people, we felt that we were "one body in Christ, and every one members one of another:"—I their "servant for Christ Jesus' sake;" they "the members of Christ's body," amongst whom and with whom there should be the greatest sympathy and unity and love.

I once asked the question, "Do you not think that a solemn Service of Institution would do much to prevent simony (as it is called)?" I was answered, "The man who would take a false oath in a Bishop's parlour would not hesitate to take it elsewhere." But, notwithstanding this answer, there is a great difference between even an untruthful man just running through a form of words very hastily, "in a bedroom, before a Bishop robed in his dressing gown," (I quote a fact, as done by a faithful minister), and his being obliged to stand up amongst his future parishioners in God's House, then and there to make a solemn declaration that no sort of purchase, bargain, or agreement of an improper character had been made by him or for him in regard to his coming into possession of this benefice. But, irrespective of all this, it is the natural and proper thing that a minister of God's Church, on commencing his ministry amongst any people, should be introduced amongst them in a way somewhat more befitting the blessed solemnity of the occasion, than can possibly occur in a "bedroom," or in a "railway carriage," or even a "Bishop's parlour," or a "lawyer's office."

I will not detain you longer. As one who believes that the commonwealth of England depends very greatly upon the common weal of the Church of England, I do earnestly trust that before long such alterations will be made in regard to the exercise of Patronage as shall adapt good old customs and ways to modern conditions and requirements.

I should be sorry to see more than this: I hope and pray that we may

not have less. And if but the two suggestions only, of which I have spoken, were adopted, I believe the following results would soon follow:—

I. There would be a total cessation of all improper purchases and sales of advowsons or next presentations, for none would buy for improper purposes upon the possibility of the nominee being rejected.

II. The people would, from the very commencement of his ministry, feel an interest in their parish priest.

III. A scheme for the augmentation of poor benefices, which I have often suggested—particularly at the Church Congress at Croydon—would at once become practicable, when the parishioners felt that a sufficient guarantee was secured to them, that he whom their patron selected was a man by whose ministrations they might fairly hope to profit. But until this is effected, people cannot fairly be expected to do much to augment a poor benefice.

I earnestly hope, before God, that the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners will be adopted (with one single exception), and that, in addition, the institution of the parish priest shall, in every instance, be made, in part, within the church in which he is henceforth to minister, and in the presence of the people whose everlasting welfare depends much on him; and, it need hardly be added, with an appropriate service.

A slight adaptation of our good old plans to meet the changed condition of things would wrong no honest patron, would almost annihilate abuses, would put an end to the frequent sale of Patronage, and, by giving parishioners an interest in the matter, and affording them a guarantee as to the character of their minister, would secure many blessings from God upon His Church.

The Rev. JOHN STORRS, Curate of St. Peter's, Eaton Square.

THE subject for discussion this afternoon—"the claims of the Unbeneficed Clergy"—seems to me to suggest that their position is not all that could be desired, and that there may be certain grievances to be redressed. I am afraid that the unbeneficed clergy present will go away with a fresh and very real grievance against the Committee of the Church Congress in having selected only one curate to speak on behalf of his brethren; and also from the fact that he has lately become a *paulo-post-futurum* Vicar, who hardly knows whether he is beneficed or not, but whose grievances may be considered as entirely removed.

Besides this, they have selected one whose lines have fallen upon very pleasant places. For seven years I have served with a vicar whom to know is to love, whose courteous consideration, large-hearted love, and ungrudging sympathy have bound all his assistant clergy to him by a bond which can never be broken, and on whose lips the common phrase "my curates" has been changed into "my brothers" and "my sons." I cannot, however, but recognise the fact that there are perhaps few of my brother curates who have been placed so happily as I have been. In my remarks I shall try to represent them, though I cannot speak altogether from personal experience.

And first, I think we may congratulate ourselves that the *Genus Curate* is now held in higher estimation by the public than he used to be. The period has passed by, when he was supposed to be the idol of a certain portion of the community, who favoured him with a perennial shower of slippers.

Phrases, however, still remain which do not argue an excessive respect for the body to which I belong. Who has not heard of "only a curate," or of a certain vicar being led on by "a pack of young curates?"

To pass however to graver matters:—There is one cause which, as far

as I understand it, lies at the root of all curates' grievances. It is this:—*The non-recognition of the essential equality of all ordained Priests.*

In the minds of nine out of ten ordinary Englishmen, the three orders in the Church are *not* bishops, priests, and deacons, but bishops, incumbents and curates. I maintain that all ordained priests are essentially equal, that the difference between the beneficed and the unbeneficed is, so to speak, accidental, and caused, amongst other reasons, by the vast growth of the population and the existing connection between the Church and State. Of course the incumbent is the curate's ecclesiastical superior, but as priests they are of the same spiritual rank and order. This fact is ignored

1. *In the government of the Church.* It is ignored by the entire exclusion of all unbeneficed clergy, not only from a seat in Convocation, but from the power to vote in the election of Proctors for Convocation. It appears to me a monstrous anomaly that 5,000 clergy—from whose ranks must be selected the bishops and incumbents of the future—should be, so far as the government of the Church is concerned, more like Longfellow's "dumb driven cattle" than "heroes in the strife." What is the reason of this? You may urge, perhaps, inexperience. Well I would ask: Are there not many beneficed clergy who have been made incumbents with but little experience? If then the unbeneficed clergy are to be excluded on the ground of their inexperience, surely such incumbents should likewise be excluded. But I have yet to learn that any average curate of the mature age of 24 years may not have as sound a judgment upon matters connected with the Church as the ordinary artizan may possess upon the value or expediency of a naval demonstration.

But further—there are burning questions coming up before us, questions not as to the significance of an ornament or the meaning of a ritual, but touching more nearly the hearts, lives, and souls of our countrymen: questions as to education, morality, establishment, or disestablishment: questions which may be summed up in the all-important one—"Are we to hand down to our sons an emasculated faith or no faith at all; or shall we surrender to their keeping, unaltered and unimpaired, those grand old Creeds which are the heritage of the whole Catholic Church?" Besides this there are men to be won back to the Church, men full of prejudice, suspicion, and distrust. And the momentous enquiry arises, How is this to be done? How are we to adapt our organizations and mode of working to meet such men? All these questions must some day occupy the serious thought of Convocation. What kind of men then do we want there? Men of recognised position in the Church, of mature age, of deep learning, of large experience:—and we have them. But beyond this we want, I think, a few of a still more modern experience, for we cannot afford to dispense with any gift or counsel that may be found in the Church. We want men especially who are conversant with the feelings and habits of thought of that considerable class in our large towns who, for various reasons, are disaffected towards the Church. Now in most town parishes of any size it is not as a rule the incumbent but the curates who are chiefly brought into contact with the working classes. I maintain, therefore, that they ought at least to possess the franchise for Convocation. Who do you suppose knows most of the *thinking* working man—the curate, who in one of our great manufacturing towns has for some years been grappling hand to hand with prejudice, infidelity, and sin—or the country rector, spiritually minded though he be, who has passed into the quiet seclusion of a retired village? I think we all desire what has been called the "Living Voice" in the government of the Church—[A Voice, "Question!"]

CHAIRMAN—The speaker is perfectly in order.

In my opinion we ought to have the living voice; but how can it ever be heard, when 5,000 clergy, many of whom are long past the prime of life, are excluded from the great deliberative assembly of the Church? No one can fail to have a great respect, veneration, and love, for many members of

Convocation; but I for one can never entirely respect the decisions of that body, so long as it seems to me to represent, not so much the clergy of the Church, as a fortuitous concurrence of dignitaries and incumbents.

2. I come to my second point—the relation between the curate and his vicar. This is a very delicate and difficult subject. Let me say that I do not for a moment believe that there is any widespread antagonism between incumbents and curates. The position of a curate is very often, I believe more often than not, an exceedingly happy one, so happy that I know many who would be sorry to exchange that position for a benefice.

Two special reasons may be given. A curate has not the same responsibility either in kind or degree that the vicar has; and, moreover, he has what the vicar has not,—the power with little difficulty of effecting a change.

I should also like to say that in cases where the curate's position is an unhappy one, as I presume it must be sometimes, it is by no means always the vicar's fault. I am afraid there are amongst us cantankerous curates. I fear that men are to be found who sit in the gate and act the part of Absalom; and indeed, if whispers are true, I think that the position of a curate has *at times* been rendered slightly uncomfortable by the somewhat imperial regime of the rector's wife.

But yet it seems to me that the ignoring of the essential equality of the priesthood too often does show itself in the relation which exists between certain curates and their incumbents.

In a large number of parishes, and by a large number of people, the curate is looked upon less as a parish priest than as a kind of vicar's "gentleman help." I have seen cases of this in my nine years' experience.

Then, too, there is in not a few parishes what I must call a system of monopoly; monopoly by the incumbent of most, if not all, that is either intrinsically dignified or regarded as important in the eyes of the people. I have known cases where curates scarcely ever celebrated. And I know instances where the curate never preached except on a Sunday afternoon or on a weekday evening. The effect of this state of things is twofold. It is singularly depressing and discouraging to preach for the most part to half empty churches, especially when we remember the soporific effect upon a large class of English people of that very ample meal called Sunday dinner. And it tends to lower the curate's influence in the parish, where he *always* appears, whether in or out of church, in what is regarded by the people as the second place. In the face of all the sin and evil we have to combat, I think we cannot afford to lower the influence of any Minister of Christ's Gospel, but should rather seek to strengthen his hand.

There is another point which I must not forget. The curate's position is sometimes rendered very unhappy in the case where disagreements take place between him and the incumbent. Too often he is never allowed scope for his own gifts—he cannot start or initiate anything without, not only the consent, but even the expressed wish of the incumbent. His efforts are often called novelties, showing more zeal than discretion. Of course I am alluding to cases where, so far as we can judge, the blame is *not* on the side of the curate; and several instances of this kind have come under my own notice. What then is to be done? You may reply, "Let the curate go." But would that necessarily be right? May he not leave behind him souls who, humanly speaking, would be deeply injured by his loss? Remember he cannot pack up his work and take it with him. The Bishop, if the case be submitted to him, not unnaturally takes the part of the incumbent, because he is a fixture, whilst the curate is regarded as a bird of passage. The choice then for the latter lies between an armed neutrality or the injury of souls. I am afraid I have a very short time for the remedies which I should propose, but I will be as quick as I can. [Time was called, and the speaker sat down amidst prolonged cheers and loud demands of "Go on," etc.]

The CHAIRMAN—In justice to other speakers we cannot allow any individual speaker, however interesting, to exceed his time. I did give an additional minute to the late speaker on account of the cheers with which he was greeted.

The Rev. GEORGE RAYMOND PORTAL, Rector of Burghclere,
Hants.

We have had the question of patronage brought before us in three or four aspects, but there is one aspect which has not as yet been at all touched upon, and for which I ask your kind consideration for a few minutes. That is, how are congregations to be protected from unsympathetic priests being forced upon them? In the Diocese to which I have the honour to belong—Winchester—we have three very crucial and very well-known cases where this at the present moment is the case. We have three congregations turned into aggrieved parishioners, and these congregations are not composed of Low Churchmen. It is usually supposed that aggrieved parishioners consist only of those who are in some way annoyed or vexed by the eccentricities of men of the High Church School. In these cases it is exactly the reverse. At the same time I should have been equally ready to bring their grievances before this meeting, had the persons aggrieved been of the very opposite school to what they happen to be. The remedy that has been proposed by the Royal Commission of giving the Bishop a veto upon very old or immoral persons does not touch the case in point at all. It is obvious that you may have an incumbent of decided views sent to a parish, who may upset everything that the congregation have valued in the way of services, and teach them doctrines which they may look on with abhorrence, and the Royal Commissioners' suggestion affords them no remedy. I am quite aware that whatever remedy we try to bring into effect will not be perfect, and that it will be very easy to find objections and pick holes in it. But the question is, ought anything to be done? And, if something ought to be done, we should all set our heads to work to see what that something should be. I am quite clear that something ought to be done. It cannot be right that worship, which has existed in a church built, we will suppose, at a cost of £20,000 or £30,000, should be upset, because the patron, who may chance to live hundreds of miles off and have no interest in the place except as the owner of land on which the church is built, has chosen to please that it should be so. We ought to see if we cannot carry out, only to a considerably greater extent, the suggestion made by the Royal Commissioners. I would propose that, upon the representation of the parishioners or any number of them, that the person intended to be sent to them by the patron was one in whom they had no confidence, whose spiritual guidance they were unwilling to accept; I would propose that the Bishop should have the power of inquiring into the case, and, if he finds it to be true, that he should request the patron to make a fresh nomination. But I do not desire that the Bishop should have power to take this course on his own unassisted responsibility. You may depend upon it, one great cause of half our troubles in the Church is that Bishops get it into their heads that the Church of Christ is nothing but Episcopal. It is not. It is Episcopal and Presbyterian. The inspired apostles called the elders together to consider of the question of Gentile circumcision, and that same plan has been carried out in the Christian Church ever since by Synods. Autocratic Episcopacy is not Divine, it is not Scriptural, it is not Primitive. It is simply Vaticanism. I propose that the Bishop, assisted by a Council of the Clergy and Laity to be chosen by a Synod or Diocesan Conference, should be charged with the duty of investigating any cause of complaint against the nomination of a

patron. There is another suggestion which has been made by very able people, and in which I think there is a great deal. It is that it should be made illegal for an incumbent, coming newly into a parish, to alter the existing worship as he finds it at the eleven, or three, or seven o'clock services, as it may be; and, if the incumbent thinks he can improve on the order of services, he should be at liberty to introduce changes at extra hours; but that the regular congregation should not be harried and upset by having everything they valued suddenly put an end to. It will be obvious to this meeting that, if either of these remedies would to a great extent meet difficulties in ritual, they will not meet the disagreements in matters of doctrine. It is quite possible to imagine that either extreme doctrines concerning the nature of the Presence in the Blessed Eucharist, or extreme doctrines concerning justification by faith only, or extreme doctrines concerning future punishment—that any one of these doctrines, if the priest be an injudicious or unsympathetic person, may harass the congregation who are not only not used to these particular views, but look upon them as rank heresy. In that case it is impossible to say to an incumbent, you shall preach High Church doctrine at eleven; Low Church at three; and Broad Church at seven. What is to be done? I am going to make a suggestion which will be looked on as exceedingly heretical, not perhaps by the curates, but by the incumbents. I think the only remedy consists in carrying a little further what is already legal, and allowing harassed congregations to take refuge in chapels of their own. Noblemen may have their private chapels; hospitals and other institutions may have theirs. Why may not men who are not noblemen, or fifty men, have their private chapel? Or why is it necessary to get together half a dozen old women with bad legs in order to have a private chapel? Why not allow the same religious liberty to all schools of thought, so that they may, if necessary, have a legitimate place where they can worship in peace according to the rites and regulations of the Church to which they belong?

**The Rev. STEWART D. HEADLAM, Curate of St. Thomas',
Charterhouse.**

WITH regard to the first part of the subject—Church Patronage—I agree with those who have said, more or less distinctly, that we should throw ourselves entirely upon the people in this matter; that we should not merely speak of congregations having the Patronage in their own hands, but that we should throw ourselves on the whole baptized body, and gradually get elected a representative Church Body to settle the question of Patronage. If you leave the Patronage in the hands of the Bishop, of course it is giving the Bishop a weight which you have no right to put on him; and if you leave it in the hands of Church Councils, as at present elected, you only get ecclesiastically-minded laymen. You do not get the real body of the people. It seems to me that the real remedy for the evils of Patronage is to have an elected body—a body elected by every baptised person in the parish, and from that body get a Diocesan Council to work with the Bishop, all the Patronage being vested in that body. Now just one or two words as to the position of curates. Mr. Storrs has anticipated almost all I had to say, but there is one matter he has not touched on. At present the curates are absolutely in the power of the Bishops. The Bishop, by a stroke of his pen, without giving any reason, may deprive a curate of his position in the Church, and it may be all his means of getting his bread and butter. That is a power which the Bishops themselves ought to be the first people to wish to be deprived of. It is a power which we have no right to trust to the best of unprejudiced men—and most certainly we have no right to trust it to the Bishops. I say that that is really the greatest grievance which curates suffer from. You may say that it is a power which is not often exercised, but it is sometimes. It has been exercised several times in the case of extreme

Ritualists. I am not an extreme Ritualist, but I think the exercise of the power in their case is unfair and unjust. Besides that, it makes incumbents, who have naturally more regard for the Bishops than the curates—(Cries of "No")—I hope not, I am sure—still in many cases it makes the incumbents do certain things in order to get curates to leave them, which they would not do if Bishops had not that power in their hands. That is the chief and greatest reform that curates ought to go in for. It is monstrous that we should be in the absolute arbitrary power of just a few Bishops. It is not scientific to talk of being So-and-so's curate. We are not. We are curates of the parish, licensed by the Bishop, and I can imagine the time when the Bishops, or, better still, a Church Council, would be a great protection against the tyranny, if it were so, of incumbents, and it is important that the curates should get that understood. People are now more in the habit of speaking of the Curate of St. Thomas's, or whatever it may be, and not of the Curate of Mr. So-and-so. I cordially re-echo what Mr. Storrs said with reference to our being disfranchised. It is absurd to say Convocation is the voice of the Church; it is hardly the squeak of the Church; and I think every priest has an equal right to vote for members of Convocation. It would be absurd to say Convocation is even the voice of the clergy. That is the second reform we should ask for. We have had Parliamentary Reform; let us work to get Church Reform, and get universal suffrage for the election of members of Convocation. The third reform would be, I think, gradually to take from the incumbents the duty of paying curates. The incumbent is the last person who ought to be obliged to pay a curate. Of course, in many instances, this reform is carried out. I am paid by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and in many instances curates are paid by societies. The worst of these societies is that they are party societies, and, if you preach something they do not like, you have to leave your curacy. Therefore I want this Church Body,—having the right and the duty of paying curates and leaving vicars untrammelled. It is cruel sometimes to expect a vicar with a small income to pay £120 or £130 to a curate. I would simply emphasise what Mr. Storrs said with respect to the celebration of Holy Communion. It is monstrous that a curate should not be allowed to celebrate Holy Communion because the vicar is present. It is misleading to the people, and leading them to attach too much importance to property in the Church, and it destroys the whole popular basis on which our Church rests. Anything that exalts property in the Church goes against our real interests. If I might, in conclusion, quote an example of a parish in which it seems to me that the incumbent and curates work harmoniously,—each having his special work to do, but all equal,—it would be St. Alban's, Holborn.

EDWARD HERFORD, Esq., of Manchester.

I WAS not prepared to discuss the sale of livings, fearing that I might not have the opportunity, in the short time left for general speakers; but I could not resist the appeal of the Chairman. I represent a Committee that has been formed, and which, so far as we can see, is doing a considerable work to promote the entire abolition of the sale of livings, not merely of presentations, which may be considered the retail traffic, but of advowsons, which is the wholesale traffic. I am quite unable to understand the grounds on which the Royal Commission recommended the abolition of the one and not of the other. All the objections that apply to the traffic in detail apply to the traffic in the gross. And there is the further point, that, where a next presentation is bargained for and settled, it is a mere family affair, whereas advowsons, it is notorious, are also matters of pecuniary speculation and investment. Knowing

Manchester for forty years, I am persuaded that the Church in Manchester has been injured by the sale of livings, and, what is worse, by the advocacy and defence of that system by good Churchmen, like Mr. Beresford Hope and others. It is not merely the vices attaching to the sale of livings, but the advocacy of the system by those whom we know to be earnest Churchmen is that which strikes fear to our hearts. Yet they cannot possibly longer maintain a system so encrusted with evil. There can be nothing said for the sale of livings—nothing can be said in its defence. Nothing has been said to-day which contains any defence; and when Dissenters see that nothing can be said on that point, they say that the other things that we defend are equally incapable of defence, and that we are not able to justify the Church. Five years have passed since a series of very able letters was written in a *Liberationist* and Radical newspaper, dealing with this question; and those letters have truly, though in somewhat offensive language, set forth the monstrous evils attached to the sale of livings. Those letters have never been answered, and they have been circulated throughout the North of England, and especially the Manchester district, and must have had their effect on the interests of the Church at the late election. When I say the sale of livings cannot be defended, I remember the confusion which has been exhibited in the columns of a Church paper—the *London Guardian*—between the sale of livings and the question as to different modes of patronage. Many letters appeared, containing various suggestions, some, to which there can be no objection, but which do not affect the main question of the traffic in patronage; and I cannot help fearing that there is some disposition to burke the question, when both to the *Church Times* and to the *Guardian* I have written letters, mildly and briefly expounding what I have said to-day, and they were not inserted, whereas column after column appeared referring to the general question. I contend, as strongly as any one can, that our system of Church Patronage, barring the traffic, is a good system. I was amused to hear the contention that, because seventeen millions are invested in Church revenues, therefore, to stop the future sale would be to confiscate this property. The utmost we contend for is, not that the advowson shall be taken away and vested in the Bishop or a patronage board, but shall be made an heirloom, or, as it was put by the Royal Commission, an absolutely unsaleable trust. I was asked by the Royal Commissioners what I thought of the case of an advowson in the hands of a bankrupt—was he fit to appoint? There comes in Mammon, which governs everything in England. Because a man has been unfortunate, ruined by causes that need not be explained here, shall he be deprived of the trust which he has of appointing to a living? It will be said that he might make a corrupt bargain for selling his presentation, but I assert, as a lawyer, that there is no difficulty in dealing with an honest man, nor even with a dishonest man. Simply make laws to prevent traffic and corrupt bargains. Why, because an honest bankrupt cannot pay his debts, is he not to exercise the presentation which he has to exercise? Why should he or his assignees be compelled or permitted to sell by auction or advertise it, exactly as they would a load of cotton, a public house, or any other saleable chattel? The whole system is a disgrace to the Church, to Christianity, and to the nation. Canon Venables asked me, before the Royal Commissioners, if I thought my friend, who wrote those letters, desired to benefit or injure the Church by his trenchant exposures. I said that he desired to benefit the nation by clearing the Church of those intolerable abuses. That was the only question put to me by him. Nor was there any question put to me by any of the other Commissioners tending in the least to invalidate my evidence against the system.

The Rev. A. M. DEANE, Rector of East Marden.

IN the programme of the Congress we have these two subjects associated—the curate question and patronage—but in the few remarks I shall offer to you this afternoon I would rather endeavour to show you that in a great measure they must be separated and considered apart. The position of assistant curates is a matter of great concern to us all, but I do not suppose, if we could get an infallible system of patronage, that it would place them in an altogether satisfactory position. We suppose the man ordained by the bishop to be fit to be first a deacon and then a priest. He serves an apprenticeship. How long should that be? I think many men are fit for livings when they have been only four or five years in orders, and I believe, as a general rule, that most men are *more* fit, when they have been ten years in orders or less, than after that time. If a curate does not get a living then, he becomes hopeless of having one, sees no certainty of ever having an independent sphere of work of his own. If he has had fifteen or twenty years' service, and is still unbeneficed, does not his heart often sink within him? It is a long deferred hope, and when he does at length obtain an independent sphere, he has not the heart and zeal to grapple with the difficulties the parish may present, that he would have had when he was younger. I speak from my own experience, and I dare say it is the experience of many other clergy, when I say that, if I myself had remained unbeneficed longer than ten years, I feel sure that I should not now have gone with as good heart into the government of a parish as I did then. We may assume that there will always be exceptions. Some men are never fit for benefices; but, if they are to have them at all, it ought to be after five, or six, or seven years. At thirty-two, in any other profession, a man is his own master and responsible for his own work. In the Church of England, that is not only not so, but cannot be so. If all livings were to go by seniority, no curate would get a living before twelve years, or until he was thirty-five. At the present time there are eleven hundred clergymen of over fifteen years' standing who still remain unbeneficed, and that number is certain to increase. There is no statistical fact so sure as that during the next ten years the number of curates will be largely increased, while the number of livings, though gradually increased, will not have increased in anything like the same proportion, and in 1890 there will be probably two thousand men that will have seen fifteen years' service without securing a benefice. There is no way of averting this result. We must face the fact and try to see what we can do to render the position of our own unbeneficed brethren better than it is. I think they have a claim. They cannot tell us of the hardships they suffer, or the wounded pride that eats out the heart in secret, as they see younger men preferred and themselves passed by. They have a claim on the laity whose servants they are, and especially those laity who have not to contribute to the support of their own clergy; and have they not also a claim on the beneficed clergy, who have incomes of their own, or have obtained preferment when better men perhaps were left out? How then can we benefit their position? We may do it by giving pensions, like those of the Curates' Augmentation Fund, to those who have been a certain length of time in orders; but we may also try in other ways to raise the estimation and social position of these our brethren. On that account it might be a good thing, as the two curates who have spoken suggested, that they should have votes for convocation. Again, I cannot but think that the bishops might gladden the hearts of the elderly curates, if now and then some special honour were shown to them. Perhaps in the case of some curate who has willingly declined preferment that he might remain in an arduous post in some great town, the bishop might give him a prebendal stall. In other ways we may all help to show that we see no difference between two priests, if one is beneficed and the other not. If I

might finish by saying a word to the curates themselves, it would be this:—Take heart and believe that the clergy respect you as brother priests for your work's sake, quite apart from the question of whether you are beneficed or unbeneficed.]

The Rev. THEOPHILUS BENNETT, Vicar of Brownsea Island,
Dorset.

A FACETIOUS publication some time since represented a convocation of ladies, and the question propounded was, "What is wanted?" The answer was "More curates!" And doubtless this is a great want. I have great sympathy with curates, and I must confess, I was rather pained when I heard my excellent friend Mr. Storrs cut short without being allowed to give us his remedies. I wish members of the Congress distinctly to understand that the request came from me, and that the offer was not from Mr. Storrs, but at my express request he put down his remedies, in order, that if I were called upon to speak, I might be in possession of them. I take the opportunity of putting them before the Congress. First, he says, the position of the curate should be more independent and secure, and care should be taken to guard the vicar's rights. The vicar must be *primus*, and ultimately responsible. Second, that deacons and inexperienced curates must be in the position of learners, the vicar recognising the principle that he is "*primus inter pares*." Third, greater care in the selection of curates, and in all cases vicars to consult their curates, and recognise any special gift that the curate may have, with the view of putting that special gift into active operation. Next, in the case of curates of great experience,—say seven years—there should be a trial beforehand of three or six months, and, if the curate is approved by the vicar on trial, then an arrangement should be made, a definite arrangement of work, and then the curate should be held responsible to the Bishop alone. Lastly, there was a great deal in a name, and the vicar or incumbent should not be an autocrat, but a fellow worker or brother priest. These were Mr. Storrs's remedies, and I think it would be a pity if they were lost without being put before the Congress. I want to say a word about the *principle* of patronage. I think the one question has a great deal to do with the other. We want an improved system of patronage. And then we should have more young men entering holy orders. What is the case now? Here I have been thirty-three years in holy orders, and if a young man were to come to me, and enquire, "How am I to direct myself in order to emerge from the curate class? I wish to get promoted, please tell me how am I to do so?" I would have to say, "I cannot; I have been thirty-three years in holy orders, and I cannot tell you how you had better direct yourself to get promoted." I have seen good preachers, and good visitors, and good men in every way, passed by, and remain curates still. The race is not always to the swift. I recollect it being said of a person who had the ear very much of the late Archbishop of Dublin, "Promotion cometh not from the East, nor from the North, nor yet from the South,"—they left it to be inferred, where it was to come from. Be that as it may, we should have some recognised system of patronage, especially with regard to public patronage. Some say, Put it all in the hands of the Bishops. I have heard that at a conference of bishops the question was, what are we to do with the best livings? and the answer, "oh, give the best to our sons, the next best to our sons-in-law, the next best to our nephews, and the rest—the refuse that nobody else will have—oh, give them to the curates." I hope that is not true, but it shows a certain degree of uncertainty in the distribution of Episcopal patronage. A gentleman has spoken of the number of livings in *private* patronage. It was my privilege to be curate where a family advowson had descended from father to son, and the present incumbent asked me

to help him as curate. I have worked in several parishes, and I am free to confess, that I have never seen a better worked parish than that where the vicar himself was the patron. Therefore I should be sorry to see private patronage done away with, because I think it gives a man a personal interest in the well-being of the parish, if he is himself the owner of the advowson. The question may be asked: What are we to do as to the whole question?" Lord Melbourne was asked once "What was he to do?" and his answer was, "Let it alone." A gentleman with an aristocratic name, Hamilton Seymour, told his friends that the way he got on was by letting himself alone. Our system of patronage has been declared from here to-day to be the best known system. Taking it all in all it has been pronounced to be the best, and therefore the wisest thing we could do with regard to it would be to "let it alone." Some allusion has been made to Church matters at Bournemouth. The great body of people that attended St. Peter's, Bournemouth, are *High Church* as they call themselves, and yet they do not understand Church principles. Every one ought to have an innings, and if my namesake had an innings, why not let somebody else have an innings now? I said to a Bournemouth person, "Nobody would suit you but a Bennett—but I fear even I would not suit you." When patronage is properly exercised and a Bishop is appointed to St. Peter's, the congregation steps in and wants to veto the undoubted right of the patron, and I for one protest against such an improper proceeding.

The Rev. W. J. MOONEY.

I WILL not occupy this meeting very long, but there is one point that I think ought to be considered by this assembly. You all know the general complaint is the want of clergy. You are aware, also, that the Bishops ordain, not only from the Universities, but from Theological Colleges. If a man is ordained from either of these places, he is ordained a deacon first, and then he is ordained a priest. I know that in some cases those that have been ordained from Theological Colleges have been refused livings because they were "Theological" men. Is that justice to those curates that have been only theological men, who have spent their all, in order to become Ministers of the Church of England, from love of the work? Are they to be deprived of the opportunity of being put into a position where they may exercise all those gifts bestowed on them by their Maker and by the Church? I think this is a thing that ought to be remedied. If a University man is qualified for a living, I think that the Theological man, after being priested, has a right to preferment in the Church of England. Another thing. I think it very wrong that, when a man has served a great many years in a curacy, and is there with a family and a house, and the incumbent either dies or is removed, the incoming incumbent or vicar should have the power of saying to the curate, "I give you six weeks' notice;" and then the curate, after being there some years, and being loved by the people, has to look out for some other sphere of labour, and, to his great inconvenience, has to remove from the one place to the other; thus weighing down the spirits of those men through heavy expenses, so that they have no heart to work for the Church, and not working for the Church they are not working for the Church of Christ. These are things that ought to be considered on behalf of the poor curates of the Church of England.

C. W. WILSHERE, Esq.

I SHOULD not have presumed to send up my card if I had not noticed some lack of definition of the objects of the discussion. I do not propose to say much about the curate question. If I had been asked to speak on that, I should have pointed

out that the curate of the parish is the parish priest, and that if we bear in mind that the status of the clergyman, whose position we are discussing, is that of assistant curate or priest assistant, we shall have a better view of his rights and duties. But I should like to say a word or two about the definition of the word patronage. It has been spoken of as if presentation carried with it institution. But patronage is merely the right to nominate to a vacant living; not the right to put a priest into it. The person who has to judge whether the priest nominated be a fit person or not, is the bishop, who gives institution; and all the evils which accompany the administration of patronage may be traced to the encroachments of patrons on the right of the bishop to decide whether the person presented be or be not a *persona idonea*, fit person for the cure. It is quite clear that we cannot in the present condition of the Church, divided against itself as it is by what are called "schools of thought," trust our bishops to decide, in all cases, on the fitness of a presentee, without any consultative body to guide them, and I think that the bishop himself would be glad, when called upon to exercise his lawful discretion as to institution, to be fortified by the advice of a council which was qualified to give that advice. I will not at this late hour enter farther into the views I indicate. For 3d. you can get a small pamphlet called "Leave Church Patronage alone," in which they are set forth at length.

The CHAIRMAN.

WE have had a very interesting discussion, and it is interesting in this way—we have seen so many minds brought to bear and talking out so well and so fearlessly. There is only one class we have not had. We have not had to-day—and it is a remarkable fact—a Bishop, Dean, or Archdeacon speaking. I am sorry for that, because I think that a debate of this kind ought to be clearly representative. On the other hand, the question that came before us was pre-eminently a parochial question, and, therefore, parish priests, parish curates, and parish laymen are those who are most interested. My friend Mr. Herford, made a touching appeal to me, and asked me how I could support the sale of livings. My answer to that is—Show me some method of appointing to livings which will give a better quality of men than the present one, and then I will answer the question. Shall we go in for popular election? ("No.") Of course not; Bilston answers that question. Shall we go in for a Diocesan Board? ("No.") Of course not; a Diocesan Board gets into the hands of one party and represents one narrow school. It is no secret to say that I happen by circumstances to know a great deal more intimately the circumstances of the Irish Church than a person who is a mere Englishman can do. In some respects I am an Irish Churchman as much as an English Churchman, and I have heard but one opinion—namely, regret, almost despair, but regret certainly—at the narrowness of the system and the way it introduces popular scientism in lieu of sound learning. Again private patronage—by which I mean non-elective patronage—gives you the widest selection, the widest opinion, and, therefore, the utmost toleration that our Church can have; and I should say that the man is a prig that cares more for how his parson got there—provided it was not by bribery or simony—than for what sort of parson he has got when he is there. To apply these remarks, I say that I will not be the first to pull down. Let us first see your plans and specifications for building the other house on the spot. But then you say, what of the sale of livings? My answer is this—the sale of livings in some shape or other is a necessary accident of property. Our present system is defective in many ways. In the name of heaven rectify those ways. If you do that, it will content me. Some say, sell the advowson out and out, and do not sell the next turn. That is a fine theory, but how will it work? Ordinarily

speaking, the next turn is sold by a man who has some reason to wish the living to remain in his family. Perhaps the man is gone to the dogs, to the bad. Well, under the present system, if he sells the next turn, it goes back to the family. If he cannot, either the advowson is separated, if they have no freehold manor, which is a bad thing; or, if he is a bad fellow, as he is likely to be, he goes to the Jews, who sell it under the rose. The abolition of the sale of next turn would create a new state of things analogous to what the Royal Commissions are hunting up in the boroughs now—viz., clandestine corruption. One remedy I have often advocated. It does not meet the case of a man who does not want to make the next presentation himself, but it has to do with family livings. I cannot reconcile myself to deeds of resignation. It seems like a fraud to put a man into a freehold, and, behind his parish's back, make him reduce it to a leasehold. I would create some system of deferred presentation. If a man has no one in his eye at present, but may have some ten or fifteen years hence, let him defer his presentation and let the curacy, which will be an incumbency of limited tenure, devolve on the Bishop, on the understanding that it shall be a windfall for some good man in the diocese. Now, I come back to the question of curates. Why curates and patronage were put together, I cannot answer. I believe in the eternal fitness of things, and I am very respectful to some committees, which is the only explanation I can give. We have had several appeals for curates to have votes for Convocation, and the question has been put on this ground—are curates not priests, as well as the parish priests? Of course they are; but there is a further stage in the argument which is conveniently omitted. Is Convocation a caucus of priests only as priests? I say it is not. I say it is in its theory a representation of the constitution of the Church in its constitutional elements, of the great religious corporations of the Cathedrals, and of those who have the cure of souls, viz.: the parsons of parishes. A curate fills a holy and important office, but only as the deputy and assistant of the parson, and to say that, because the assistant priest is a priest as much as the parson priest, he ought to have the same rights, seems to me to ride a theory to the extreme. If there can be some means of curate representation within due limits, well and good; but consider the thousands of curates. If all are to have votes, the junior and most inexperienced of our priesthood would outvote those who are most experienced. Is that what we want? A curate after all who has not a vote is a deferred voter. What is that but a roundabout way of saying that a man shall not have a vote for Convocation till he is of an age eligible for a bishop—say about thirty? And is that so great a grievance? If the franchise is to be given to men who have served as curates for a certain number of years, well and good; that is a matter that would require respectful consideration. But the mere enfranchisement of every curate seems to me to be a very crude and hardly a constitutional proposal. Moreover, as it is, a curate takes a curacy, because he has confidence in the parish priest; and the parish priest takes a curate, because he has confidence in the curate. Is not the parish priest at Convocation, therefore, holding the proxy of the curate as well as his own vote? On the other hand, what a difference it would make where an incumbent had only one curate while his neighbour had two! In the one case there would be a double vote, and would not that be a grievance and an anomaly? The claim of the curate at first sight is an attractive one. It seems ungenerous not to admit it at once, because they come so frankly to us. There is, therefore, the more reason to brave a little temporary unpopularity—not that I think I am doing that—by asking the curates where their claim would lead them. I do not think there is much chance of legislation in Parliament for some time to come; for at present the drift of politics is not propitious to the Church of England (“No.”) I hope the gentleman who calls “No,” if a layman, may succeed in getting into the House of Commons, and try

the experiment. Pending that experiment on his part, I adhere to the advice I have given, in all kindness, not by way of throwing cold water, but inviting all of us to work as hard as we can to rectify the matter as far as we can, even under conditions that do not make parliamentary interference a question at present possible.

CONGRESS HALL, THURSDAY EVENING,

SEPTEMBER 30TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 8 o'clock.

**ADDRESSES TO WORKING MEN BY INVITED
SPEAKERS.**

ARCHDEACON EMERY announced that, as a great many persons were unable to obtain admission owing to the crowded state of the Hall, an overflow meeting would be held in St. George's Church.

ADDRESSES.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

WORKING men of Leicester, I regret to say, that it is not my duty, and, what is more, it is not my privilege, to make you a speech to-night. My task as chairman is, to suppress myself, and to bring forward other speakers. My duty is, in the first place, clearly to define the nature and the object of this great meeting; and in the next place to introduce to you those eminent speakers to whom you will have the pleasure of listening to-night. But I cannot find it in my heart to stop short at that. I must say a few words to you, my dear friends. I cannot stand here and look at your upturned faces and forget the fact that I am standing in the front of a great meeting of working men of my diocese; and that if you do not all belong to me—and I know very well you do not—at any rate I belong to you all. My privilege and my duty, therefore, is to be servant here to all I see around me. Therefore, I cannot help saying a few words to you. They shall not be many, and that for two reasons. First, because I must not covet other men's goods. The time to-night belongs to the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Carlisle, and the other appointed speakers. Secondly, because you have heard my voice before now, and you know well you can hear it again whenever you like.

It is now twelve years since I first gathered together the working men of this town to hear their new Bishop; and let me tell you a little from behind the scenes with regard to that meeting, which was not so large as this. At that time, when I proposed to call you together, a great many wise and

good people shook their heads about it a great deal, and said, "You had better not go down to meet the working men of Leicester." I said, "I do not think the working men of Leicester will hurt me much; I am quite sure they will not stone me, and as to hard words, we bishops, you know, are pretty well used to them by this time." That was, as I have said, twelve years ago, and I think we have had some pretty hard words since. I said that I would come down and meet the working men, and I did, and I never spent a pleasanter evening in my life. Perhaps you will say it was because I had all the talking to myself. So I had, and it was pleasant to see how kindly and how trustingly the working men of Leicester received one who was entirely unknown to them, and whose only introduction was that he came amongst them with the hope of doing them some good. Since that meeting you and I do not want any introduction to one another; and whenever I find you are a long time without asking me to come and talk to you, I will ask you to come and listen to me again.

I now proceed to discharge my duties as your chairman. I have first to define the nature of this meeting, and next to introduce the speakers. Now, to let you into another secret. This is not exactly the kind of working men's meeting at which I should have liked to preside. This is a meeting at which you are to be addressed by a number of very eminent and able speakers, and at which I am to preside. I should like for once in my life to come down to a meeting at which you were to address us, and we were to listen. It is infinitely more refreshing sometimes to be talked to than to talk. It is refreshing to be talked to as I hope you will be to-night. We are here as members of a great Congress of the Church of England, which gathers together all the most distinguished and eloquent men of that Church to address at various meetings the members of the Congress. It is a simple fact that the working men in Leicester cannot, without sacrificing a whole day's work and a whole day's wages, be present at all these meetings, or many of them. If they be present at one or two of them they will hear one or two eminent men, one or two less eminent, and one or two perhaps who are not eminent at all. But what we propose to do for the working men is, to get the very pick and cream of our eminent men together, and bring them to you; and we say to you who cannot come hour after hour to hear these speakers, "Here is a cluster, a galaxy of them; come and look at these stars and listen to them this evening." Now, I have brought my stars down to this meeting, and here they are. I will now introduce them to you. The speakers who are to address you are—the Archbishop of York, about whom the working men of Sheffield could tell you something; the Bishop of Carlisle, who comes from among the Lakes in a very rural Diocese, but of whom I think that the working men in some of our great towns know something already; the Bishop of Liverpool, of whom the working men of Liverpool will ere long I am sure know a great deal; and Mr. Mark Knowles, who commends himself to you as a large employer of labour. I have not a word to say more about their eminence, which you know; nor about their speeches, of which I as yet know nothing; nor about their views, of which they have not told me anything. But I think I may venture to say in their presence—in the presence of one who is my superior ecclesiastically, and of others who are also my superiors in many other respects, that they are upon the whole a body of very sensible men, that they come here full of honest, unpretended respect for the great body of working men they are about to address, and that therefore I may venture to say this much about their speeches beforehand. They will not talk twaddle to you. You will have to listen to nothing of the kind that I am afraid you often have to hear, and which I call "Goody-goody" talk to the working man. Some people think when they come to address the working men that they must come down to them. That is to say, that they must talk to them in an infinitely condescending and soothing sort of way, as if all this great assembly I see here were strangers to the Church of England and the faith of Christ, and needed to

be won and coaxed into hearing the first words about the Church and the faith. I am proud to tell you, my lord Archbishop, that I know well there are thousands of the working men of Leicester who are attached Churchmen. I have not come down to this place—and my brother Bishops have not come down to this place—to gather together 4,000 of the men of Leicester, whether Churchmen or Nonconformists, and to make an apology for the Church of England.

The man who stands up in the presence of 4,000 Englishmen, and condescends to apologise for the Church of England, ought to be ashamed of himself. I am not ashamed of myself, and, what is more, I am not ashamed of the Church of England. I am not going to talk to you in the way I have heard some people do—something to this effect: "My dear friends, the working men, you are such a fine set of fellows. Now that I look at you a little closer, you are really a very fine set of fellows. And as for us of the Church, we are really not half so bad as you think we are. Would you just listen to us while we tell you something about the Church, and about ourselves, and then I think we shall part better friends?" Well, we are beginning as good friends here to-night, and I do not think we are likely to be worse friends as we go along. But when I hear men speaking in that half apologetic way, producing their little scraps of compliments to the working men, much in the same way as a cunning travelling trader produces his little bits of cloth and glass beads when he goes among a set of savages, I have small respect for the speaker. I pay you the compliment to believe you will like honest speech. When I find persons trying in that way to pet and to pat the working man, it reminds me of a timid groom, who goes into the stall of a very spirited horse, and is afraid the animal is a little vicious. He goes up to him timidly, and tries to pat him here and stroke him there, and all the while he has got his eye on the horse's ears to see whether he is going to turn them back, and is terribly afraid lest he should prove, as the Irishman said a long time ago of his horse, "very handy with his hoofs." I will tell you why he does all that. First of all, because the man is a coward; secondly, because he does not know his business as a groom; and, thirdly, because he does not know the nature of the animal he has got to deal with. That is one sort of persons who deal with the working man.

There is another sort of men who proceed in another way—those who come to the working men, not as if he were a horse in the stable, but as if he were a horse in the field. I dare say you have seen a groom go up to a horse with a sieve full of oats in his left hand. He holds that out to the unsuspecting quadruped, while all the time he has something else in his right hand—a bit and a bridle; and what he wants is, when the noble animal comes to sniff the oats, just to slip the bridle over his neck and then get on his back and ride him. There are men who come to the working classes with great promises of the oats they are going to feed them with—which, by the way, are never their own oats, but always the oats of their neighbours; and if the noble quadruped had a few of the grains of sense that I suspect are scattered about in this room, he would sniff the bridle and bit, and say, "This man wants to get on my back and ride me; I would rather not have the oats."

Then there is another class, which, however, is now nearly extinct. Occasionally you see coming down the field where a horse is, a stout, elderly man, with large top boots, very big spurs, and a heavy whip; and he wants to approach the horse, but there is no chance of getting near him. Now, I always mean to approach the working man in the way he ought to be approached, and as, I believe, my reverend brethren will approach him to-night. Those who are about to address the working men here to-night are not going to approach him as if he were a horse at all. They are going to speak to him as what he is—a man. They are going to speak to him—and I like to speak to him—as man to man; to look him straight in the face, and say to him, "You are a man, and I am another, and I

have something to say that concerns us both as men." But that is only the beginning of our address. I would say something more to the working man. I would say that, which the Gospel of my God and Saviour and which that Gospel alone gives me the right to say to him, "You are my brother." I have not the right to take such a liberty with any man as to call him my brother, unless I know that he and I have a common Father, and that, therefore, he and I are brothers by the deepest, the oldest, and the truest of brotherhoods. When I meet a man who owns the God I own and knows the Father I know, he recognizes me as a brother; and when I meet a man who does not know that, I say, "I know it, and whether you recognize me or not, I claim you as a brother, and I will not rest until you grasp my hand."

The Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, that reveals the Divine and Eternal Father in Heaven, reveals the real and all-embracing and universal brotherhood on earth; and I claim every human being on earth whom Christ has redeemed and died for as my brother in the name of my Lord and Saviour. And the key to every man's heart is to go to him and say, "There is that in you which is descended from the Father, which is conscious of its descent, however dimly, and which recognises the thought of a Father, however far off; and in the name of that Father I greet you as my brother, and claim to be a brother to you." Will you meet us in that spirit? It is honest speech; it is true speech; it is friendly speech; and it is all these things because it is Christian speech. It is in that spirit we would speak to you to-night; and if we desire to find how we should most perfectly speak to such an assembly as this, which must impress the most practised and skilled speaker by its great multitude, by the vast mass of human hopes, sorrows, and fears, duties, rights, and privileges that it represents—an assembly which I say must impress even the most careless and the most conceited of speakers;—I say, if we would find a model of speech in which to address you as men and brothers and sons of a common Father, we should find it in the story of the life and in the record of the speeches of Him whose most favoured and chosen title on earth was "The Son of Man." Yes, it is the example of our Divine Lord that we would follow when we speak to you. Was there ever a man amongst men so filled with respectful tenderness for the humanity in which he was incarnate and the human souls for whom he was about to die, as that "Son of Man?" Was there in all His life one word of scorn or contempt, haughtiness or indifference, for humanity? If He ever spoke bitter or burning words, it was against those who despised or wronged the humanity He came to save. How deeply, gently tender were the words of "the Man of Sorrows," when he spoke to those who sorrow! How chivalrously and tenderly courteous to womanhood, to meekness, to suffering, and toil was the Saviour in whom we trust, and whose sympathy we claim! It should be by following that example of tenderness, of sympathy, of reverence for humanity, of profoundest belief in its aspirations and its glorious future—of all that makes men meek and lowly of heart, loving and tender of spirit, careful and reverent of speech—it should be by following in the steps of our Divine Master, speaking in His spirit, and quoting His words, that we should desire to address you, when we ask you to hear us; and in that spirit I am quite sure that you will be addressed by every speaker who will speak to you to-night.

The Most Rev. the ARCHBISHOP of YORK.

I STAND before this great assembly in a position almost pitiable. I follow in the steps of one of the greatest orators in England, and I cannot help thinking that there is some risk that I shall be in the position of a shocking example of the straits to which one may be reduced by the want of that singular power which the Bishop possesses. But I have come here

to-night with exactly those motives which the Bishop of Peterborough is good enough to attribute to me. I and those who will address you have come here to-night to speak as man to man ; to show you, if you need to be shown, that we recognise you in your fustian jackets as men fit to meet and take counsel with us on equal terms.

I remember the foundation of these working men's meetings. They originated with the working men themselves. It was at York, I think, that the first was held. There came to us a deputation to ask us to get together in all haste a meeting, so that those who had not tickets for the Congress might hear what the Church of England had to say on the chief topics which could occupy the human mind. Since then the enthusiasm for these public meetings has grown year by year ; and certainly the assembly I now see before me leads me to think that it will not abate at present. At the first of these meetings the speakers used to say, "I too am a working man," and it was received as a kind of pleasantry. The fact is that those who stand on this platform do a great deal of work, but they are not working men. The working man is a man who lives by his daily toil, and who has little or nothing except his bodily strength to stand between him and positive want. But that does not prevent a working man from being full of intelligence and having high aspirations. It, however, places him in a peculiar position, and he requires to be addressed, of course, according to that peculiar position. At the same time there have been changes, political and other changes, going on ; and now, instead of our saying we will go into the arena and condescend to call ourselves for this occasion "working men," the fact is that the working men are likely to become our masters, and their behaviour in their new position is of great importance to us.

Now, it is worthy of some remark, and I am sure you will not be offended if I say, that the working classes have not received a complete education and have not received so high a religious education as other people. It is no insult to anybody to say that he has not had so much time as his neighbours for study ; and this makes it most important to us—who belong to the Church of England, and who are anxious to draw within the fold of the Church every working man that we can attract to it—to seize an occasion of this kind to deal with the highest topics, and endeavour to direct men's minds only to the highest thoughts. I am perfectly aware of my own inability to do justice to that intention ; but it is my intention and my hope, and I am going to ask you for a very few moments to attend to what I shall have to say on the subject. I observe that in Leicester you have done a great deal for the temperance cause. Religion is not temperance, but there is no religion without temperance. You are evidently impressed with that. I have visited the coffee-houses that adorn, that are the brightest ornaments, I might almost say, of this town, and I see that you are quite in earnest upon that question. But what is your motive for being temperate ? Your motive is, in the first place, thrift ; and, in the next, you have arrived at the conclusion that self-denial is a good thing and the condition of attaining all good and high things, and this not from a religious point of view only. Here we find a most extraordinary phenomenon. A great many people are doing the things that Christ would have them do. I doubt very much whether there ever was so plain, manifest, and wide-spreading a love for religion and religious acts as that existing at the present time. But then, on the other hand, there is in all classes—not among working men alone—a great tendency to seek out a kind of scientific system by which, dispensing with religion, we may be able to find reasons for actions, unconnected with religion, and lift them, forsooth, up to a higher platform. It is attempted to give scientific reasons for our social action, just as we give scientific reasons for steam engines or the geological formation of the world. It is against these sham theories that I should like to say a word to-night.

I have here, by a kind of accident, one of the latest volumes upon what

is now called social science or sociology ; and I have been reading it with some eagerness to see whether I could bring you the latest information on the subject. The book has just been published, and I bought it in France the other day. It is written by one of the most rising thinkers of young France, and I have transcribed here the ultimate result which he arrives at in his study of social science. He is clear in his own mind that the religious fraternity founded on Christ is not the highest thing ; that liberty and equality, founded upon Christ, are not true liberty and equality ; and he is able to give us something better. He says, "Confraternity is ideal ; and this ideal, the only one that can satisfy thought, is nothing less than that of universal society,—the free union of all beings by mutual affection, which will conciliate the most perfect diversity with the most perfect unity." I hope you like it ; it seems to me to want a little clearness. It wants a little practical force. I dare say, when I am a little older, I shall understand it. Religion is a thing which keeps me out of sin and keeps me true to God ; and any thing that is to take the place of religion must have the same tendency. What effect would this universal society and free union of all beings by mutual affection have upon a man who is entering a public-house and sure to sin by getting drunk and probably maltreating his gentle wife and babes, whom he loves when he is sober ? Supposing I were to say to perhaps a slightly intoxicated man, that society is gradually to be leavened by universal affection, so that by and by we shall all join unity and diversity in a most remarkable manner, do not you think he would say, "Posterity never did anything for me, and I am not going to do anything for posterity ?" Such are some of the solicitations that are offered to you at the present day. The advice I venture to give you to-night is, judge the tree by its fruits. "By their fruits ye shall know them." I am content to let it rest upon that. It is the best rule for our guidance. This French writer says his countrymen are all known for their general philanthropy ; and some American has said, Everybody has two countries,—his own country and France. You who have read history would not endorse this statement. There have been several French revolutions ; and in the first philanthropy prevailed, when it bore the same title of liberty and fraternity as the Republic does now : but it made a great many people shorter by a head than they were when the troubles began. What says Comte, the father of positive philosophy ? He says, "I am aware that this civilization, as it mounts higher and higher, will need the guardianship of the civil power to avert the dangers that will arise from cupidity, appetite, and unbridled license." That is a strange confession.

Let me say one word about religion. With many people religion is only the half of religion. I do not mean that they do not do their best, but I am speaking of it now in another sense. Religion is with many people a very gloomy thing. Religion is, if we may trust the New Testament, love, peace, and joy. And if you are pursuing Christ, then demand of Him the fulness of His promise, and show Him that you have a title to the peace and joy which He promised. Cast yourselves entirely upon Him, and never rest until religion has become to you a joy in all your hours of prosperity, and a joy even in the deepest and darkest hours of your adversity. All other systems make no pretence of offering anything of this kind. Again, we are told that universal love is one of the things that Christ teaches. On looking back over the history of the world I find this entirely confirmed. There was no such thing as a hospital before Christ came. People point to a few scattered hints in Pagan writers enjoining these things ; but examples of the self-sacrifice, of the love which makes a man cast himself upon his fellow Christians to do them good and to rescue them sometimes through the means of a hospital, and sometimes through the means of preaching to them, are to be found in the history of Christianity, and nowhere else.

I say to you, as I have said to other similar gatherings of working men, it is a great grief if there is or has been any estrangement between the working

classes and the Church of England. We ask you to give us your confidence. We do not pretend to have discovered an entirely new science, upsetting all former thoughts and calculations. We come to you with the Bible in our hands, and we say, that nothing has yet occurred to give us the smallest inkling of suspicion that it is beginning to fail us; that it was given for all centuries. Christ our Lord loves us; His eye is upon us; but it is not that of a hard judge, but of a loving master and friend. What a comforting thought to us in this great sea of life, now on the crest of the waves and now in the trough of the sea, the humblest amongst us is Christ's friend, Christ's redeemed one! He loves you, He died for you. This is a very hard world, and the more we know of its difficulties, the more we shall feel the need of comfort and support therein. But take it from me, I beseech you, there is no comfort like Christ's, in the wide embracing power of His love, in the completeness of His salvation, in the hopes He can offer, or the assured peace which He shall hereafter bestow.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of CARLISLE.

My Lord Bishop, I have often admired your lordship's eloquence, but I have seldom trembled under it as I did this evening, when I listened to all the things that we were not to do when we addressed working men. Well, at any rate, I will not fancy that I am speaking to a large congregation of horses. But I should like to know whether, like a working man who has a heavy job before him, I might take off my coat. However, I must do my best to fulfil the task before me, and I have been considering that I could not have a better thing to talk to you about than the thing that brings us here, viz., the Leicester Church Congress; and that subject is easily divided into three heads, Leicester, Church, and Congress.

Now for the working out of the subject, which is always the great difficulty. You may remember to have heard of a man who wrote a remarkably clever essay on Chinese metaphysics, and somebody said to him, "How on earth did you manage to be so clever?" His reply was, "It was the simplest thing in the world. I took an encyclopædia; I read for 'China' under the letter 'C,' and I read for 'metaphysics' under letter 'M;' I then combined the information."

Well, I did not exactly do that, but I did look up the word "Leicester" in the encyclopædia; and it told me that Leicester was a very famous place in the time of the Romans, that it was also a famous place in the time of the Saxons, that it had sent members to Parliament since the time of Edward III, and that there was a considerable manufacture of stockings. It also told me that the population was 50,000; but that at once showed me that I had got hold of an old book, for I knew the population of Leicester was about 100,000. So I wrote to a friend to tell me something more recent about Leicester. But before I tell you what he told me, I have something to say which arises out of the information that I gathered from the encyclopædia. I gathered that there were two things that you manufactured at Leicester: Members of Parliament and stockings, to which you have since added a large manufacture of shoes. So that you have got M.P.s on the one side, and shoes and stockings on the other; very useful articles both are, when properly used.

Now will you allow me to say a word as to the manufacture of M.P.s? That is a very important subject, because it is you who are assembled here who have that manufacture chiefly in your hands. I am not going to tell you exactly whom you are to send to Parliament—I hope you will always send the best men you can find; but what I want to say is this, that there is a great deal of difference between the manufacture of M.P.s and the manufacture of stockings and shoes. There are two differences. The

first is, that we need not use the stockings you make or the shoes you make, unless we like. In the northern part of the country, where I live, the stockings are made by respectable old women in the vales; and very good stockings they make—I will back them against any man in Leicester. Then we in the north don't want your shoes; we wear clogs; and you couldn't make clogs if you tried. But with regard to the Members of Parliament whom you make, we are obliged to use them. They legislate for us all; and therefore it is a very terrible thing if the shoe pinches, when the shoe happens to be an M.P. Take care, therefore, that you make those members well, and that you consider it to be a great responsibility as well as a great privilege to be allowed to have the vote that you possess, and to have this important voice in the government of your country.

There is another difference between the two kinds of Leicester manufacture. For one you get honestly paid; but if you get paid for the other you show yourselves to be exceeding knaves. When a man makes shoes or stockings or anything else, I hope he gets an honest day's pay for an honest day's work; but a man has no right to any pay in the case of the M.P. manufacture. I am not so very proud of the way in which this manufacture is carried on in certain parts of the country; and, inasmuch as Leicester is out of the mess, I will say plainly that, when I see in the newspapers that there are at the present time seven or eight Royal Commissions engaged in hunting out the dirt and filth of the elections in a number of our towns, I don't feel very proud of the manner in which M.P.s are manufactured. Everything was to be right when we got the ballot. Every man was to be able to vote exactly as he thought right; and that is what ought to be the case. But we have found out by experience that the ballot has not got rid of corruption. Somehow or other it is going on now; and what is worst of all is that the ballot enables a man to take money first for this side and then for that, and then to vote as he pleases after all.

Now, I say that is a very bad state of things, and I hope you Leicester men will set a good example, as I have no doubt you will, in this most important matter; and recollect this, if nothing else, that the manufacture of shoes and the manufacture of Members of Parliament are two very different things, and ought to be undertaken in a very different spirit. So much with regard to what I found in the encyclopædia. Then I told you I wrote to a friend. One thing he told me struck me very much. It was that the working men of Leicester are extremely republican. (Cheers.) Well, that cheer looks very much as if my friend was right. I have no right to find fault with a man for being what is called republican; but I would like him to think twice before he put his principles in practice.

The Archbishop of York has told you that "liberty, fraternity, and equality" are the great symbols of social relations in France; and those are, in fact, the very words which are chosen to express the republican feeling among our neighbours. Now, republicanism is a very grand thing; but one would like to test it by a little experience. We had such a thing as a republic once in England. We cut off our king's head, and we established a republic. I never heard that that experiment answered. On the other hand, for the last two hundred years, under the old-fashioned principle of Queen, Lords, and Commons, we have had an amount of liberty, fraternity, and equality, such as I venture to say has not been equalled by any other nation on the face of the globe. The French people have tried the experiment of a republic, not once or twice only—I really forget how often the French have had are public; it seems to come out, from time to time, very much as the fruits and flowers come out in the spring, and then it dies down again.

I am not, however, going to say a word against the government of our neighbours. They have a right to be governed as they think fit, and it is no business of mine; but I do say this, that if I am told that it would be an advantage in the way of liberty, fraternity, and equality, that thi

country should become republican, then I just look quietly across the water, or I look at the English newspapers, and there, if I am not mistaken, I find that in order to spread this liberty, fraternity, and equality, there is constantly obliged to be some system of expelling somebody or other to whom the liberty, fraternity, and equality principle does not seem to apply. I take another example. People will say, "Oh, we do not think about France; it is not a fair example. Look at the grand Republic on the other side of the Atlantic; look at all the stars and stripes, and how the great American nation is spreading all over the face of the earth." Well, I have a great respect for America; I have got some very good friends there; and I think the manner in which the Americans have endeavoured to work out the great principle of governing a great nation under exceptional circumstances is worthy of all praise; but at the same time, with regard to the question of liberty, fraternity, and equality, we must not forget that that great Republic was not very long ago the scene of the most tremendous and bloody civil war which has been witnessed for the last century or two. Therefore, I am not so certain that this great principle of a republic is sure of bringing liberty, fraternity, and equality, and that there may not be very good reasons why we should prefer to go on in the old groove.

In point of fact, if it were not contrary to the rules of this great meeting, I think I should be disposed to call upon you to rise upon your feet and to challenge you all to cry out "God save the Queen."

Some witty man said years ago, when a man cried "God save the Queen," he meant "God save my pension." But that is not what I mean now. I look upon the Queen, of course, with personal affection, as being placed by God's providence over me; but besides that, I look to her as a symbol of the unity of this great nation, and I believe it is by keeping things as they are—by keeping the Queen upon her throne, and by loving Her Majesty with devoted loyalty—that we do our best to secure the greatest amount of liberty, fraternity, and equality which it is possible for mortal man to enjoy.

But now to pass on. I am not going to blackball Republicanism altogether. We will come to my second head—"Church." Well, there is the Republic. If you want "Liberty, fraternity, equality," seek it, I beseech you, in the Church of Christ. If you want a good chapter upon the rights of man, if you want a good exposition of what liberty, fraternity, and equality really mean, then amongst other things I would ask you to read the opening of the 2nd Chapter of the Epistle of St. James, where he describes the Church of God meeting together, with Christ among them, and with God presiding over the assembly; and where he speaks of it as a profanation that the man with the gold ring and the goodly apparel should have a place superior to that of the man in the vile raiment. That is the place for equality, fraternity, and the liberty with which Christ makes His people free.

But I don't want to dwell merely upon the general principle of the Church of Christ being the platform upon which we can all stand as equal in the sight of God, because He is present with us, and His presence dwarfs all differences and makes all to seem equal before Him. I should first like for one moment to bring the thing from the abstract conception of the Church at large to the concrete conception of the Church to which we all belong. I speak of the Church of England. I daresay many here will say they do not belong to the Church of England, and it is not for me to say they do, if they say they do not. But I would echo the words of our Chairman, and say, "If you don't belong to the Church of England, the Church of England belongs to you." I would ask the strongest nonconforming brother present, whether in his heart of hearts he does not think it may be some advantage in a great place like this of Leicester that there should be seventeen Houses of God, into which every poor man has a right to go and sit himself down—I believe in

almost all of them in any seat he pleases—at all events in which the authorities will find him a seat if he pleases to go, and where he will find a hearty welcome, even if he go in that vile raiment of which St. James speaks. Is it worth your while to upset a great religious system such as that which exists among you? Is it worth your while to upset that which is to all of you “without money and without price;”—which gives every poor man a friend to whom he may go, and whose business and privilege it is to minister to him in his own cottage in times of sickness and in health? I can quite understand that a man may say, although I may not agree with him, “I find that my soul is better nurtured at the chapel which I am in the habit of attending;” or that he may say, “Well, the system of the Church is a little above me; I don’t see my way through the Prayer Book; the parson is a very learned man, but I cannot quite make out the meaning of his sermons, and I find that altogether I get on better at the little chapel near my house.” I quite understand that attitude, and I do not find fault with a man who takes up such ground. But I say, if you choose to go to your chapel, do not lend your hand to the upsetting of the Church which is free to your brother as well as to you, and in upsetting which you would commit an act which would nought enrich you, and would, perhaps, make him “poor indeed.”

I now come to my third head, the word “Congress.” There have been a good many Congresses lately; they are rather fashionable things. I saw an account the other day in the newspapers of a Trades’ Union Congress. I am not going into the question of Trades’ Unions; I am rather too sharp for that. But I was very glad to see, as far as I could understand from the newspapers, that the general character and tendency of the proceedings at that Trades’ Union Congress were very quiet and very reasonable. I, looking upon the thing from without, grieve very much when I see any trouble existing between masters and men. I am neither master nor man myself, and, therefore, I may speak, perhaps, pretty freely about it. But of this I am perfectly certain, that the true solution of all difficulties is for the masters and the men to put on, so far as they can, the same spectacles, and to see that that which is for the advantage of the one is, in the long run, for the advantage of the other also. Well, then, you know there has been a Sanitary Congress, and there is soon to be a Social Science Congress, and so forth. But there is one Congress about which we have heard more than any other, and which, for my purpose, I will just allude to. There was the great Congress of Berlin. Well, what have we to do with that? I will tell you. When our great men came back from that Congress they brought with them what is exceedingly valuable under almost all circumstances; they told us they brought back “Peace with Honour.”

Now, that is exactly what we want the Church Congress to bring. We want it to do a great work for the Church of England, and, through the Church of England, for the souls of those who are committed to our charge. We do not so much care about the honour; that, I think, we will put on one side. God will give us as much of that as may be good for us. Very frequently it is well for a man—and it may be as well for the Church also—to be deprived of honour; at all events, not to have too much of it. But we cannot have too much peace. Peace is what we want. We want peace without, and we want peace within. We want peace with our Nonconformist brethren, and I hope we shall have it.

I was delighted to hear yesterday, from a man with whom I had a conversation in the street, that in the chapel which he attended, and (as he believed) in all the chapels throughout the town, notice was given of this Church Congress; and the ministers, with one heart and voice, entreated their people to do all that they could to make the Congress successful.

Well, there is a great amount of peace. Thank God for it! We want that kind of peace. Are we to quarrel, who have common

enemies? Are we to quarrel, when the enemy is at the gate? When there are men to deny the very being of God; who tell us that the Gospel belongs to the past, that the nineteenth century has outgrown the swaddling clothes of Christianity; when we find that this denial of God has asserted itself even in the very highest places in the land;—then is it for us, who are all baptised in Christ's name, to quarrel amongst ourselves, and so let the enemy into the citadel of our faith? Let us have peace amongst ourselves. We are all one, and we have no right to find fault with one another; and it is a most suicidal policy to quarrel, and so weaken the great power which comes from concentrated action. I should wish very much to have peace also with regard to the newspapers. Those religious newspapers do an immense deal of harm. I don't know whether there are any representatives of them here to-night, but I hope they will take what I say in a charitable spirit. Depend upon it, there is more harm done by the so-called religious newspapers towards destroying the peace of Christians than in almost any other way which it is possible to mention. But in all ways what we want is peace. We have a great gospel of peace to preach. That is the very purpose for which the Church exists; and we desire peace, yea, the "peace which passeth all understanding," in order that we may be able to preach that peace which Christ brought into the world, and which was the message of Him who is the Prince of Peace Himself.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of LIVERPOOL.

I MUST begin by asking you to have compassion on me. You have heard the chairman, you have heard the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Carlisle. You have heard our chairman speak as few men in England and Ireland can speak, and now I must ask you to have pity on me when I have to follow in the wake of such speakers as you have heard. Two hundred years ago there lived a king in England, not perhaps the best of kings, and who has not left behind him the best of reputations—I mean Charles the Second. Though not a first-rate example of man or King, he said some very sharp things, and he is said to have made one sharp remark about the famous divine, Barrow, who produced the famous book against the supremacy of the Pope. The king's comment on Barrow's sermon was—"Barrow is the unfairest man that ever was, for he leaves not a word to be said by another man upon the subject he handles." And so it is with myself. Our chairman, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Carlisle have swept the field clean, and I hardly know where to begin or where to leave off; what to say and what not to say. When I was at the Sheffield Congress I ventured to tell a story, which I will repeat now. It relates to an incident which occurred at Leeds, when the Congress was held there, a good many years ago. There, as now in Leicester, there were then masses of clergymen to be met with in the streets. Well, two working men were engaged in opening the street for the laying down of gas pipes, and one of these was heard to say to his companion, "Jim, what are all these parsons come here for?" The reply was, "Oh, you fool, don't you know? why there's a strike among the parsons."

Possibly, the same idea may have occurred to a Leicester man, seeing our black coats in your town. But it is a great mistake; there is no strike among the clergymen of the English Church. Of late years a few parsons have struck, not content with their mistress or their pay, and have thought they could better themselves elsewhere. Well, they have gone, but whether they are content I am by no means sure. But I am certain that the great majority of us here are content with the Church of England and wish her well, and want the privileges and blessings of our Church to

be known more and more among the high and the low, the rich and the poor, and, not least, by the working men we have before us on this occasion. This meeting I always regard as one of the most important parts of the Congress. No Congress would be complete without this opportunity of a meeting between the bishops and clergy and the working men, face to face. You cannot, I know, come to the day meetings; you have your own business to mind, which is your first duty; but to-night we are exceedingly glad to have this opportunity of meeting and talking with you. As you know, I come from Liverpool, the largest city in the country; for Liverpool is larger than the city of London, not including London beyond the city boundaries. When I went to Liverpool, one of the first things I wished to do was to address the working men among the 600,000 inhabitants of that place. But you know there are certain nasty things called politics; and, as an unpleasant consequence of these, there are contested elections; and we in Liverpool have had three of them in a single year. There was great excitement about these I am told, for of course a bishop knows no politics; and so it was thought better that the meeting with the working men should be put off. But the opportunity will come, I hope, when I can tell the working men of Liverpool how we are not the bishops merely of the upper ten thousand, but as ready to meet hand and heart with the working man as with any inhabitant of our diocese. Of the feeling of the working men of Liverpool I have no doubt. Only last Sunday night I saw an enormous church filled to suffocation with a congregation of working men and their families, and from the same class we have excellent choirs who sing in admirable style those grand old hymns "Tell me the old, old story," and "Hail the power of Jesus' Name," and others of the same kind. I went to talk with them after the service, and I found among the choir, whose singing was so good, six men who were nothing more than humble carters connected with the docks of Liverpool. They had never missed a single service in that church for four years, besides continually practising the singing of which they had given us such a good specimen.

One reason why we wish to meet you is that we as the bishops and clergy of the Church of England know we cannot do without the working men. You will remember what happened in the late unhappy war in Zululand. The glorious story of Rorke's Drift will never be forgotten by Englishmen. You know how some eighty or ninety fought, the whole night through, against thousands of enemies, with their lives in their hands. We know how the world rang with that story of heroism, and how we experienced some little consolation for the defeat we had suffered twenty-four hours before. What was the secret of this successful defence? Why, side by side, officers and men had confidence in each other. Chard and Bromhead were excellent officers; but what could they have done, if they had not been supported by the private soldiers who fought so bravely under them through that dreadful night? Men and officers had trust and confidence in each other; that was the secret of that glorious little victory of Rorke's Drift. And so with the Church of England; if we cannot gain the confidence of the working men, there is no hope for the Church of England. If we have not the working men of England with us, the prospects of the Church of England are small indeed. I have the hope of better things from this meeting. Some perhaps have come here only from curiosity to see what a bishop is like; but I hope you will all go away with the feeling that, after all that people may say of the Church of England, "there's life in the old dog yet."

What can I tell you after what has been said? I shall not forget what the Bishop of Peterborough has said. I never flatter any body of men, and least of all would I attempt it with the hard-headed, strong-handed working men of Leicester. I will tell you there is not and cannot be anything like a perfect equality. There must be a class with riches, and others who have to labour; and so long as the world is what it is, this state of things must exist. When the Agricultural Union came to Suffolk, they did not

disturb me much in my parish of Stradbroke. When called upon to say what I would do to promote peace, I said that, from want of acquaintance with business, I knew not how much a labouring man should require and a farmer give, but I always advised the farmer to bear in mind Christ's golden precept, "Do unto others as you would they should do to you." And to the labourer I said, "Do what you will, as long as the world shall stand, there will be the classes, rich and poor." Take the whole land and wealth of the country, and divide it among all men of 21, and let these all start on a dead level of equality, how long will that equality last? The various qualities of men, some active, some slothful, some clever, some stupid, would still operate. And do what we can by laws and reforms under Government, Tory, Whig, or Radical, so long as the world stands will the different classes exist. But I wish to remind you, although we cannot attain this equality, how much we have in common. The babe of the poor woman and the babe of the noble house have the same food and the same needs, and I doubt if you can detect the one from the other. Again, sickness is common to all; rich and poor suffer alike from this, since sin came into the world. Sorrow and pain are the common inheritance of humanity, from the Queen who sets us such a noble example to the poorest in the land. Stricken with the sense of sin, we all have the same need of a Saviour; go we all must to the same Throne of Grace; there is the same way for high and low into God's kingdom. We are on the same level, when we come into the House of God. Does the clergyman make any distinction in what he has to say and in the distribution of the Sacrament? Do we not also all come to the same grave, and will not the same space of earth cover alike rich and poor? Six feet of the silent earth will cover the mightiest. We come to the same level, and we await the same day of judgment, when all must give account. How much of common ground do we occupy! Surely it is a blessed thing, when bishops and working men can meet and consider the common ground on which they stand. If I had time, I might say something to earnestly impress upon you, that the attacks on Christianity are not new; they are old as Christianity itself. They have been defeated in days gone by, and those who made the attack have left no mark, and so it will be in the future. I care not for those who tell us that man is little better than an ape, nor for those who say that man is little less than God. I believe that the great truths of the Gospel will bear all investigation, and, so long as man has a sense of sin, so long I am sure that nothing will so fit his wants, as a key fits a lock, as the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ. Never despair of the Church of England. True it is that in by-gone times her pastors have committed grievous faults; but she is now awake and alive and striving to meet all the wants and requirements of the great nation to which she belongs. Our unhappy divisions will be thrown in our teeth, but I will point to this Congress as an answer to that. We are not all of one mind. I do not agree with all that has been said at the Congress. I hold my own opinion on some points, and concede the right to others to hold their opinions; but I can point to our substantial unity. Though some clergymen may flirt with Rome, yet I would remind you that flirtation is not always followed by marriage; and so I hope it is with this class. Not that I mean to say that flirtation is right. A bishop may give advice, and I say to all young men, Do not flirt with any young woman without a view to marriage. So I say, if there is any flirtation with Rome, will it not be better not to flirt at all? Well, it is getting late, the public-houses here close early, and we must not be behind hand. I cannot do better than use the closing moments I have by urging you to consider the evils that follow on intemperance, and to implore you all, high and low, rich and poor, to set your face against this dreadful curse of our country, intemperance.

MARK KNOWLES, ESQ.

IN addressing this meeting of working men, I can speak to them with the weight of some personal experience. Forty years ago, a boy of six or seven years of age, I stepped from the workhouse to fight my way in the battle of life. When quite a boy I was attracted by the popular errors of the day, and impressed with the feeling that I should like to make head-way in the world. It appeared clear to me I could do this best by a path outside the Church, in the organization propounded by men of so-called scientific principles—the principles of economic science, to which, as then understood, working men were taught to look for success. I became an admirer of one who is now well-known as Mr. George Jacob Holyoake. At that time there was a cry that the Church was sleeping, and the sentence was given “Cut her down, cut her down, why cumbereth she the ground?” There was also a cry against the taxation that was crippling the country. A poor boy, shoeless and stockingless, I went to meetings where I heard theories propounded which sank deep into my mind. Some time afterwards there came to Blackburn a veteran advocate of Christian economic science, who spoke to audiences composed of much the same class of working men, and propounded truths which pointed to different conclusions. He said it was true that the taxation of the country weighed heavily on working men, but pointed out that the taxes which most oppressed them were voluntary taxes. When I heard the first view of the case, I considered within myself whether any part of the two shillings per week which I earned by blacking boots went in taxation; and I felt that the chance of making my way in the world was exceedingly remote. But different thoughts occurred to me when I heard the other side of the question—when I heard the Rev. Robert Thomas Wheeler denounce and expose the great vice of our country, the vice of intemperance, pointing out the great hindrance it was to success in any branch of enterprise, how heavily voluntary taxation bore upon the working classes, and how, if men would only shut their mouths against the accursed liquor and abandon ruinous and wasteful habits, they might live almost entirely free from taxation. What I heard convinced me that the taxation which pressed most heavily on the working man was often his own intemperance, and I determined to forego liquor and tobacco, and rise by my own exertions. I resolved to avoid the public-house and bad companions, and fight the battle of life on a religious basis; and, God helping me, I succeeded. At that time I was surrounded by a number of men who adopted a different principle. Some of them have, like myself, been spared to the present time; others of them have been called to their final account; but what has been their career and their fate? Their scheme of elevation was based upon, “No future life,” or, “The best for everybody in the life that now is.” True, it may be urged against the mode of reasoning I am now adopting, that religion often fails in making men good, or giving to men the best of the present life. Religion only fails in making men good, when men deny its power, and crucify the son of God afresh, putting Him to an open shame; and as regards the life that now is, only our “bread and water” are sure: for the full realization of the blessing, we look to the home beyond, the rest which remains for the people of God. With the modern theorist, if his system fails in this life,—with him, there being no hereafter, it fails altogether and absolutely. I have picked up a speech delivered by an Unitarian minister, who like myself is a native of Blackburn, and he tells in a very few words a simple story, which I will read to you, in regard to some of these men who were my early companions. He says:—

Of the eight or ten Secularists that used to meet together in my own native town when I was a youth, one, a close friend of Mr. Bradlaugh's and co-author with Charles Watts of *Half-hours with Free Thinkers* and formerly the editor of the *London Investigator*, is now serving ten years' penal servitude for forgery and

fraud. Another, an intelligent man and an able speaker, defrauded the Local Philanthropic Burial Society, of which he was secretary, of £5,000, and, when he knew he must be found out, he went on the line of railway and allowed a passing train to destroy him. Another—a poet—after passing through much that is doubtful, has now reached keeping a beershop, with a “free and easy” on the Saturday night, and a drinking debating club on the Sunday. Others of them have been shady; and the best of them, a man who died honoured by his fellows, brought up his son, a personal friend of my own, with very different views. That has been my experience of Secularists in my native town; and so completely has the conduct of these men crushed Secularism in my native town, that it will surprise me if organized Secularism is ever heard of there again.

That is the history of three out of eleven of those, with whom I had a few months’ association, when I was seeking something which would give the working man a better chance of success, than he could find by living within the pale of the dear old Church of England. Permit me now to turn to another authority, and give you what Mr. George Jacob Holyoake says of this system as a whole. Speaking of what it has done for the working men and for the country, and how it stands to-day in worldly possessions and social status, he says:—

When I go to Glasgow, to Huddersfield, to Liverpool, or to Manchester, I find the Secularist there unredeemed in position. Even in Northampton, which Mr. Bradlaugh knows, I found Secularists lately meeting in the second floor of a public house, where I found them twenty or twenty-five years before. In Glasgow they were in the same second-rate position they were twenty-five or thirty years ago. What have we been doing? Ranters, Muggletonians, Mormons, and men of their stamp are superior to acting so. Any party, in the present state of thought in this world, could have done more. The most ordinary sects build or hire temples, where their people decently meet. Mr. Bradlaugh, with all his zeal and appeals, finds to-day that all London can do is to put up this kind of place (the Hall of Science) in which we now meet, opposite a lunatic asylum, where people, so the enemy say, naturally expect to find us.—*Debate between Messrs. Holyoake and Bradlaugh, p. 72.*

Things have altered for the better during the last twenty-five or thirty years with the old Church. Wherever I go in the large towns, I find that those nostrums, which I believed in at one time in preference to her teaching, are simply acknowledged failures. Let us all, to whatever class we belong, come forward and help to make her success all the more successful; let us fight the common enemy, till the time arrives when Christ’s Kingdom shall come, and Christ’s will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven. I plead for our dear old Church of England. See what she has done to reach the masses under the Public Education Acts. Look at what she has done for the cause of temperance especially. Ten years ago Secularist and Socialist appeared to hold a monopoly of popular movements, good and bad, but especially of the temperance movement. Now all over the country you have parochial temperance societies—some 2,000 of which are affiliated to the Church of England Temperance Society alone.

Ten years ago there was not a single bishop of the Church who was a total abstainer, whereas now you have five. Ten years ago, not a single judge on the English Bench was a total abstainer, whereas now two of the most eminent of our judges are total abstainers. Ten years ago, there was scarcely a leader of the aristocracy a total abstainer, whereas now you can number by the score such men, who are giving their time, their money, and their influence towards promoting the cause of temperance and improving the social and moral condition of the people. Ten years ago, there were not more than 850 clergymen who were total abstainers; now there are above 3,000, and most of them are so simply from a desire to give the weight of their official position thereto. I claim that religious temperance will do more for the trade of Leicester and the trade of England than all other things put together.

Just now you are passing through a crisis in this town. I am told that

some manufacturers are leaving Leicester for Peterborough, because they cannot make things pay here. But if you adopted temperance principles, I think masters would do as well here as anywhere else. I believe that, if they act on the temperance principle, the workmen of England can successfully compete with those of any other country. Although now a member of the English bar, for thirteen years I have had much experience as an employer of labour, and I will answer for it that, if they chose to do it, the English workmen, sober and industrious, excel the workmen of any other country on the face of the globe.

The next great point is, that, by combining temperance with religion, you may do a great deal to improve your home life. A working man's home might almost be a little palace, if he brought religious principles thoroughly and fully to bear upon it. If the true dignity of labour, as ennobled by the life of the Master and His Apostles, was upheld, what a manufactory of home comforts the family circle might become ! The articles a workman makes for others, he can make for himself, on a scale suitable to his condition.

I quite admit that the fight you have to sustain just now is a fight, not against other towns in this country, but a fight against other nationalities. The question is not whether you can beat the people of Nottingham, or the people of Nottingham can beat you ; but whether you can beat the people of Germany. You can do it, if you like ; but, if you would succeed, you must not go skulking about the public houses, and letting your brains go through the half-pint pot. You must be up and doing, and must do the very best you can to excel in your trades and to economise your expenses ; for a man is not made rich by what he earns alone—the amount he spends is a greater consideration. In that way you can drive out foreign competition. You will reap the benefit with your employer in higher wages, and share with him in the comforts of a brighter home life. I speak from experience, as one who has fought his way from an obscure origin, and with the disadvantage of being lame all down the left side ; and I say there is no country in the world in which a working man can succeed as he can in England. I have just received two anonymous letters, accusing me of being false to my old class, because I am associated with the Archbishop and Bishops on this platform to-night. I have not sought this great honour : but I declare that there is not a drop of blood in me that is not yearning to be of service to working men, and I want you to acknowledge that, after all, there is something to be proud of in England and English institutions, and to stand to your colours and do your duty, feeling assured that, despite the terrible battle at present, patient perseverance in well doing will conquer in the end. The working men will have their rights, and so, also, will the employers ; and we shall have in the future a greater trade and greater prosperity than we have ever had in the past.

TEMPERANCE HALL, THURSDAY EVENING,

SEPTEMBER 30TH.

**The Right Rev. the BISHOP SUFFRAGAN of NOTTINGHAM
took the Chair at 7 o'clock.**

**THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE
CHURCH.**

**WHETHER IT IS DESIRABLE THAT INCREASED FACILITIES OR POWERS
OF LEGISLATION SHOULD BE GRANTED TO CONVOCATION;
AND, IF SO, WHETHER THE GRANTING OF SUCH POWERS OR
FACILITIES SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY ANY, AND WHAT,
REFORMS OF CONVOCATION.**

The CHAIRMAN.

ALTHOUGH a great meeting is now naturally attracted to the Congress Hall, I am glad that so large a number of Churchmen are here for the purpose of considering the present constitution of Convocation, and what reforms, if any, may be thought desirable; which subject, with much propriety, comes under the title of the "Internal Organization of the Church." This is naturally a matter of deep interest to the Church at large, for it affects not only the Clergy, but the faithful Laity, ever desirous of taking part in the work of the Church, and to whom, therefore, its organization is of much importance, as well as any reformatory measures that may be thought desirable for its improvement. I presume that the first subject of consideration will be as to whether the present representation of the Clergy in Convocation is satisfactory, and how its defects or shortcomings may be amended; and the second, as to the best way in which representatives of the Laity may be so constituted as to become a consultative body, acting in concert with the representatives of the spirituality of our Church, but apart from their assemblage, as the only members of Convocation proper. I trust that both these things may be promoted through the result of our consideration of this subject to-day, viz., a more just and satisfactory representation of the parochial Clergy in Convocation, and the constitution of a corresponding number of the Laity with whom the representatives of the Clergy can take counsel, before they arrive at conclusions on all important matters. Happily, we have with us a distinguished Bishop, experienced in the character and wants of both Convocations, in the person of the Bishop of Carlisle, and also one who has, for many years, most ably presided over the Lower House of Convocation for the Province of Canterbury—the Dean of Lichfield—besides many others, including some of the most noted of the Laymen of our Church, whence we may hope and trust that fresh strength may be given to our time-honoured Houses of Convocation, without having recourse to unconstitutional measures, through the conclusions arrived at after a calm and careful consideration of this subject here and elsewhere, to the great benefit of our Church at large.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of CARLISLE.

“Is it desirable that increased facilities or powers of legislation should be granted to Convocation; and, if so, should the granting of such powers or facilities be accompanied by any, and what, Reforms of Convocation?”

I presume that I have been selected as the person who should open the discussion of the important subject contained in these questions, in consequence of the part taken by me in connection with a certain Bill, which not unfrequently, but most incorrectly, passes under my name. Whether this be so or not, I am of opinion that I can introduce the subject in the most practical manner by treating it in direct reference to the said Bill. The Bill proposes to grant increased facilities for Church legislation in a certain definite way: no other way, so far as I am aware, has been proposed: the Bill may be impracticable and impossible, but at least it is distinctly before the Church and the public: it is supported by no mean authority; it has received encouragement in influential quarters, from which perhaps encouragement could not have been expected; and for the present it is distinctly in possession of the field: it has been presented by both Convocations to the Queen, with the prayer that no action may be taken upon their own Reports concerning the amendment of Rubrics until some such Bill has been made law: hence the phrase “increased facilities or powers of legislation” must, almost of necessity, be understood in connection with this Bill. It would be futile to suggest any other method of increasing the Church’s powers of legislation, so long as the Bill submitted by both Convocations to Her Majesty blocks the way.

In order to give reality and weight to the support which I shall offer in this paper on behalf of the Bill, I have determined to deal in it with the objections offered by a real and weighty antagonist. In a charge delivered in June last to the clergy and churchwardens of the Diocese of Worcester, the Bishop of that See has expressed his opinion briefly and clearly. Every one who knows the Bishop of Worcester will know that anything contained in his charge will be calm and thoughtful, and erring if at all on the side of prudence and safety. I cannot say that there is anything of novelty in the Bishop’s views, but I prefer to take the objections as actually alleged by him, rather than imagine them as presented to me by some shadowy antagonist.

It may be well to observe, though it is not a matter of supreme importance, that the Bishop has fallen into the error, into which many less cautious men have fallen, that the Bill in question has been presented to Parliament. This is not so: the truth being, as I have already stated, that a draft of the Bill has been presented to Her Majesty by the Convocations, together with their Reports on the subject of the amendment of the Rubrics.

So far as the substance of the Bill is concerned, I am quite content to adopt the Bishop’s own language. He tells us that its purpose is “to give to the Archbishops and Bishops and Clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, in their Convocations, power to prepare from time to time, for the acceptance of the two Houses of

Parliament and of the Queen in Council, schemes for such alterations in and additions to the rubrics and directions contained in the Book of Common Prayer, as may seem to them to be required."

The Bishop adds, "It is worthy of remark that, while the title of the Bill purports to limit the effect of it to Rites and Ceremonies, the Bill itself proposes to extend the powers of legislation committed to the Convocations of the Clergy, so as to embrace the provision of such additional services and prayers to be used in public worship as may seem to them to be required."

To the proposals of the Bill thus summarised the Bishop entertains objections so strong that he tells us, "If I could think it possible that the sanction of the legislature should be given to the Bill, I should be distressed for the future of the Church of England."

The most formidable objection alleged seems to me to be this, that, in the opinion of the Bishop, "What is presented under the simple form of an amendment of a rite or ceremony, or the alteration of a rubric, may involve serious and vital changes in matters of faith and doctrine."

This sounds very serious and terrible, but seems to me not very real. It appears to be forgotten that any new services and prayers or rubrics would be prepared and proposed by those, who of all others would be least likely to approve of changes in matters of faith and doctrine. The objection is only plausible upon the supposition that some hostile power has the initiative of change: it would be valid if the Archbishops, majority of the Bishops, and the mass of the Clergy, were imbued with heresy. But in truth the objection, if good at all, is good against every process of change; whatever be the faults of the process proposed in the Bill, it is at least of the most Conservative kind conceivable; it involves the approval of any scheme by the two houses of Canterbury, and the two of York: then the scheme must be approved by the Queen: then it must be not disapproved by both Houses of Parliament: and thus only can it become law. The difficulty is to understand how anything that is not absolutely innocuous or even colourless can force its way through such a sieve. The method of the Bill might possibly prove ineffectual and a dead letter in practice; but as for its involving changes in matters of faith and doctrine, I cannot feel any anxiety.

The difficulty which the Bishop of Worcester, in common with not a few others, suggests, when he says that "it would greatly surprise him to find that our Houses of Parliament are willing to divest themselves of the power which they have always possessed and exercised, at least since the Reformation of the Church of England in the sixteenth century, to initiate if necessary, and at least to discuss freely and fully, all questions of legislation in things ecclesiastical," is much more serious than any other which can be alleged. No doubt it is *the* difficulty, and I am not at all prepared to say that it may not be found for years to come insuperable. Nevertheless, I think it highly desirable that we should examine its nature and endeavour to measure it.

It should be observed, in the first place, that the Bill does not ask

Parliament to abandon in the smallest degree its right of initiation. There are certain departments of legislation, specially those connected with the temporal accidents of the Church regarded as a national institution, in which the initiative must be taken by the legislature, if it is to be taken at all. I do not hesitate to confess that much of the present practical spiritual vigour of the Church of England is due to legislation, in which the Church as such was not consulted at all: mistakes may have been made; if we had the thing to do over again we might perhaps do it somewhat better: but still such an Act, for example, as 1 and 2 Victoria, chap. 106, commonly known as the *Pluralities Act*, has been a vast blessing to the country, and in such matters as those with which this Act deals I should not desire for the Church, as represented by the Convocations, any distinct legislative power. Are there not, however, matters in which it would be most unwise for Parliament to assert the right of initiation? Suppose, for example, that, in a fit of temporary insanity, Parliament adopted such a Bill as that laid upon the table of the House of Lords last Session by Lord Ebury, which proposed to amend by Act of Parliament (to take only one specimen) the Ordination Service,—do you suppose that the Church would accept the legislation? Would the Bishops submit to such a monstrous intrusion into things spiritual? I know of one who would not. In fact, would not the assumption of the right of initiation in such a case mean the certainty of disruption between Church and State?

But in reality it would be no abandonment of any right on the part of Parliament, if, recognising the inconvenience of certain ecclesiastical matters being discussed in its Chambers and the singular unfitness of one of the Chambers for dealing with them, it should consent to reserve to itself a veto, when regulations in matters ecclesiastical were laid upon the table by Her Majesty's command. The whole power of initiation and legislation would remain absolutely intact.

Pray observe that I am not saying that the House of Commons, as at present constituted, is likely to assent to the suggested plan of ecclesiastical legislation. I confess that the manner in which the House consented to erase from the Burials Bill, as drafted by the Lord Chancellor, all reference to the Convocations of Canterbury and York, while practically adopting their recommendations, and the manner in which the monstrous statement seems to have been received that such reference was unconstitutional and unprecedented—all this does not dispose me to believe that the present House of Commons would be likely to receive the draft Bill with much favour. But the Church can afford to wait: the life of the present House of Commons is seven years at most: the life of the Church of England will, I trust, be seventy times seven at least; and our effort must be, not to precipitate legislation, but to educate the mind of the country as to what the wants of the Church are, and what she may reasonably expect at the hands of the legislature.

The Bishop of Worcester urges, that, in the event of such a change being made as that suggested, "a serious question would

arise in the minds of many whether the Convocations of the Clergy as now constituted are in truth the bodies to which matters of such vital interest can be prudently committed." And he then refers to lay members of our Church being altogether shut out from consultation. This reference to the constitution of our Convocations introduces the second portion of the question which I have been asked to discuss. I have not time enough left to discuss it adequately, and I must hope that it will be more fully dealt with by those who are to follow me.

But there are one or two points upon which I should like to express a strong opinion, though I may not have time to support it by argument.

In the first place I cannot see what *locus standi*, or rather *sedendi*, the laity can have in the Convocations of the Clergy. If it be thought good to establish any new Church body, which shall have a representative character, and if this be possible, let it be done; but do not attempt to abolish the sacred synods of the two provinces, having, as they have, an ecclesiastical and constitutional position, which no newly-invented convention, half clerical and half lay, could possibly have. Subject, however, to the preservation of their essential character, I see no reason why an attempt should not be made to amend the constitution of the Convocations, especially that of Canterbury. The essence of the Convocation is that the Archbishop of the Province shall convoke the Prelates and Clergy: the details of such convocation may very well vary with the changes introduced by time and circumstances.

I am disposed, then, to believe, that the Convocations of Canterbury and York—amended, if it may be, in some of the details of their constitution and method of proceeding—are the bodies to which we are entitled to look for such suggestions as from time to time may be required; and that the method of giving effect to their suggestions proposed by the draft Bill is wise. I cannot at all sympathise with the Bishop of Worcester in the fears which he expresses in the conclusion of his discussion of the subject as to the agitation, and perpetual controversy, and party strife, which he anticipates as the possible results of the change. It seems to me rather that our chief troubles for many years past have arisen from the notion that the Church of England was wound up once for all, say in A.D. 1662, and that her machinery enjoys the secret of perpetual motion, and never needs oiling. Surely we never could have come to the practical dead-lock to which we have come in the matter of the law of ritual, if we had possessed some living power of declaring from time to time what the law was, if doubtful, and what it ought to be, if it needed adjustment.

The scheme for ecclesiastical legislation which I have been discussing at least offers a possible and easy solution of a great difficulty: let those who do not accept it propose a better. We can scarcely go on for ever as we are. If the relations between Church and State be not wisely modified and adjusted, my fear is lest the couplings should break. Some, perhaps, will say, let them break. Yes; but the breaking of couplings does not always result in

merely leaving a portion of the train at rest on the line, as happened the other day with the limited Scotch mail; it usually means a catastrophe, and much mischief to both portions of the train. Let us not break the couplings, if we can retain them unbroken.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF LICHFIELD.

THIS very important question seems to require that we should first consider what are the present legislative facilities and powers possessed by Convocation; and how far those facilities and powers appear to have been affected or modified by the changes which have taken place in the constitution of this Realm since the period of the Reformation.

From the earliest times of our Ecclesiastical History of which we have any record, we find in the administration of our Church the combined influence of the authorities in Church and State.

During the period of the Saxon Heptarchy this principle was clearly developed. There are, for example, frequent instances of the Bishop being chosen by the united counsel of the Civil and Ecclesiastical authorities; and when the Saxon Kingdoms became consolidated, the same principle was recognized and acted upon. But the Norman conquest was soon followed by the introduction into this country of the separation of the Civil from the Ecclesiastical in judicial and legislative matters. It is true that William I was careful to assert his own supremacy as Sovereign over both Civil and Ecclesiastical causes. In fact the supremacy maintained by him was precisely the same as that contended for by Henry II a century afterwards, and finally established by Henry VIII. But during those five centuries from the Conquest to the Reformation, our originally independent Church became more and more "entangled in the aggressive and encroaching policy of the Papal Court;" and thus she gradually forfeited that freedom of self-government which, but for this foreign influence, might have been continued to her.* Still, speaking generally, it may be said that from the eleventh century to the sixteenth century the Church of England was chiefly administered by Canon Law. The Statutes affecting the Church of England which were passed during that period were for the most part such as had reference to her temporal position. Her protection from the aggressions of a foreign power, and the preservation of her liberties,—these were the more prominent objects for which Statute Law was invoked. The great principle, "*quod Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia jura sua integra, et libertates suas illesas,*"†—this is affirmed over and over again. But the general administration of the affairs of the Church was by Canon Law. The Bishops governed their Dioceses through their Diocesan Synods, subject of course to the controlling influence of the Provincial Synods, whose

* See Report of Committee of Convocation on "Relations of Church and State," 1879.

† 9 Hen. III, c. 1. A.D. 1225.

decrees and constitutions were published through the Diocesan Synods. But, unhappily, the Provincial Synods came gradually under the Papal influence. Thus their character as the Synods of an ancient and independent Church was altered, and they were frequently transmuted into Legatine Synods, mere instruments of the Papal power. The Bishops, however, exercised much influence in their own Diocesan Synods, and had the liberty of arranging their own Liturgies or "Uses,"—these Uses being framed for the most part upon primitive models, and forming the staple out of which our Book of Common Prayer was principally compiled.

The Reformation was the indirect, the unintentional cause of a considerable change in the government of the Church of England. The overthrow of the Papal supremacy transferred much of that usurped power to the Civil authority; and the consequence has been that, since the Reformation, the Church of England has chiefly been administered by Statute Law. A glance at the Statute Book will show how large a number of Statutes affecting the Church of England have been passed since the Reformation, as compared with those which were passed before that event. As a matter of fact, the immediate result of the Reformation was to put an arrest upon the ancient administration of the Church through her Synods; and Acts of Parliament of great importance to the welfare of the Church have frequently been passed, with regard to which the Clergy in Synod have had no opportunity of expressing their opinion.

But this was by no means a part of the intended policy of the Reformation. The famous Statute known as that of the "Submission of the Clergy,"* contains a provision for the examining of the Canon Law of the Realm, as it existed at that time, and for the determining of what portion of it should be "kept and obeyed," and what part should be "made frustrate." Yet this provision still remains inoperative upon our Statute Book. An attempt was made to carry it out by Archbishop *Cranmer*; and a document was actually prepared—a document containing much useful matter, entitled the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*; but that document was put aside in consequence of the death of Edward VI, and has never become law to this day. Moreover the unfortunate silencing of Convocation from A.D. 1717 to A.D. 1853 has still further crippled Church action. We may be thankful indeed that the more just and enlightened policy of recent times has caused the revival of the dormant powers of Convocation, and that it is now once more recognized as an integral part of the Constitution of the Realm. But, although the labours of the last thirty years have not been unfruitful, Convocation has hardly yet emerged from under the cloud. It is even now the fashion in some quarters to think scorn of it; and an unworthy jealousy still exists of the influence of our Provincial Synods—a jealousy which, it may be hoped, will pass away in proportion as it is seen that Convocation is a wise and practical body, working within its own proper sphere, and in loyalty to the Constitution of which it is a part. Perhaps some of our legislators will not

* 25 Hen. VIII, c. 19.

be so impatient of even the name of Convocation appearing in a Statute, when they more fully appreciate the truth and meaning of Hooker's dictum, "The Parliament of England, together with the Convocation annexed thereto, is that whereupon the very essence of all government within this Kingdom doth depend."*

To go back, however, to my point, it may be briefly stated thus: that whereas before the Reformation the affairs of the Church were chiefly administered by Canon Law, since that event they have been chiefly administered by Statute Law.

In real truth, as far as Church legislation is concerned, the Reformation caused a rift which has never yet been closed. Our Canon Law has been left for more than 300 years with a "ravelled sleeve," and it would be a task worthy of the energies of our best statesmen to "knit it up," and so to place these matters upon a more satisfactory footing by means of the proper constitutional authorities, that is, by the combined action of the Convocations, the Queen, and the Parliament.

But there is another factor which must be taken into account in the consideration of this question. According to the opinion of some of our best Canonists, a Canon which has long fallen into disuse becomes invalid. Bishop *Stillington*, in his "*Ecclesiastical Cases*,"† has some weighty words on this point; and he quotes the language of *Gerson*, the eminent Chancellor of the University of Paris about A.D. 1400, who says that "many Canons of General Councils have lost their force by disuse, and that the observance of them would be useless and impossible." This view is supported by many authorities of great report in the Western Church; and it may be safely affirmed to be a recognized maxim of Canon Law that discipline is variable, though the faith is unchangeable; and that non-observance of a disciplinary Canon mostly abrogates it as binding upon the conscience, though of course it could at any time be revived by lawful authority. In the Decretals of Gregory IX it is affirmed that no prescription of less than forty years runs against the Church, which is interpreted to mean that custom abrogates Canons.‡

The doctrine of the infallibility of the Church Catholic may perhaps have had some influence over the making of a Canon; I mean, so as to preclude its amendment. Hence the custom that, if a Canon from any cause ceases to be operative or needs amendment, it is not altered; but a new Canon is enacted to take its place. I mention these things because they may help to show the position in which our Church stands at the present time with regard to Canon Law. An exception must of course be made with regard to such Canons as may have been embodied in Statute Law. Any Canon which has been enforced by Statute Law becomes subject of course to the conditions of Statute Law, and remains of force until the same power which created it either alters or repeals it.

But I must now remind you that the "Act of Submission," already referred to, expressly reserves to the clergy in their Convocations the power, under certain restrictions and limitations, of

* Hooker. Book viii, p. 342. † A.D. 1702. Vol. 1, p. 262.

‡ See Report of Committee of Convocation on "*Ecclesiastical Law*," A.D. 1878.

making Canons. For the convenience of those who may not be familiar with the technical processes of Convocation, I may observe that there are three separate instruments by which the Royal Supremacy over our Provincial Synods is recognized and exercised.

I. There is (1) the *Royal Writ*, empowering the Archbishops to summon their Convocations. The origin of this instrument is to be traced to the time of Edward I. It was not at first regarded favourably by the Clergy; for it had a bearing upon the subject of taxation, and was resented as an interference with the liberties of the Church. By the time however of Edward III the loyalty of the clergy had overcome their prejudices, and they submitted. But the Archbishops, while always obeying the Royal Writ, still retained their own original right of summoning their Synods when they pleased. So matters stood until the Reformation, when the "Act of Submission" restrained them from ever summoning their Convocations without the Royal Writ. What amount of power this instrument gives to Convocation when summoned is a point which has been much debated. It must of course be determined by the language of the "Act of Submission." Now the "Act of Submission" distinctly restrains the Clergy in their Convocations from "enacting, promulging or executing new Canons without the Royal License." But whether the terms of this Statute preclude them from conference or deliberation, with a view to submitting measures for the approval of the Sovereign, may reasonably be doubted. Archbishop Wake* says, "whether the Convocation may not without the King's License deliberate of such things as may be fit to be done by them for the service of the Church I shall not undertake to say." Then a little further on he adds—"To deliberate of what might usefully be considered by them, and to petition the King thereupon for leave so to do, this, as it is no attempting to make a Canon, so does it not, I conceive, come within the design of that prohibition which this Act has laid upon them." It will be remembered that Archbishop Wake was not a man who was wont unduly to exalt the authority of the Church.

II. But (2) there is another instrument, entitled the "*Royal Letter of Business*." This instrument specifies certain matters under the "Royal Sign Manual," which may be deemed proper for consideration. An example of such an instrument, issued in the reign of Queen Anne, January 29, 1710, may be found in a useful little volume entitled "*Pearce on the Law relating to the Convocations of the Clergy*." We have also had examples of such instruments in recent times. At the opening of the two Convocations previous to the present, those of 1872 and 1874, "Royal Letters of Business" were issued by authority of our gracious Queen, directing the Convocations to take into their consideration the "Fourth and final Report of the Royal Commissioners" on the Rubrics of the Prayer Book; and the answers of the Convocations were laid before Her Majesty in the course of last year. There is this great advantage in the issuing of such Letters, that they show in a very marked

* "State of the Church," p. 535.

manner the interest felt by the Sovereign in the welfare of the Church, and the desire of the Sovereign to know the mind of the Convocations upon the matters so submitted to them.

III. Well, then (3), there is lastly the *Royal License*, empowering the Convocations to make Canons or Constitutions. Without this instrument the Convocations have no power to legislate at all.

Then, further, there is this to be remembered, that a Canon has no validity if it be contrary to the Royal Prerogative or to the Common or Statute Law of the Realm. And even then it has been laid down that although a Canon duly enacted is binding upon the Clergy *in foro conscientiae*, it does not, *proprio vigore*, bind the Laity, unless it is embodied in a Statute.

It becomes then, I think, a very grave question, whether, regard being had to all the intricacies and difficulties which beset legislation by Canon, the Church does not need some simpler mode than she at present possesses for legislating with regard to those matters which are confessedly variable, and which require re-adjusting from time to time. Our Articles remind us that, while the Faith and Doctrine of the Church remain the same, her Ceremonial admits of change according to the "diversities of times and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word."*

The great majority of those whom I have the honour to address will agree with me that the highest interests of this Nation are associated, under the Divine Blessing, with the maintenance of the union of Church and State. And the problem to be solved is how, under the somewhat altered relations of the Church to the State, those changes which may be deemed needful from time to time for the internal regulation of the Church may be best brought about under a condition of things which still requires that the laws concerning the National Church shall "take their essence from the Church, the Queen, and the Parliament."

It has been thought by many that the principles of a Draft Bill, which has been agreed to by both the Convocations, and has been submitted to Her Majesty the Queen together with their conclusions upon the subject of the Rubrics, are principles which may ultimately command the assent and approval of thoughtful and practical men, whether Clergy or Laity. The principles of the proposed measure are in few words these.

Leaving out of the question matters of Faith and Doctrine, as being in their essence unchangeable, it proposes that the Convocations duly assembled under the *Royal Writ* should consider of such matters as may require regulating, such as changes in the Rubrics and in the Directions contained in the Book of Common Prayer, Additional Services and Prayers, and the like; and that their final recommendations with regard to these and similar matters should be laid before the Queen in Council, with the signatures of the two Archbishops affixed to them; and that, if approved by Her Majesty in Council, they should then be laid before both Houses of Parliament; and that in case neither House of Parliament shall within the period of forty days present an Address to Her Majesty, praying

* Article xxxiv.

Her Majesty to withhold her consent from such recommendations, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty to make an Order in Council ratifying them.

Now the only tangible objection that I have heard to this proposal is this, that it gives to the Convocations, that is to the Clergy in their Convocations, the initiative in these matters. Well, granting that it does so, I would ask, who so proper to take the initiative in these things as the great Provincial Synods of the Church? "In matters of God," says Hooker, "to set down a Form of Prayer, a solemn Confession of the Articles of the Christian Faith, and Ceremonies meet for the exercise of religion, it were unnatural not to think the Pastors and Bishops of our souls a great deal more fit than men of secular trades and callings. Howbeit when all which the wisdom of all sorts can do is done for the devising of Laws in the Church, it is the general consent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of Law."*

To this I would add that it is to the last degree improbable that anything would be recommended by the Convocations, or receive the imprimatur of the Archbishops, before it had been well ventilated in the various Diocesan Conferences composed of Clergy and Laity throughout the country.

If, however, it is still objected that under the proposed measure the initiative is taken by Convocation, what is to be said of the proposed measure in its subsequent stages? When Convocation has recommended, its functions cease. Its recommendations are passed on to the Queen in Council. The proposals can be arrested *in limine*, and if they go any further, Her Majesty's Ministers are the persons who become responsible for laying them before Parliament. And even then, if they pass the Queen's Council Chamber, they can be challenged by Parliament. Are not these sufficient safeguards, sufficient securities that nothing crude, nothing rash or ill-advised would be legalized by such means?

The advantages of the proposal are considerable. They provide a more simple and effective process than any which the Church now possesses, by which she may regulate her internal machinery, without troubling Parliament to do more than either to give or withhold its sanction. And considering the vast and ever enlarging area of questions of State which occupy the Parliament of this great Empire, it seems only reasonable that details of this kind should be dealt with by an easier process, the State still retaining its control over them, so as either to allow or refuse them. The proposal is thoroughly constitutional. Its principle is already admitted in other departments of the State.

I must add a few words upon the remaining question, how far the granting of such facilities should be accompanied with any reform of Convocation. I dismiss at once as visionary and impracticable the idea of any introduction of the Laity into Convocation. If we had to formulate the principles of an altogether new Constitution for the Realm of England,—or if our Church was dis-established,

* Hooker, Eccles. Polity, book viii, p. 344.

and we had to frame a new system of government for the separated Church,—such a question as this might fitly be raised. At present, however, it is out of the range of practical politics, and for the sake of our country I trust it will continue so.

But there is another question of a thoroughly constitutional character, and that is the question of an enlargement of the numbers of the elected representatives of the Parochial Clergy. If Convocation is to assume greater prominence, and to recommend measures for adoption by Parliament, it is of the utmost importance that it should possess in full measure the confidence of the Church, both Clergy and Laity. Now while believing, as I do, that Convocation as at present constituted is an excellent representative body, there are two reasons which have had much avail in leading me to the conclusion that an increase in the number of the elected representatives of the Clergy is desirable. There is (1) the vast increase in the numbers of the Parochial Clergy. This alone constitutes a *prima facie* argument in favour of an addition to the Proctors. Then there is also (2) a very strong and prevailing sentiment amongst the Clergy in favour of such enlargement. Both these reasons, and especially the latter, demand our respectful consideration. If by such an increase as is proposed—namely, an increase amounting upon the average to about two Proctors for each Archdeaconry,—if, I say, by such increase Convocation should gain a corresponding increase of confidence, and if at the same time some of the present anomalies, such as indirect election, can be swept away, I think we may rejoice in the prospect of such a reform, the constitutional and legitimate mode of effecting which is by Canon, if it shall please Her Majesty to grant her Royal License for this purpose.

I trust that this will be granted; and I will conclude with my earnest hope that such a reformed Convocation, well sustained by Synodical action in every Diocese, enjoying the confidence of the Church, and furnished with those increased facilities of legislation which I have indicated, may, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, mightily increase the influence of our Church both at home and abroad, to the glory of God, and the extension of His Kingdom.

STANLEY LEIGHTON, Esq., M.P.

At a time when principles are determined by counting heads, it is strange that the Church of England, numerically larger than all other denominations put together, should be, not only an object of attack, but should be subject to defeat both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons.

Her system is theoretically almost perfect. The Parish, the Archdeaconry, the Diocese, the Convocations, the presence of the bishops in the House of Peers—such are the gradations of a system which has failed to safeguard the interests of the Church.

Let us inquire why; and where and how her internal organisation may be adapted to the necessities of the times.

First let me say of the House of Lords, that it is an assembly slenderly endowed with Churchmanship. It is an assembly without zeal. The fact that bishops are always to be found upon both sides of every question, while it illustrates the breadth of thought and individuality belonging to the Episcopal Bench, gives colour to the assertion that the Church does not know its own mind. Moreover the age at which the bishops take their seats is not an age which readily lends itself to new methods. Besides which they are, after all, in a small minority among the Peers. Therefore I say that the House of Lords, notwithstanding the presence in it of bishops nominated by the Prime Minister of the day, is not a quarter whence the Church can hope for substantial support in the hour of struggle.

But if the House of Lords is touched with the paralysis of indifferentism, that cannot be said of the Convocations. Suppose, for the sake of my argument, that Convocation was so far reformed, as to be practically as well as theoretically representative of the whole of the clergy, and of each school of thought within the Church. What then? Could it proceed from word to action of its own motion? Certainly not. No advance towards legislation can be made without the consent of Parliament; in other words, of the Government of the day. At the present moment I believe the simple fact that Convocation had initiated a measure would be a hindrance to its success in the House of Commons. The limit to the power of Convocation is clearly expressed in a letter of the Bishop of Gloucester to Mr. Beresford Hope on the occasion of the Rubrics Bill, published in the *Guardian* of the 28th May, 1879. He says—

We in Convocation as you well know, are acting under and in strict accordance with a singularly clear and sharply defined Act of Parliament (which, by the way, I wish were better known by many, than it is at present.) Under that Act we have applied for, and have received, permission to make recommendations relative to the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. We have spent ten years in availing ourselves of that permission, and now at last, either this year or early in next, shall probably frame and send in to the Crown a report of our recommendations. There our action, and indeed that of the Crown also, definitely stops. Our recommendations cannot be formed into canons and constitutions to which the Crown could give any binding authority, because they are recommendations that confessedly point to alterations in the statutes of the Realm (see 25 Hen. VIII, c. 19, s. 3). They are thus clearly of a nature with which only the responsible ministers of the Crown could properly deal.

Is it not like beating the air, to spend ten years in continuous labour, and at the end to effect absolutely nothing?

If our purpose is to assert a control over Church legislation, we ought to make ourselves masters in that place where the power to alter, to re-construct, or to abolish is centred, that is to say, in the House of Commons. Let it be remembered that it is beyond our power to prevent Church questions being raised there, and that an attitude of defence only is a source of weakness. We ought not to be afraid of action, and, where necessary, of aggression.

I heard a Member of Parliament, who was also a Baptist preacher, say the other day in the House of Commons, that he was one of the *rulers of the Church of England*.

The same position is practically maintained by every Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and unbeliever, when he legislates for the Church.

I heard a minister of the Crown last Session argue that there was no objection to the use of the Holy Scriptures in the Burial Service, because the Bible had been authorised by Act of Parliament! Every one recollects how the Prime Minister, before the General Election, declared the Nonconformists to be the "*back bone of his party*." Now the liberality of Political Dissenters, as they themselves declare, consists mainly, if not altogether, in hostility to the Church of England as by law established.

From such indications the temper of the House of Commons may be fairly gauged. Surely we should apply the means of organisation in our hands in order to recover our legitimate influence *there*.

The Diocesan Conferences offer a basis of operation, the best perhaps available. It does not seem an impossible task to reap greater results from their deliberations, and to unite them more closely in a common course of action.

First, let the resolutions agreed to in every Church Conference be not only published in the newspapers and recorded in the minutes, but let them be sent to every member of the Conference; let it be the duty of the Honorary Secretary officially, and of the members of the Conference unofficially, to bring them before the notice of every representative in Parliament whose seat is within the diocese; let specific answers be obtained, and, if necessary, let them be published. Let the Parliamentary support of Churchmen depend in some degree on the answers given. Activity of this kind is within the compass of every Diocesan Conference.

Secondly, endow the Diocesan Conferences with the power of unity, by drawing them together into a central association in London.

The Council of such an association would be able to speak with authority as the recognised mouthpiece of the dioceses. It would have before it their recorded resolutions. It would express the opinion of Churchmen, cleric and lay.

The immediate result would be that we should create a Church party in the House of Commons, which now we have not. It would be independent of any Government. To the spokesmen of that party would be given the only Parliamentary eloquence worth having, the eloquence which is based upon the knowledge among the audience that the opinions expressed are those of a majority outside.

As I desire this paper to be in every sense practical, let me mention, as examples, some of the simpler Church questions, ripe for immediate legislation, which it is the duty of Churchmen to settle, upon which there would be found to be a fair unanimity of opinion, and which, if not handled in a masterly spirit by Churchmen, will certainly be dealt with in a hostile spirit by others:—

The Marriage Laws and Fees.

The Law of Simony.

The Reform of the Dilapidation Act.

The Reform of Queen Anne's Bounty Board.

The Reform of the Ecclesiastical Commission.

The Settlement of a Tithe average; the payment of Tithes by the owner instead of the occupier; a reform in the method of rating Tithes.

The printing of the Parish Registers.

I need not prolong the list of cognate subjects. Churchmen are afraid of dealing with this class of questions in the House of Commons, because they have no Church party there, no leaders, no cohesion, no outside support. It is ruinous to trust simply to a Conservative Government or Party, or to particular Churchmen in a Liberal Government. Churchmen must establish a force of their own, a Parliamentary influence of their own, quite independent of *either* political party side, and with supporters on both sides.

Then, and not till then, will statesmen pay heed to their opinions.

PROFESSOR MONTAGU BURROWS.

I INTEND to begin by making what is perhaps a violent supposition. I will suppose the Convocations of Canterbury and York already reformed, so as to make them proper representations of the bishops and clergy of this realm. I will even suppose some arrangement has been made by which their united action can be properly secured when it is required. I will thus confine myself solely to the question of the admission of the laity in some form or other into joint action with the clergy assembled in Convocation.

After this exordium, it might be expected that I should spend the time allotted me in describing those methods of admission which have been proposed, and in defending some particular form by which the object may be best attained. I consider this would be waste of time. The subject has been already threshed out. Pamphlets after pamphlets, books upon books, have been written upon it. A Society has long existed for the diffusion of information and interest in the question. The Press has constantly advocated it. Even further; Convocation itself in both provinces has carefully considered the subject, and most favourable Reports have issued from both of them. Individually, I lean to the plan proposed by the Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury, that of lay-assessors, elected by the Diocesan Conferences, whose assent should be necessary before any legislation is proposed to Parliament by the Convocation of the clergy. I lean to it as a plan which is open to fewest difficulties, which saves the Constitutional position of Convocation, and which would operate silently and effectually in producing a real joint action of both portions of the Church, the clerical and the lay portions. But whether in this way or any other, I cannot but think the most useful thing at present is to speak out what seems to be the truth about the delay and discouragement which affect the progress of the Church towards a solution of the problem. This Congress consists of clergy and their relatives in a proportion of perhaps four or five to one of laymen, and even of these last perhaps only a minority of those who attend Congress will agree with me. It requires then some courage to say what must necessarily be unpopular, and may perhaps even seem disrespectful. I am sure I do not mean it to be such, and I throw myself on the kindness and courtesy of those who are good enough to listen.

I will say then that this delay and discouragement appears to me

to arise from the latent unwillingness of the bishops and clergy to share the government of the Church with the Church laity. I know well that very many would be the last to own in words any fear or distrust of the laity. Many are not even perhaps aware of any such feeling as I have mentioned. But let us look at the facts. Whence, I ask, comes this persistent obstruction, this ever ready, wide-spreading, ever-wet blanket thrown over every plan and proposition which is made on the part of the laity, this dignified bowing out of every application? One plan is pronounced revolutionary, another useless, another contemptuous to the laity themselves. Any sort of answer will do. When Lord Alwyne Compton's Committee reported in favour of lay assessors, how many members of Convocation thought it worth while to be present? I will not say that there lies at the bottom of all this the sentiment once expressed in a famous medieval Bull—the first words and title of which were *Clericis laicos infestos*, the laity are the natural enemies of the clergy, which Pope Boniface VIII took to be an irrefutable dogma. But I will say that there lies at the bottom of the conduct I have described an entirely insufficient comprehension of the true place of the laity in Church counsels, and a lamentable failure to understand the signs of the times. May I summarize what I find in too many clerical utterances on this subject? It is something of this sort: "The laity have more influence already than they ought to have. The constitutional power of the Crown and Parliament, the Press of the country which is their voice, the patronage of livings—these things are more than enough in all conscience. Why saddle ourselves with any more lay dictation? Let us work the old bare Constitution of Parliament and the Convocation of clergy, improving the latter as well as we can, and leave the rest alone. We shall only go from bad to worse if we do anything more." This may not be always avowed; but I maintain that it is the only true, the only possible account of the phenomenon.

Now if there was anything wrong in the desire to see a more effective lay co-operation in Church government, I hope I should be the last to recommend it. But enough has been written, and I think not answered, to prove its lawfulness, its accordance with ancient precedents, its accordance with the whole spirit and substance of the Reformation. The exceptional and most disastrous character of Stuart utterances, which seemed to make for the contrary, has been exposed over and over again. And yet people go on quoting the Declaration of Charles I, prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, as if it had not been condemned by Parliament, and placed in our Prayer Book without any authority. They constantly misinterpret the use of the word "Church" in our Formularies, or they speak of Parliament and Convocation as together representing the Church, when they know that Parliament, not being any longer even Christian, can only be considered as the guardian of the Establishment, which is its true and proper position. I hold that it would have been better that Convocation had never been revived, than that it should succeed in propagating the erroneous notion that it represents the Church of England, or that Bills should be passed which would place the conclusions of Convocation before Parliament as if they were

the conclusions of the Church, without their having been previously assented to by the representative laity of the Church.

But I go on to ask what is the consequence of this (if I may venture to call it so) obstinate *non-possumus*? We need not look far. The circumstances of this last session of Parliament must have opened many eyes. If Parliament was previously reckoned unfit to represent the Church, or to be a fit arena for the discussion of Church questions, what is it now? If any doubt exists about the respect of Parliament for Convocation, let us mark the deliberate exclusion of all notice of that Body in the Burials' Bill. Let us mark the character of that Act itself. Let us measure the prospects of the Church under the movement of those democratic forces, which have lately gathered such weight and volume. Can anyone doubt that the time has arrived when some additional buttress must be set up to keep the grand old edifice upright? Can any one doubt what that buttress ought to be? Does not the success of the preliminary efforts already made in the formation of mixed Diocesan Conferences—and they are only preliminary efforts to prop up the edifice—point to the natural crown and termination of the work?

The Church of England can hardly afford to wait much longer for this crown and corner-stone of her edifice,—her edifice regarded of course from a terrestrial point of view. Nor need she wait. It only requires that the bishops should be sufficiently supported by their clergy and by the public opinion of the Church to give the word. There is no want of qualified laymen. It used to be said that there was not a sufficient supply of qualified laymen willing and ready for the work. This can hardly be said now. The mixed Conferences, now established in every diocese in England but two, have already elicited a sufficient supply. Every one knows now where to turn for the right men. You can have your choice of competent Peers and Members of Parliament, judges, barristers, squires, professional, trading, and even working, men. Already the bishops are beginning to organize lay help to supplement the work of the clergy, who are now discovered to be wholly unable to grapple with the heathenism of the land. In one diocese at least—that of Rochester—such men have been found, and if work is found for and entrusted to them, there will be no difficulty in procuring a supply; still more if some judicious training could be given to those who require it. Everyone now sees plainly enough that the thing is wanted in every department of Church work, and that it can be supplied. It is notorious. Trust them then a little further, and call them to your supreme counsels.

But what is the consequence of the state of things I have ventured to describe? This very sense of the refusal to take up the laity into their proper place, when all objections have been already answered and dissipated, is producing a very ominous consequence. And this is what I desire to press on the Congress. A feeling of ill-will and indifference towards the Established Church is springing up even amongst loyal Churchmen. This Congress may not be aware of it, but, as I have ventured to interpret what many of the clergy are saying, so let me tell you what many laymen are beginning to say. I do not mean to approve of it, but only to advert to a general symptom. "If," say many laymen, "the clergy insist on.

excluding the laity of the Church from their supreme counsels, they must go their own way. Dis-establishment will certainly come, but its evils will be felt even more by them, when it is too late, than by us. The bitter strength of political Nonconformity will wreak its will more on them than upon us. The effects of a hostile Parliament will injure us indeed, but through the sides of the clergy. The grand position of the Established Church of England, unrivalled in the history of the world, will certainly go down and disappear, but it is not our fault." If these sentiments are making head and gaining force, it is a fatal, a sadly significant omen. It is the beginning of the end. Fine words about the grandeur of the English Church and State will not save us. We are only deceiving ourselves.

Of course it is not to be supposed that mere organization will save an institution—that I do not suppose. It would be hopeless, indeed, to imagine its survival amid the approaching shock of institutions, if there were not revived life and vigour throbbing through every portion of it. But our business here to-night is with organization, and if the neglect of this particular branch of it is full of dangers, it is for meetings of Churchmen, such as this, to create a public opinion on the subject. It rests with the bishops and clergy to take note of this public opinion, to observe these fatal signs of approaching disaster, and to apply the remedy while yet there is time. There is none to lose.

ADDRESSES.

The Venerable the ARCHDEACON of ELY.

I WISH to address myself for a few moments to this special subject, Whether the Church of England should have more power of legislation, whether increased facilities for legislation should be granted to Convocation: and if so, whether the granting of such powers or facilities should be accompanied by any, and what, reform of Convocation. I had the honour of being a member of the original Committee for the Revival of Convocation, and since 1864 I have had the honour and privilege of being a member, and of being placed upon very many committees by the kindness and nomination of the Dean of Lichfield, our late Prolocutor. Let me then say for the work of Convocation, that we have taken very great pains to consider many subjects of deep interest and importance to our Church, so as to render her work and ministry more efficient. The reports of Convocation are really of a most valuable kind. They have been sent from the Lower to the Upper House, and very many have received there earnest consideration. But when the reports have been considered by both Houses of the Convocation, and in some cases further considered by a Joint Committee from the Provinces of Canterbury and York,—when we have almost perfected practical measures on the subject,—no further action has been possible. For Parliament, being quite unable to attend properly to its own secular business, has found it quite impossible to attend to our spiritual concerns.

I have therefore come to the distinct conclusion that the Church of England should, in some way or other, through her recognised assembly, Convocation, have more powers of legislation. I am perfectly convinced of this, that, if it were not the Church of England but some other religious

body making this request, what was asked of Parliament would at once be granted. Parliament has, no doubt, at times, given great attention to our affairs, whether wisely or unwisely. But this has resulted. After a great deal of trouble a measure has been passed, naturally imperfect. But when we have pointed out the defects, it has been found impossible to get an amended Act. In secular matters you can do this, but in Church matters it seems almost impossible to get Parliament to give further consideration to proposed amendments where defects have been pointed out. Therefore it is, that, in various measures which Parliament has passed for the good of the Church of England, defects remain which materially hinder the benefit intended. It seems to me, therefore, but reasonable, that, while Parliament retains the veto on all legislation, it should give to a properly-constructed Convocation more liberty of action.

The Church of England does not want to interfere with the rights of other bodies; and it is certain that, even if Convocation be re-constructed, it will not be very hasty in coming to conclusions. We want more powers of legislation in the direction of the Bill introduced some years ago by the Bishop of London, and now known as the Bishop of Carlisle's Bill. We want more powers given to Convocation in some form of that kind; the Imperial Parliament having, of course, the right to put its veto upon any measures proposed, and to send them back, if it so please, for reconsideration. It is impossible in a quarter of an hour to give more specific reasons for this, but I can have very little doubt that the reasons for some such course of action have been clearly put before you by others.

Now I pass to the second point. I said I thought more powers should be given to a properly constructed representative body of the Church of England. I do not think that if such fresh powers were granted now to Convocation, as it at present exists, any harm would be done, but, on the contrary, a great deal of good. As it exists at present, however, Convocation is not in a satisfactory condition, because it does not satisfy public opinion as to representation. I think, therefore, that it ought to be reformed; first, by an increased representation of the clergy; and, secondly, by what? There comes the question. Is it to be by laymen introduced into Convocation? Or is it to be by laymen acting in conjunction with Convocation? Judging by the action of the Diocesan Conferences, there need be no fear at all, in my opinion, if the laity were introduced into Convocation. I may venture to plead great experience in this subject since 1864, and I am convinced that the presence of laity with the clergy in Diocesan Conferences has been most extensively useful. The laity have kept the clergy, sometimes, from going off into minute and comparatively insignificant questions, whilst their own views have been modified and enlarged. The dioceses, too, have felt that these bodies, in considering the wants and desires of the Church, are really representative assemblies. I do not think, then, any harm would come to the Church of England, if we had Convocation so enlarged as to have laity in it, just as we see in the American Convention. But I have come to the conclusion that at present it is of no use pressing for that.

We had much better consider what is practicable. The general view, as it seems to me, is that in some way or other the representative laity should be brought into friendly voluntary communication with Convocation, to work with it, not in it. Let us try this first, as was urged and apparently approved at the Croydon Church Congress. Do not let us aim at what some consider mere theoretical perfection, and others denounce as altogether wrong. I maintain that laymen can be thus added, voluntarily and most effectively, without going to Parliament. I mean that a lay voluntary body of assessors might be formed to consult with Convocation, and give its assistance in the preparation of practical measures for the good of the people. What can be easier than to ask our Diocesan Conferences, which are now almost universal, to nominate a certain number of laymen to go up at the time of Convocation, and form a Lay House, and assist as

voluntary assessors in the consideration of measures for the common good. Convocation, having heard the views of the laity, might then retire, as it were, into itself, and finally assent or dissent. All that is needed is that Convocation should agree never finally to pass a measure which had not the approval first of the Lay Voluntary House. We need not go to Parliament for this—we have it in our own power—and I am quite sure the plan is perfectly workable. It would satisfy, too, the desire of the laity to take their place as a portion of the Church of Christ, endowed with gifts of the Spirit, like the clergy, for its management and edification. I have not formed my ideas hastily on this subject.

I have possibly seen and heard and read of the organisation of the clergy and laity in Ruridecanal and Diocesan Conferences throughout the country, as much as or more than any one else during the last twenty years, and I do wish, therefore, to give my deliberate judgment; first, that there is no danger whatever, but immense benefit, in the laity and Convocation consulting together for the good of the Church; and, secondly, that there is no difficulty whatever in arranging for this united consultation and action, if our spiritual rulers—I hope I shall be pardoned the expression—will only exercise the like common sense which persons generally exercise in temporal concerns. There is no difficulty whatever, if our rulers will agree to combine, with the reformed or unreformed Convocation, a sufficiently representative Voluntary Lay House, for the purpose of satisfying the wants and necessities and desires of the Church of England. Measures coming from such combined bodies will have more likelihood of ensuring the attention of our legislators, and getting for the Church of England that consideration which it ought to have as representing 75 to 78 per cent. of the population and the chief wealth and education of the country. This great Church of the majority ought to have power, with due submission to the Imperial Parliament, to manage its own affairs for the moral, spiritual, and social elevation of the people.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. W. O. PURTON, Rector of Kingston-by-Sea.

THE Archdeacon of Ely has brought before the Congress with great eloquence principles in which I heartily agree, and I hope I may be pardoned if, in adding a few details, I go beyond the Archdeacon. Should there be such facilities as are asked for? Yes, if Convocation is reformed; and, secondly, if there be a consultative lay body, with power of veto, and freely elected. I venture to suggest that there should be in the Convocation of Canterbury only one House—that the Upper House should sit with the Lower, as in York. This would be beneficial in many ways. In the second place, I think there should be a large increase of Proctors for parochial clergy, and that curates should have votes. Thirdly, I venture to suggest that there should be voting papers, and the system of cumulative voting should be adopted; thus giving due representation to minorities. This, I think, is a most important point; for unless you have in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury a fair representation of the very great minority in the Southern Province, I think few of the reforms suggested by that House will be deemed fitting or sufficient. Fourthly, I suggest a diminution in the number of *ex officio* members. I see signs that the principle of election is coming to the front amongst us. There are an immense number of *ex officio* members. We are, in fact, a little overdone with Archdeacons and Canons; and if the Members of the Lower House of Convocation could talk more freely, as freely elected, perhaps the result would be in many ways satisfactory. I come

now to the consultative lay body, and in the views brought forward by the Archdeacon of Ely I thoroughly agree. Surely, with the case of the Church of Ireland before us—not to speak of the American Convention and the Colonial Churches—it is out of date for the clergy to speak with jealousy of admitting the laity amongst them for consultation on the things that belong to the Church. I will read the words of an eminent and honoured dignitary on this platform who has a peculiar right to speak for the Convocation of Canterbury. He says “Parliament can hardly be expected to listen to proposals of Church reform, unless these proposals express the deliberate judgment of the faithful laity as well as the clergy of the Church.” How, then, shall we have this consultative lay body? It should be, as suggested, elected from Diocesan Conferences. There should be a certain number for each diocese, and, being laymen, they should, of course, be elected by laymen. Here, again, we should have cumulative voting for the representation of minorities. To this body reports from Diocesan Conferences would naturally be brought. They would consider them, and consult over them; and, I think, in the presence of a selected body from the Convocations of Canterbury and York. If they consulted together, many excellent reforms would be quickly introduced and carried out. I think it is a great benefit for us clergy to hear laymen speak on spiritual as well as ecclesiastical matters. Without the consent of the majority of this lay body nothing should be laid before Parliament. Allusion has been made to the suggestion of the Convocation of Canterbury in 1877 with reference to a consultative lay body. The words are something like these: “Who shall always be consulted before application is made to the Crown or Parliament.” “Consulted!” I hardly know what that means. Is Convocation, the spirituality, alone to decide? I remember very well that a certain husband and wife in a parish where I was curate quarrelled. The husband said to his wife “Mary, you know when you are right I always give in;” and she answered “Yes, but you are always right.” I hope it would not be so in the case of the Convocation and this lay body. Anyhow, if such a body is to be formed, it ought to be clearly understood that, unless with its consent, nothing should be submitted to Parliament. The laymen must speak, and they must vote. It is often said that laymen would not attend a body of this kind. Now, I think they would attend willingly; and they would afford inestimable service. Look at our Diocesan Conferences. But are we going to Parliament to ask for this? Here I agree with the Archdeacon who has just addressed us. Looking at the present aspect of political affairs I think he would be a bold man who would go to the House of Commons and ask for an Act of Parliament to create an Ecclesiastical Parliament, sitting close by. This plan, however, of a consultative lay body can, as the Archdeacon says, be carried into effect without an Act. My only fear is that the whole thing may appear so simple that people will say it is of no use; or it will be said “Let us wait to get something better.” The Church can afford to wait in some things; but, in the presence of great dangers and difficulties, with urgent need for Church reforms, surely, when we have an easy matter brought before us, it is not wisdom to wait, but to take up this plan and carry it into effect.

The Right Hon. A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.

I HAVE, like all of you, listened with deep attention and deep sympathy to the papers we have heard read, and if I am compelled to take up a critical position now, it is, I assure you, the criticism of a friend. In the first place I come to the Bishop of Carlisle's Bill, whose plea was so touchingly advocated by the Dean of Lichfield and referred to by the Archdeacon of Ely. On that I say *oh utinam!* The reasons they give are perfectly logical, but as a Member of Parliament I am

bound to say that it will, if brought in, be met with great suspicion and great jealousy by many members of Parliament, by every Member of Parliament who is not a Churchman, and by some who, in many respects, are good Churchmen; and I will tell you why. It alters the procedure of Parliament in the way of restricting the authority of Parliament. Do not think for one minute it would not be a good thing to do that; but I may say that both Houses of Parliament are fond of influence, and jealous of any restrictions on their forms. It is a wholesome jealousy in many respects, and this would be a restriction without any precedent. You may say there is a precedent in the case of the Endowed Schools Commissions. Well, they were a new invention altogether. They were an extension of the area of Parliament into realms where it did not go before. This, however, trespasses in a region where Parliament used to be thoroughly and entirely master. Depend upon it, the Bishop of Carlisle's Bill, in the most Churchy Parliament that ever was, would be very severely criticised and lengthily debated. But is this the most Churchy Parliament that ever was? Is this not a Parliament in which there are members whose political creed is, "Do as little good, and cut, and clip, and hamper the Church as much as you can." I see that our excellent President to-day is a bishop. He has two county towns in his diocese, and I ask you to recollect who are the members for the other county town. Instead of pursuing the argument, I will give you an illustration. Take some excellent, practical Member of Parliament, our friend, Mr. Pell, for instance. Suppose Mr. Pell, with his great knowledge of business, were to frame a Bill which, in the minds of all sensible, right-minded, logical men, would be a perfect machinery by which the landlord could recover his rents from the dishonest tenant. Nothing so good you will say; but do you believe that that is a Bill which will pass Parliament easily and triumphantly? And would it, in particular, be supported by the Members from Ireland? Do not think I am giving you an extreme illustration. Depend upon it that the Bill of the Bishop of Carlisle would provoke the deepest recrimination, would provoke evil speaking about the Church, of which the mischief would be simply inexpressible. I should tremble at a Church Bill of that sort being brought before Parliament for the tongues of evil-speakers that would be set wagging. This is one reason why the Church members came to the conclusion to give in so readily to the new Burials Bill. But we had another reason; we desired that all ground of complaint should be taken away. The Bishop of Carlisle's Bill laid down a generous scheme for the future, and, merely as a schedule, asked a new series of rubrics travelling from one end of the Prayer Book to the other. The Government arbitrarily cut out two or three miserable paragraphs from that long schedule, and then told us that was the agreement Convocation had preferred. I was rejoiced when the Dissenter, Mr. Fowler, proposed to cut out what was not a compliment to Convocation, but a clause to hoodwink it, to lead it by the nose. One thing the Archdeacon of Ely said I heard with rejoicing. He took up again, as the bishop did the other day, that auxiliary body of laymen sitting beside Convocation, and I, and a few other men, advocated it most heartily a few years ago. But, then, clever people began laughing at us. An old friend of ours, who generally comes to Convocation, said, "Would the laity like to sit out in the verandah?" When we see men make bad jokes instead of good arguments, the thing had better be hung up. It has now come out again in the fulness of time, and I trust it will be finally carried, as Archdeacon Emery explained, by the action of the bishops and the laity, and by the good will and good sense of Churchmen. Let me say I was sorry for some of the opinions that fell from my friend, Professor Burrows. He has been living in the beautiful shades, under the venerable towers, in the holy aisles of Oxford, and, perhaps, has not seen how the world has been wagging. He said it was a bad day for the Church, that it was going down, down, down, because the laity had no share in its disputations, and that the parsons, and

deans, and bishops would not let them. That sort of assertion, thirty years ago, might have been plausible. At present I assert that the difficulty is not that the Church is jealous of the laity; we want only a central body to organise and regulate its action. The man who, in face of every meeting of the National Society, of the S.P.G., of all sorts of Societies, all sorts of Guilds, Church Unions, and Church Associations, every conceivable organisation, says the laity have not a voice in the government of the Church would, to quote the words of Dr. Johnson's clever saying, "call fire at the Deluge." It was very good for the days of William the Fourth, but let us own now that the clergy are not jealous of the laity, and that the laity are anxious to co-operate in Church matters. Commonly, when a thing has grown up in a haphazard way, it wants simplification and emphasising by a central regulating body. That regulating body, which shall represent public opinion, and shall exist by solemn recognition on the part of the Church, on the part of Convocation itself, will possess, in the eyes of Churchmen, all needful validity.

The Rev. BERDMORE COMPTON.

IN considering the Reform of Convocation, let us consider first what Convocation is. The two Convocations of Canterbury and York are commonly, but erroneously, supposed to form a sort of clumsy ecclesiastical Parliament, empowered by the Church of England to legislate for it, and the members whereof are to do the best they can according to their personal opinions. But these Convocations are really provincial synods, and are but one link in the chain of the ecclesiastical Legislature of the Catholic Church in England. This chain constitutionally begins with the action of individual dioceses exercised by their respective diocesan synods, composed of the whole clergy of the diocese, in which each member is bound to act not merely according to his own ideas of what is best, but as the representative of his own people. The next link in the legislative chain is the synod of the province, composed of delegates from the diocesan synods of the province, in which again each member, whether he be bishop, diocesan dignitary, or clergy proctor, is bound to act, not merely according to his own ideas, but as the representative of those who sent him there from his own diocesan synod, reporting to the members from other dioceses the views of his own diocese. The constitution of other links, if we had them, would be similar, as of national synods, or general councils. Now, what is wanted is not mere reform of the provincial synod by giving a better representation to the clergy and making it a better kind of ecclesiastical parliament, nor merely the evading the stifling control of the secular parliament, but the reform of the whole system upon constitutional lines. And the first step is the re-establishment of the foundation, the synods of each diocese. It is no use pointing the walls of the feeble provincial synod, when they require underpinning. Indeed a fundamental mistake was made by the good men who revived Convocation a few years ago, by beginning at the wrong end, and neglecting to revive, first, the diocesan synods of the Church of England. We were told just now that the Church can afford to wait. I submit that we cannot wait a day. Look at our condition! Our ecclesiastical judicature is absolutely in ruins, our ecclesiastical legislature maimed and powerless. The Living Voice of the Church cannot be heard either in judgment or in legislation. Any polity in this state is on the brink of revolution. Nothing but instant reform can save it. The first step is the revival of diocesan synods. There is no difficulty about it, if the red herring of diocesan conferences is not trailed across the line of recovery. Nothing impedes it but the unwillingness of the bishops to meet their clergy. But now let us contrast with this constitutional reform the proposal of one of our ablest statesmen,

the Archbishop of Canterbury. In a speech he lately made at a visitation luncheon at Dover, he compared the position of a bishop of the Church of England to that of a channel pilot, who, in time of storm and difficulty, should, in the Archbishop's opinion, take no heed to advice or remonstrance offered him by passengers or even sailors in the ship, but decide and act for himself, and take the advice after the storm is over. It is a grand policy, provided the pilot is the only person who has any experience in the currents and shoals of the sea in which the good ship is tossed;—almost too grand in its dictatorial power for those who do know a little of the currents and shoals of the cure of souls. A grand policy! worthy in its dictatorial tone of a Cæsar or a Buonaparte, though perhaps it most reminds one of the famous "L'état, c'est moi" of the monarch, who more than any other man brought on, by his policy of autocratic government, the great catastrophe of the French Revolution. Doubtless his Grace will be ready not only to recommend, but to act upon this policy, and again to take no heed of the opinions of the sailors in the ship of the Church, as he took no heed to the remonstrance of the 15,000 parochial clergy on the burials question, any one of whom must have had incomparably more experience than himself of the currents and shoals of parochial waters. It is a grand policy, but not a constitutional policy, and will not stave off revolution. The Catholic Church, in England at any rate, whatever it may be in France or Italy, is not to be governed by one dictator, or by thirty. We would fain hope that the English Episcopate may rouse itself out of its apparent obsequiousness, to protest against such a policy. And whether they do or not, we may rest assured that the priesthood, and, above all, the laity of the Church of England will never submit to it. We prefer to have our diocesan synods.

The Rev. E. A. SALMON, Prebendary of Wells.

I HAVE listened with great satisfaction to many of the speeches; but there is one point not touched upon, and that a very practical one, which affects the clergy, and which, I think, could be soon remedied, if the clergy would only speak out boldly. I refer to the mode of election of the clergy who represent their brethren in Convocation. Now, first of all, I have been reminded since I have been in the room that it is the custom in some dioceses still for the clergy to meet together and solemnly elect six proctors, and then have to send these six names up to the bishop in order that he may select two to represent them. Is that fair representation? The next point I wish to refer to is the procedure in the form of election in several dioceses throughout England. I live in the west country in a diocese where the cathedral town is about the most out-of-the-way town to get at in the whole diocese. I was elected by the clergy without any polling, so I may speak fearlessly. For fifteen years there has been an agitation for a reform of Convocation. There have been committees formed; but we still go on leaving to every diocese the form of election of the clergy to represent them. When any one has talked about a change, the only cry has been, *non possumus*. I simply answer, *solvitur ambulando*. What the parochial clergy first of all have to do is to do away with the anarchy of two or three members of the Chapter meeting together and selecting one of their number to represent that Chapter. I would not for one moment curtail the number of dignitaries in Convocation, but I would give all the prebendaries of a cathedral a voice in the election of proctor for Convocation. That is one of the ways in which Convocation may be easily reformed, and at once. There is another question which crops up in a diocese like my own. Many clergy wrote to me when I was asked to stand as their representative in Convocation, saying they should be glad to vote for me, but that they could not be expected to go up to the cathedral city to vote. Why should there not be voting papers, as

there are for other like purposes, which could be sent up to the cathedral city? As matters now stand, some of my friends would, in order to record their votes, have to rise at five o'clock in the morning, and yet not reach home till ten o'clock at night. Others, again, would have found it impossible to get there and back in one day. Now, is that fair representation of the clergy of the diocese? To my mind it is simply practical disfranchisement. Now, I want the clergy to put the screw gently on Convocation to carry out that reform, and let there be a certain form of election set forth by Convocation and adhered to by the dioceses throughout England. I know some have done this in an informal way, and it would be a simple plan if Convocation would issue some form, or allow elections by voting papers.

The Rev. I. J. COWDEN-COLE, Vicar of Upton.

At a clerical meeting I once attended the subject for discussion was the best mode of providing sponsors at the baptism of the children of the poor, and one member, who was wiser than the rest, proposed to get over the difficulty by doing away with them altogether. Now it seems to me that some of the proposals which have been brought before us this evening for the reform of Convocation would, if carried out, have a similar effect, that is, would do away with it altogether. But is not that the wrong way of meeting the difficulty? Convocation is an assembly which has come down to us from very early times, and is the only representative body which the spirituality of the Church now possesses resting upon a legal basis. And therefore we ought to be on our guard against proposals for such a reform in its constitution as would end in destroying its distinctive character. We sometimes hear it asked, What are the powers, legislative or otherwise, of Convocation? And I would wish, as a parochial clergyman, that our ordinary church-going people would take more interest in such a question, because it is a matter which concerns them equally with the clergy. The clergy are not, as too often is thought, only representative of their own order. They are the *ex officio* representatives of the Church, as having in fact been duly appointed and set apart by the Church itself to occupy in it a certain defined position. And therefore the laity ought readily to entrust to them certain departments of Church legislation. What, then, is the legislative power of Convocation? Sometimes we are told it *has* no legislative power. Why is this? It is because Convocation does not make use of the power in this direction it already possesses. We have heard to-night of certain Canons which Convocation can make. What are those Canons? They are the Church's rules—the rules for Church discipline. And can not Convocation draw up the rules which are needed to meet the wants of the Church of to-day? Even if it did not obtain the sanction of Parliament to all it proposed, yet, at any rate, these rules, when drawn up, would be a suitable means for the guidance and direction of Church opinion. And we might rest assured that the House of Commons, which moves in the direction public opinion wishes, would grant, sooner or later, whatever the members of the Church thought it desirable to obtain in the way of Church legislation. And therefore I think that the blame for the failure of much Church legislation rests with Churchmen themselves, because they are undecided in their views, and will not make up their minds and state to Parliament what they do want.

**The Rev. J. WYCLIFFE GEDGE, Winchester Diocesan
Inspector of Schools.**

THERE are three points with reference to this subject as to which there has been, I think, almost an unanimous consensus of opinion; one is that the parochial clergy deserve to be more largely represented; the second is, that curates, of a certain standing at least, should have a vote for the election of proctors; and the third is that the laity ought *not* to be admitted to Convocation. One or two words you will allow me on each of these three points. He would be a wise man who would venture to assert that the parochial clergy are at the present time properly represented in Convocation. I say nothing of those left out, such as the thousands of schoolmasters, diocesan inspectors, and other clergy in each diocese, who are not allowed so much as to vote for the proctors; but in the case of the parochial clergy, to say that in a great diocese like Winchester, extending from the Thames to the Channel Isles, two elected proctors, standing up against a much larger number of official ones, fairly represent the parochial clergy, would be a very bold assertion. Then, as to curates. About twenty years ago it took a curate, on the average, ten years before he got a living; now, in consequence of the increased activity of the Church, and the increased number of curates, it takes a curate seventeen years, that is, till he is forty years of age, before he gets a living, and is allowed to vote for a proctor. I think there would be a great deal to be said for a man, who has been a priest for ten years, to be allowed, at any rate to have some share, however infinitesimal, in the representation of the clergy. But at present he is not allowed even to vote. As to the representation of the laity, I may say that my experience of that body is two-fold. One is that the objection to a lay representation proceeds in most cases from the laity themselves; and also, my experience, in direct contradiction to Professor Burrows, is that it is very difficult to get the laity to come forward and attend Diocesan Conferences and the like. What do you hear about Church Congresses, for instance? Why, that there is the greatest possible difficulty in getting the laity to speak or read papers. But, apart from that, I like to look a thing fairly in the face. We are told that the laity are not represented in Convocation. What did Professor Burrows tell us about the admission of the laity? He said that the laity must be elected by the laity, and not by the clergy. Then the opposite holds good, and the clergy must be appointed by the clergy. Now, take the two Houses of Convocation as at present. Are the laity unrepresented? Who appoints the Bishops? Who appoints the Deans and Canons? Are they not always appointed by the laity, in the person of the Prime Minister? Who appoints to livings? Are not lay patrons quite as numerous as clerical patrons? And we all know that, as a general rule, when a Bishop is appointed by a Prime Minister, or an incumbent by a lay patron, the layman takes care to appoint some one to represent his own views. So that the laity, indirectly, influence Convocation pretty considerably. In looking into the matter, however, I go back to first principles. We read in the Acts of the Apostles of the first Convocation of the Church. We hear nothing about the laity being summoned, but we read in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, three times over, that the Apostles and elders, or, as we should say, bishops and priests, came together to consider these matters.

**The Rev. J. A. NICHOLSON, LL.D., Incumbent of
Christ Church, Leamington.**

IN addition to other difficulties which a speaker has to encounter in addressing this assembly, there is the sword of Damocles hanging over our heads, which cuts us down without warning. I shall endeavour, therefore, to be blunt and

brief. The key-note of this discussion was struck not very long ago. This was the key-note, We want the living voice of the Church. If you are not looking for that to-night I do not know what you are looking for. It is very clear that you are all dissatisfied with the organization of the Church; and, if a resolution to that effect were submitted to the assembly, I have no doubt that it would be carried unanimously. But what are you going to propose? I suppose you are not going to rectify this matter upon any other than Catholic principles. It is a time-honoured boast of the Church of England that, in all her reformatations and her constitutional changes, she has carried out and fully adhered to the Catholic principles of the Church of Christ. Now, if you consider the nature of Synods, you will find that there is only *one person* who has constitutional power to vote in the governing synod, and that man is the Bishop. Again, we have been talking about Convocation. What is Convocation? I do not suppose that we want, as English Churchmen, to set up an insular institution which is to divorce our Church from every other branch of the Catholic Church. You will ascertain what our Convocation is, if you consult constitutional Churchmen on this subject, or if you consult the history of Convocation. Let me quote Dean Hook, than whom a more constitutional Churchman never lived. What account of Convocation does he give? He tells you that it is simply an assembly of ecclesiastics collected together for convenience and custom by the mandate of the Sovereign, and that from convenience and custom this assembly, *per accidens*, discusses spiritual subjects. Convocation cannot pretend now to be anything else than that which it was originally and essentially, and you cannot make anything else of Convocation. Then, the very constitution of our Convocation points to the same conclusion. The Convocations of this country are composed of two Houses, and you give a vote to the Second House—you give a co-ordinate vote to the Second House. A statement made on this platform to-day took me by surprise. A clergyman advanced the statement that our Church was not an Episcopalian Church, but that it was an Episcopalian *and* Presbyterian Church. Could I believe that to be a true description of the Church of England I should cease to belong to it to-morrow. The Church of England is an Episcopalian Church, and the *locus synodi* of the Church of England is in no way different from the *locus synodi* of every other branch of the Church of Christ, and that is in the bishops, and in the bishops alone. I am not going to put forward any impracticable scheme. I do not ask the clergy, and I think it would be useless to ask the laity at present, to place implicit confidence in the Episcopal bench, however we may admire and respect the individuals of which it is just now composed. I think before we do any such thing as give full weight and power to this constitutional principle—that the bishops are the *locus synodi*—we must exercise a proper constitutional check on the bishops themselves, and the first thing to do is to abolish that odious sham, the *Conge d'éslire*.

The Rev. CANON FOWLER.

I SIMPLY wish to correct an impression which I think may possibly have been made in some minds by a few words that fell from a previous speaker as to the interference which is produced by the preponderance in the Lower House of Convocation of what you may call dignified laymen. Having had the honour of a seat in the Lower House, I think that is not a practical objection to the present constitution of the House. Having passed through several sessions of Convocation, when serious and important Church questions were under consideration, I myself can testify to this,—and I believe the Dean of Lichfield will support what I have to say, from what I have heard him say in Convocation,—that the elected

proctors have never had their votes swamped by the official laymen. Further, I wish to direct attention to this fact, that that argument is sometimes pressed too hard, and in a way that is certainly unjust to a body of men in the Lower House, whose independent action I can bear witness to. On the part of the archdeacons it must be remembered that, although they are individually the nominees of the Bishop, yet I can testify that they act as independently as the other parochial clergy, that many of them are parochial clergy, and that certainly they act with us and represent in a very efficient way the views and opinions of the parochial clergy. I think, as I said, that that matter of organization is sometimes pressed unfairly, and really is used to point an argument against an institution of the country which has not the good word of every one. Sometimes any stick is good enough to beat Convocation with. I have only, in these few words, desired to correct, from my own experience, what I consider to be a very erroneous impression.

C. W. WILSHERE, Esq.

I BEG, now that the discussion is near its close, I may be allowed a word or two. For twelve hundred years the Church of Christ had spoken through councils and synods, when in the thirteenth century, in this island, a provincial Convocation of the bishops and clergy made its appearance. What was the occasion on which this previously unknown body was called into existence? Was it to put forth any canons or constitutions, or to declare the faith or regulate the discipline of the Church? No. The Pope wanted some money to fight the Emperor with, and Edward III wanted some money for his French wars, and so the clergy of England were brought together to replenish their empty coffers. Such was the sole object of this novel organization. Towards the end of the century (in 1283) a Convocation was again assembled, this time by Archbishop Peckham, who gave it the constitution which still governs it, because Edward I wanted money. Convocation, therefore, in its origin, is simply a great provincial vestry, for voting rates. It had nothing whatever to do with the government of the Church. That was given by our Lord to His Apostles, and handed on by them to their successors the bishops, in whom alone resides jurisdiction. I do not say one word against the presence of the clergy in the Provincial Synod, or of the laity either, for the matter of that. In the Anglo-Saxon Church kings and ealdormen sat constantly in Church Councils. The clergy, when called upon, gave their advice. The laity held their tongues. The bishops alone voted, and by their sole signatures was authority given to the Canons. The clergy attested them as witnesses, the kings and nobles as giving state recognition. It is contrary to the constitution of the Church catholic that presbyters should in spirituals have a veto on the bishops. But supposing that, contrary to the 139th Canon, a provincial vestry is "The Church of England by representation," will you be content without any reform in the Upper House of Convocation? And suppose you get reform in both of them, still where are you? You have an assembly which represents all the heterodoxy which exists in the Church of England under the name of "Schools of Thought." Nothing but evil can come of it. Until discipline be restored, and unity of the faith recovered, in God's name "Leave Convocation alone."

[The CHAIRMAN having intimated that he would accept the Dean of Lichfield as his mouthpiece,]

The DEAN of LICHFIELD.

I RISE to say that I think it important that there should be no misunderstanding with regard to the powers of Convocation as to the making of Canons. There

can be no doubt whatever that there is reserved to the Convocations of this realm, under certain conditions set forth in the Act of Submission, the power of enacting Canons ; and such Canons, when ratified by the sovereign, are a part of the law of the Church of England. That is one point which I wish to make clear. I also desire to say that these reforms, which have been so much urged upon the attention of the meeting during this discussion, are already in the way of being carried out. The President of the Convocation of Canterbury has recommended to his suffragan bishops, whenever it may be thought desirable, to allow the use of voting papers, so as to meet that difficulty which has been so forcibly expressed to-night. I also wish to take this opportunity of saying that the last time I met the Archbishop I had some conversation with his Grace upon the subject of the Reform of Convocation ; and that, on that occasion, his Grace sent up to the present Prime Minister the recommendations of the Convocation of Canterbury with regard to the enlargement of the representation of the clergy, with the earnest request that the right hon. gentleman would at once take them into his consideration.

MUSEUM LECTURE HALL, THURSDAY EVENING.

SEPTEMBER 30TH.

The Rev. LEWIS CLAYTON took the Chair at 7 o'clock.

THE MORAL DANGERS OF FACTORY AND
WORKSHOP LIFE.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. BISHOP RYAN.

IN speaking on the subject of the moral dangers connected with factory and workshop life, I desire at the outset to state my conviction that they are not more grave than those which beset persons young and old in various other conditions of our modern circumstances. In garrison towns, in large seaports connected with our mercantile marine, in country market towns, and in our rural districts, there are dangers to religion and virtue not perhaps manifested in the same way, but of the same essential character. Each of these conditions has its own need of defensive measures of caution and warning and prevention, its new openings for aggressive action in the way of drawing the people from habits of evil and leading them on in that pursuit of what is good which is one

of the surest remedies against belief of falsehood and practice of wickedness. I refer to such matters lest it should seem as if I considered factory life more relatively bad than it is, and because I wish it to be distinctly understood that, as far as my experience goes, while I indicate its special temptations, I am not forgetful of the—in many cases—equally grave perils which beset the pursuit of other lines of occupation and of employment in other industries.

One serious and powerful agent in the crowded factory, which is too often on the wrong side, is the sympathy of numbers—the influence of the majority. Young people are thrown day after day for many hours with those whose opinions and practice incline, it may be, to unbelief, whose conversation is the reverse of salutary, who ridicule and scoff at religious sentiments. The tendency of such association is, of course, to blunt the edge of proper feeling, and to check the utterance of right words, to pervert the judgment, and to harden the heart.

Then, over and above this general tendency is the special but frequently recurring evil influence of men of superior ability, or of some pre-eminence in authority, who use such advantages for evil, who disseminate and maintain very zealously infidel notions and immoral teachings. The conversation in the factory and the workshop is supplemented by the bad publications, the lectures and addresses, for attendance on which there has been such full opportunity of giving notice; and thus the very obligations of their daily work make them enter the meshes of temptation.

It will readily be seen how such difficulties put obstacles in the way of efforts for bringing good influence to bear on those members of our congregations whose employment places them under such circumstances. One instance of this, well known to clergymen in our manufacturing towns, is in preparation for Confirmation. There is, first of all, the jeering and contempt poured on the rite itself, and then refusal to allow leave of absence for the morning or afternoon when it is to be administered. I have known instances where, as a matter of fact, a young man said it was impossible to keep up a right frame of mind for attending to Confirmation when there was such bad conversation going on in the place of work every day; and I have known of the flat refusal given to leave off work for a morning or afternoon, with the threat that if they went away they would not be received back again. The power possessed by those who can summarily stop the wages of the workers, especially at times when the supply of labour is in excess of the demand, is a most formidable instrument in the hands of unscrupulous men, and many of them show no hesitation whatever in using it.

The tendency of lengthened hours of unintermitting physical toil day by day, in the confinement of heated rooms and a vitiated atmosphere, is to render the craving for excitement almost irresistible, while the receipt of regular wages enables the younger workers to indulge in dress and amusements which often assume a very pernicious form, such as attendance at penny theatres and low music halls and dancing rooms.

On the part of parents, the need for leaving their younger children has led to many of the troubles arising from baby farming, and it is

painful to know how many women, who ought to be engaged in their domestic duties, are working a large part of every day at the loom; while, in the case of younger persons, old enough to be full timers, a very obnoxious practice prevails widely, by which, instead of remaining under the roof of their parents and paying them for their maintenance, they lodge elsewhere, on the pretext of securing better food and accommodation; in reality to be more independent. It need not be shown how this saps the very foundation of filial piety and parental affection, and how it exposes the young of both sexes to very serious temptation; and this suggests the thought of the preponderance of numbers over the means available for anything like superintendence or a more thorough acquaintance with those who inhabit these densely crowded streets to which the operatives return after their work is done. The prevalence of immorality, with all its miseries, is very much due to the fact that young people learn so early to lodge away from their parents, and thus connexions are formed which are fruitful causes of sin and wretchedness, and, as the records of our police courts show, of violence and crime.

In offering a few practical reflections on the way to meet these difficulties I shall not attempt to give a full account of the means desirable for that end, because other speakers will more than supply anything I leave unsaid, but I will mention some methods which have been specially brought home to my own experience. I do not dwell upon the one grand instrumentality which must lie at the root of all other efforts to counteract these dangers, viz., the plain, affectionate preaching of the Gospel of Christ, because I regard that as an understood and admitted condition of all application of details in the prosecution of such an enterprise. I am supposing the case of faithful pastors desiring to use the opportunities which meet them to improve the condition under which many thousands of the population around them pass their lives. And first, I would say, seek to get up a sympathy of numbers on the side of what is good. Recently 7,000 scholars and teachers of Sunday Schools, the scholars being all over thirteen years of age, had been gathered together, and, with full, melodious voices, they recited the Apostles' Creed, and sang one of our best known hymns, and the effect was of the most animating, cheering character. I felt what an advantage it was to those who were exposed to such depressing influences to feel that such numbers were with them.

And then, in connection with Arnold's plan of influencing the whole school by means of sixth form boys, I would recommend that we should seek for help amongst the people themselves. Missionaries in foreign lands will all bear testimony that the condition of real success is the employment of agents from the native converts, that, until the religion of those who are directly reached by the clergy becomes reproductive, there is no prospect of solid or extensive work. Just so is it in our factories and workshops. Efficient work is done amidst the population connected with them by those who themselves have felt the power of the Gospel and tasted the happiness of the service of Christ, and who know the trials and the temptations of those whom they endeavour to lead in ways of righteousness. There are many such workers in various degrees

of capacity and usefulness. One of my happiest recollections of ten years of work in Bradford is that of a meeting at which 102 Church workers were assembled for prayer, singing of hymns, and reading the Scriptures, and mutual encouragement in such service.

I am well aware that many of the proprietors of mills show every disposition to help forward any good work among their employés, and all who have conducted missions in our large towns know the readiness with which they give facilities for addresses to them, whilst not a few overseers, far from discouraging such practice as attendance at confirmation, are amongst our most efficient Sunday-school teachers and superintendents; but there can be no doubt as to the plain fact that serious drawbacks are often placed in the way of candidates by subordinate overworkers, and I regard it as a part of our duty towards members of our flock to protect them as far as we can, so that they may do their duty in peace and quiet, none making them afraid.

Then there is an advantage in the regularity and organization of the factory life, which may be largely utilized in such institutions as our Sunday-schools. It is needful to remember that there are Sunday-schools and Sunday-schools. I could not help being rather amused at Lambeth when our speakers from country parishes spoke from their experience of small gatherings and young children. A man who had never seen any but Shetland ponies might as well speak of the capacities and capabilities of a London dray-horse. Sunday-schools in our large northern towns include numbers of young men and women over twenty years of age.

To see 17,000 Church Sunday scholars in one of the parks of Bradford, with some 60,000 spectators and listeners, was a sight calculated to impress the thought of the wide openings for good which the Sunday-school presents; and towards this, as I have said, the habits of punctuality and regular hours generally conduce. A person received the other day a prize for six years' attendance without the interruption of a single Sunday. Such a fact is very significant; and again the habit of seeing the definite results of work leads to a habit of mind which seeks and values definite instruction.

I need scarcely do more than mention here the vital importance of seeking to make our Sunday-schools really efficient. And here I must express my own conviction of the great advantage which would be conferred on many pastors and their congregations, by the holding of confirmations in such localities as I have described on Sunday afternoons, when the young people are out of the power of overseers, who may not be favourably disposed to the Church of England or to religion in general. Perhaps of all the reflections which arise from such a subject to my own mind one of the most important and directly practical is this—that a wide field is opened out among such populations for the efforts of Christian ladies. It is a noble mission which is thus opened out before them. It doubtless requires thorough interest and self-denial; but suppose the case of hundreds in a large district brought under the influence of these ladies and of their sympathy in the time of sickness, gathered in the Bible-class when the Sunday school is ended, looked after to be brought to

Confirmation, drawn to the Lord's Table, sought after if they have wandered, tended when they are dying.

When work of this kind is done with true Christian kindness an immense influence for good is produced, and the power of such good example is felt in the readiness, thereby produced, to be taught and trained for such work in a humbler, less extended sphere to which I have referred before. And let me not be misunderstood as if I regarded such work as only likely to be done by women. Instances recur to my mind of laymen who work zealously and effectually in the Sunday-school, the night class, Bible-class, in promoting Bands of Hope, in giving interesting lectures, in gathering the inhabitants out of the very streets into the fold, and holding religious services for their good, and helping to diffuse that wholesome literature which is now so fully supplied by our Tract Societies, and by such publications as *Hand and Heart*. The words recreation and entertainment suggest topics for remark, on which I hope we shall hear opinions given. Both on their dangers and their advantages they suggest matter for careful consideration and wise arrangement.

I would very earnestly impress on lay members of the Church, both men and women, the fact that the crowded populations connected with our factories and workshops present a call for self-denying and faithful effort.

It is probable that all who address you will refer to one beneficial agency which cannot be too highly commended. I mean the establishment of coffee taverns. Here, again, the circumstances of factory life tend greatly to encourage the promotion of such institutions. The grand requisite for success in them, regarded in a commercial point of view, (and they must so succeed if they are to hold their position,) is large numbers; and any person who has seen them crowded when work is over by the operatives seeking cheap and substantial refreshment for themselves, and carrying the jugs full of warm tea and coffee to their homes, must acknowledge the advantages to be found there, obviating the necessity for going to the public-house for intoxicating liquors, and showing that the advocates of temperance do not merely use negative exhortations about abstinence from what is injurious, but take pains and exercise forethought and kindness in providing what is wholesome. Let no one undervalue anything which tends to promote that feeling of confidence and goodwill. The teaching of religion in respect of deeper wants is more likely to be received without prejudice, when the kindness of those who seek to impart temporal benefit is seen to be disinterested in its motives as well as beneficial in its operation.

I have offered these remarks taken from actual observation of the facts to which they refer in the hope that they may prove suggestive and helpful. The whole tone of this Congress has been very serious on some of the important questions which are awaiting solution in respect of our crowded population, and I know none more serious than how best to overcome the moral dangers of factory and workshop life.

One of the greatest helps to a clergyman for doing good is when

applicants for work in factories come up from the country to our large houses, (a process which is continually going on), and bring with them letters from their own pastor commending them to the incumbent of the parish in which they come to reside. For want of this I have known some disappear among the mass of operatives, not traceable again; while on the other hand the possession of it has led to the perseverance in the use of the means of grace which had been used and enjoyed in a distant county and in earlier days.

The Rev. CANON FERGIE, B.D., Vicar of Ince.

EVERY position in life, every calling, has its own peculiar moral dangers. Hence it is no unfair or unkind reflection to recognize and consider, with a view to amelioration or remedy, those incident to the life of the factory and workshop. No persons more readily admit or more sincerely deplore the low moral tone which pervades these places than the respectable artizans and operatives themselves. In fact nearly all that I have to say under this head is but the repetition of that which I have heard from the lips of the workpeople themselves. And I may at the outset frankly avow, after 33 years' intimate and friendly intercourse with the working classes, that I am fond of them, and believe that many of the evils which we have to deplore are their misfortune rather than their fault, and that, were we or any other class of men placed under like conditions and brought up under similar circumstances, we should probably be no better than they. Besides, on careful consideration it will, I think, be found, that many of the moral dangers which are usually regarded as inseparable from factory and workshop life do not necessarily spring therefrom. The workshop and factory are credited with many things which have their origin elsewhere. The forces and influences adverse to morality, so common in the larger world without, are concentrated and intensified in these lesser worlds within. Without, the hostile forces are scattered—within, they are combined. Hence the power of the temptations which assail, the difficulty of resistance, and the frequency of defeat. Besides, though in the outer world the same moral dangers and temptations are encountered, yet the position of a workman in social life is one of personal independence, and even, if he wish it, of individual isolation. He is free to withdraw himself from the society he declines, and to avoid the temptations he fears. In the factory and the workshop, on the contrary, he is brought into close proximity with these. There is no escape. He *must* encounter them, and long and severe is the fight of him that overcomes. So formidable are the forces here arranged against virtue, so many and powerful the temptations which assail, so great the hindrances to well-doing, so vitiated for the most part is the moral atmosphere surrounding, that the wonder is not that so few but that so many retain their moral and religious integrity.

The general tone of the workshop and the factory is such as to induce and foster a disregard to religious duties and services, and to morality also. In the factories the language is often fearfully

disgusting and obscene. Many workshops are the hotbeds of infidelity and practical atheism, especially where the men are brought together in close proximity. In both factories and workshops religion and its professors are held up to ridicule. He who would depart from evil and confess himself a follower of the lowly Nazarene must run the gauntlet of ridicule, persecution, and reproach. "You don't know, sir, how hard it is to be good," said a poor factory girl. And hers is the experience of the many. It requires great grace, vast moral courage, for a man or woman to stand forth in holy protest against surrounding naughtiness; but we tremble for the weak, the timid, and the wavering. These are too often constrained, first, to bashful silence, then to cowardly acquiescence, and ultimately to sinful concurrence. It is especially in the lesser workshops and in those where the workmen are brought into close proximity that we find assaults upon Christianity and the Church most frequent. I know shops where most of the leisure of the dinner hour is spent in set discussion upon the verities of religion or the principles and constitution of the Church. And I am ashamed to say that whilst on the one hand the sceptic and the opponent are, through reading and study, equal to vigorous and telling attack, the Churchman is rarely capable of able and successful defence. The necessity of careful instruction in the evidences of religion and of regular dogmatic teaching is everywhere painfully apparent.

With respect to the purification of the moral atmosphere of the factory and workshop, this must be from without. The reformation of the mass must necessarily depend upon the reformation of the individuals composing it. There is but one divinely appointed instrument for human regeneration, whether in the individual or in the society, and that is the grace of the Gospel of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Our great aim, therefore, should be to bring this purifying and renewing influence to bear upon each individual of the class under consideration. A long and instructive experience in populous centres of industry convinces me that we must never expect a general reformation of manners on the one hand, nor a deepening of the spiritual life of a parish on the other, unless there is much faithful and loving pastoral dealing with individual souls. To exert a holy and blessed influence the pastor must not rest satisfied with his pulpit exhortations. He must come down to the people—face to face, hand in hand, heart to heart, in daily loving intercourse. I verily believe that, with such individual dealing, all their faults, temptations, and disadvantages notwithstanding, a richer harvest of souls would be gathered in from amongst the working classes than from any other section of the community. I speak advisedly and from experience. But it may be justly urged that where a man has the spiritual oversight of 5,000, 10,000, or, as I have, 15,000 people, this individual dealing is an utter impossibility. By painful experience I know it. And yet we *must* get at the people, we must by some means secure constant personal intercourse, if we would bring the regenerating influence of the Gospel to bear upon them in the factory and in the workshop. With a view to this end, permit me to suggest the establishment of week-day classes,

guilds, or associations (we won't quarrel about the name so long as the thing is good) for religious instruction and intercourse, cottage lectures, circulating prayer meetings, Church institutes, mutual improvement societies, mothers' meetings, temperance societies, tea parties, Saturday afternoon excursions, and picnics. These will prove of immense value, not only in bringing the parson and people into close and frequent contact and into mutual sympathy the one with the other, but will form a bond of union between the people themselves, the power and advantage of which will be seen and felt in the places of their occupation. The good and the virtuous, through these agencies, now found in union and combination, are a support and encouragement each to the other, Christian profession and protest against vice and immorality become more easy, their power and numbers are not only their own defence, but a shield to the timid and the wavering, who are now no longer by fear deterred from casting in their lot with the people of God. May I be permitted to adduce an illustration of the benefit of the religious associations advocated, and in doing so it will be necessary for me to advert to another of the moral dangers of factory and workshop life.

The Drinking Customs of our workshops and factories make awful havoc with the moral instincts of both sexes, but chiefly of men and boys. The taxes levied by workmen on one another are many and various and amount to large sums in the aggregate. There is scarcely any phase of social or workshop life which is not subject to some given tax; *e.g.*, when a child is born to any workman, half-a-crown to 5s. tax is levied upon the unfortunate parent by way of rejoicing with him on the auspicious occasion. The same at a marriage. When an apprentice comes of age 10s. or 20s. "loosing tax" is laid upon him to make a feast, often one of immorality and excess. It is extraordinary what expedients are resorted to in order to get beer. These customs are a most prolific source of drunkenness, either in initiating some younger hand into the debasing habit, or in being the starting point for some fresh "spree" in the older hands. Out of these customs come the compulsory initiation of young boys into the habit of drinking, the workmen often compelling them to drink "their share" of the beer, although the boys may have a great dislike to it. And now for the illustration. For 15 years I have held weekly a young women's bible class—some of our friends would call it a guild; it consists of about 200 factory operatives, whose ages vary from 15 to 35. At the time of its establishment it was the custom in the reeling room of a certain factory for the young women to pay half a-crown as their "footing" when they got married. These half-crowns were allowed to accumulate until there was sufficient for a "spree." This, of course, was held at the public-house, and to it certain favoured young men were invited. Upon the nature and fruit of such "sprees" I need not dwell. Now it so happened that, a few months after the establishment of this class, a meeting of the reelers was held for the purpose of fixing upon the public-house at which their next carousal should be held, when, to the amazement of their fellows, the members of the bible class objected to the public-house

in toto. They urged that it was incompatible with their membership of such a class to be seen in such a place, and vigorously expressed their intention never to go there again. Banter, ridicule, persuasion were tried in vain. They stood firmly by each other, and being 13 in number carried the day. A deputation consisting of Church girls, Romanists, and Dissenters waited upon me to ascertain whether I would allow them the use of one of our schoolrooms, of which the Romanists and Dissenters seemed very doubtful, in which to hold a tea party instead of the accustomed public-house supper. I need hardly say that this was promptly granted, and that I cheerfully accepted an invitation to be present at the first reelers' tea party. From that time to the present no such public-house gathering has ever taken place. More than that, the young men have followed the example of the young women, and finding that the schoolroom is ever available for their cricket club, social and other gatherings, the tea party has here again superseded the public-house supper. Amongst other checks to the drinking customs of the factory and workshop, I need hardly name temperance societies and Bands of Hope; and may I be permitted, speaking from experience, to say that it gives one vast power and influence in dealing with the evils of intemperance to be able in our own persons to illustrate the possibility and benefit of total abstinence. A man or a boy openly avowing himself a total abstainer is very soon freed from the tempting and urgent solicitation of his fellow workers. Where there is an indisposition either to recommend or adopt total abstinence, a modified pledge might be approved, *e.g.*, not to drink except at meal times, to avoid spirits, not to enter a public-house, not to drink above a given quantity. I find that the temperance (as opposed to the total abstinence) pledge must be definite, as otherwise many regard themselves as fulfilling their vow as long as they stop short of actual drunkenness. Man is a social being. He must and will consort with his fellows. The club meets the wants of the gentleman. Let the coffee tavern, bright, warm, and attractive, supply the need of the working man. Let him here, if he desire, meet his friends and associates, enjoy his pipe, his newspaper, his games, or his "free-and-easy" without restraint, and you shield him from one of the great and many moral dangers to which he is exposed. I have found Saturday afternoon and other holiday excursions into the country exert a happy influence upon the working men in developing and fostering a love of nature and a taste for innocent and healthful recreation. Let the parson head such excursions, and, dropping the priest, play only the man, the companion, and the friend; let him go in the spirit in which Charles Kingsley would have gone, an equal and a brother, and he will exert a silent but potent influence in the workshop and the factory, which his most eloquent sermons might fail to secure. I never experienced a more exquisite pleasure than when, after a few hours' run over moorland and hill with some 25 of my working friends, several of them reformed drunkards and wife beaters, I led them homewards, each man bearing in his hand a bouquet of wild flowers culled in loving mindfulness of those at home, and who now welcomed with joy him from whom aforetime they fled in fear. Before leaving this subject I may notice that the

payment of their assistants in many workshops and factories, and the settlement of little accounts with their fellow workmen on pay day, very often involve an adjournment of the men to the public-house for the purpose of procuring the necessary change. May I be permitted to suggest to the employers of labour that this might be obviated, and, consequently, much evil avoided, if they would kindly appoint one of their officials to supply it?

And now allow me briefly to advert to the low tone which generally pervades the factory with regard to the virtue of chastity. Though there has been a considerable improvement in this matter during the past few years, there is still very much to deplore. Filthy and obscene language, indecent improprieties and frequent falls from virtue are frightfully common. We hear the same sad tale, with rare exceptions, wherever we go. The vicar of one of the largest cotton parishes in Lancashire writes—"Fully one-half of the young women who come to my church to be married are at the time of marriage in a state of pregnancy." "Early marriages to hide early sins are very common amongst us," writes another. On inquiry I find that nine out of ten of the clergy labouring in the cotton districts attribute this want of verbal and personal purity in the factory operatives to the pernicious intermingling of the sexes. It is with diffidence I venture to differ from them, and for these reasons:—

(1.) I don't know a single weaving shed in the whole of the Wigan district in which a man, other than the overlooker, is employed, and in some of the other departments comparatively few men are to be found. This may, however, be different in other districts.

(2.) During the hours of employment their close attention to their duties and the strict supervision of a superior tend to minimize any danger which might result from the proximity of the sexes.

(3.) As a matter of fact, I have always noticed that at meal times and in going to and returning from work the sexes do not mix much together, while on inquiry I have very rarely found that the fall of a factory girl was laid to the charge of a factory operative.

(4.) That the factory system does not necessarily foster the sin of unchastity is clear from the fact that in some factory districts it is comparatively rare. One Lancashire vicar writes—"With all our faults fornication is not a prevalent or conspicuous vice. The girls are generally virtuous. I fancy our pure mountain air which invigorates the body adds strength to the purity of the mind." There may be something in this, for there is a closer connection between physical and moral integrity than most people suspect; but I venture to think that the moral tone without will account for the rectitude within, for he tells us that if a girl be discovered to be pregnant before marriage she is mocked and jeered to such an extent as to make her life miserable. On the other hand in some districts the sin is regarded very lightly; it is a subject for joke and banter, and marriage in many cases is only resorted to—if resorted to at all—when concealment of shame becomes impossible. This seems to point out clearly, as before intimated, the necessity of improvement without the factory, if we would effect reformation within. The moral tone of society generally must be elevated and purified. Here we shall find the parochial agencies above enumerated, especially

the bible class, exerting a mighty influence for good. I speak from knowledge. When 15 years ago I established the Young Women's Bible Class above named, the proportion of factory girls who manifestly fell from virtue was on an average about one in eight. At first such falls were very frequent amongst the members of the class. They gradually diminished as the influence of the class made itself felt, and now the proportion of members who fall is less than one in 50. There is also a marked improvement in the general tone and conduct of the factory girls attending this class, and they are, for the most part, conspicuous above others for modesty and propriety of demeanour.

There are other moral dangers of factory and workshop life demanding attention, but time fails me. These may probably be noticed by the succeeding speakers, or brought out in the discussion which will ensue.

The Rev. WALTER SENIOR, of Nottingham.

It is, observe, only the dark side of the subject with which we are asked to deal, and therefore a caution is needed. There is danger of unconscious exaggeration; of carrying away the idea that certain tendencies imply general conditions, or that certain facts are of universal application. It is not so. If there is dark, there is light; and if there are moral dangers, the Spirit of Christ is always striving with them. Pessimism seems the true view of life from a near view of evils, but a larger view of history always yields encouragement and hope.

The evils to be considered are, however, serious enough. The wonderful activity of this nineteenth century has produced new social conditions, with which are connected difficult moral problems. There is, for example, the immense factory (a quite modern creation), with its sense of strength through the combination of large numbers, its susceptibility to influences, its facility for rapid transmission of new ideas. It is here where the active cause must be looked for of the growing class isolation of working men, and that feeling, amounting almost to enmity, which labour seems to entertain against capital. It has altered the old relationship of master and servant into a mere mechanical contract, and gradually but surely separated them into two apparently opposing camps. But passing by the political economy aspect of the big factory, let us fix our attention on the point that it means a large increase of population at great centres. Large towns are growing ever larger at a rapid rate, not merely by natural increase of birth, but from another suggestive cause. Agriculture cannot compete with trade, and the country is emptying itself into the towns. Thus the evils incident to large towns are being increased; and more acutely so, because of this country element drifting into them, which is inexperienced and fearfully susceptible to their novel fascinations. Consider one result, and follow it out, viz., the inevitable overcrowding of the lower quarters of these towns. That is, come in imagination into those quarters, and after smelling the smells, and

breathing the close atmosphere, and peeping into the confined rooms, and at all the consequent discomforts too often inseparably allied with these things, think next of the coming home of husbands and grown-up sons and daughters from eight or ten hours' work in the monotonous life of the big factory. Then ask, What is there to keep them at home? What is there *there* which will enable them to rise cheerily out of their weariness and physical langour, with its accompanying mental depression?

Yet men and women such as these want to live: they long for a little joy as much as you or I: they want to feel that life is good. What is there before them? The public house, with its more spacious rooms, its welcome attractiveness, its liquors which quicken the blood and stimulate the brain, and throw off the sense of dulness, and seem to give a larger life.

It is an ominous state of things from the logical pessimist point of view. Only a circle of vice, which must go on enlarging itself, seems possible. Long hours of work necessitate evening excitement and amusement; but back streets and overcrowded homes are no place for these. The public house alone is available, or some place of the same character. Yet the public house is demoralizing, and, worse still, thrives on demoralization, and therefore itself seems hopeless of reformation, while it renders men and women more and more unfit for the reception of higher influences; and so on, and so on. Meanwhile the rich leave the smoky town to live outside in dwellings which grow more and more palatial. The contrast therefore seems to tend to get more bitter to the masses, and the envy of the poor has in it the elements which are very susceptible of communism and possible revolution.

Such is the problem of moral danger, as generalized on the dark side, which forms the background of our subject. Evidently, therefore, the subject cannot merely be treated in a direct manner. Large numbers, when working together, influence each other, of course; but the influence thus mutually exercised is brought from the life of the town outside. It is necessary, therefore, to show surrounding social conditions, in order to indicate their tendencies in the workshop and individual life.

Let it be understood then (since I suppose we are expected to treat our subject as far as possible from personal experience) that my remarks now apply mostly to Nottingham, and let us take as the starting point a fact of population. There are there about 1,200 more females than males, an excess accounted for by the lace trade, which is largely a woman's trade. For example, at Messrs. T. Adams and Co.'s warehouse there are about eight females employed to one male.

This being the case, there follow certain results.

1. Young girls are able to earn so much, and also they have at their command in the evenings a certain amount of time after the hours of work. They have been cooped up all day in a more or less confined atmosphere, or in the midst of the whirr of machinery. They have a little money, and often a good deal of liberty. What follows? A longing for some amusement; a desire for sensation and excitement. It follows also that such a demand creates a

liberal supply; and, again, that the supply reacts upon the demand. All this cannot be helped: it is natural. There is possible good as well as evil in it. But moral danger connects itself with such places as our rinks, casinos, dancing saloons, gin palaces, theatre, and palace of varieties. There is formed a pleasure-loving and even dissipated class, whose tendency is to overpass the line of womanly virtue and self respect. It is pitiable to walk down our Long Row after eight o'clock of an evening, and see the large numbers of young girls pacing to and fro, light, giddy, reckless of temptation. I have stood and watched at certain attractive gin palaces, with, of course, the modern bars; and in the continual stream of attendance there was certainly one female, mostly under twenty, to every three males. As to numbers, some idea may be obtained from the following statistics. On two successive Sunday evenings, twelve public houses were watched, five on one evening, and seven on another, with the result that 5,792 persons were seen to enter them: in one alone there went in 1,365. Of these 5,792, 3,830 were men, 1,570 were women, and 380 were children under 16. The proportion here was, therefore, much more than one to three. I cannot refrain from adding my most emphatic condemnation of the modern bar system. Its evils are insidious and fearful: insidious, because it is sapping and mining the modesty of large numbers of women; and fearful, because of its inevitable result upon future homes. Why cannot it be grappled with and put down? We do not allow the idea of liberty to interfere with the suppression of sources of evils which are dangerous to physical life; why should a practical people stand paralysed before a source of evil which is so portentously dangerous to both morals and health, and whose facts are confessed on all sides? It passes wonder.

2. Along with this love of pleasure there arises, in some, impatience with the restraints of a virtuous home; and the ability to maintain themselves in lodgings gives such the opportunity of independence and license. Even if such remain at home, it is to be practically their own masters. The very large break-down of parental reverence, whether it arise from this wilful spirit, or from the unworthiness of parents themselves, is one of the worst features of our day. Follow a girl in your thoughts who thus leaves home for lodgings; think of the sort of lodgings which she will choose, or to which she must go: think also of the fearful moment of temptation which inevitably overtakes her, either when she is short of money for pleasure, or when work is slack and wages fail. Even if she shrink from sinning openly, she is tempted to sin in secret to eke out her deficiencies. The late Mr. Adams tried the experiment of purchasing several cottages, furnishing them appropriately, appointing a matron to manage, fixing the rate of board and lodging at a very low sum, and only stipulating that inmates should be in by ten o'clock at night. The effort failed. Still, something like it succeeds now on a small scale.

3. Another moral danger of Nottingham life is a too great love of dressiness. It is not taste, I speak of, so much as over expensiveness. My impression is that this is an evil into which fall even the most respectable of our women, both in and out of warehouses.

With too many dress swallows up all provision for a rainy day: it leads sometimes even to stinting the body of proper nourishment and warmth. I have heard of cases, for example, of £12 and £15 being paid for a sealskin jacket, which, in a pinching time, found its way to the pawnbroker's. I speak what I know from Refuge experience, when I say that this passion, connected as it often is with a vain love of admiration, is a fruitful cause of falls from virtue. Whether Christian ladies might not do something to abate this danger to their poorer sisters, by making less display in our places of worship, is a serious question. I think they could do more by example than the pulpit by denunciation.

4. It follows also (though not perhaps to so great an extent as may be imagined) that warehouse life militates against domestic life. It is a fact that some work at warehouses because they prefer it to domestic duties. This is not only the case with servants who abandon service, but with girls at home. Whilst I have known girls married from warehouses who have made the best of wives and mothers, the presumption of course is, and one too often borne out by facts, that in the married life of some out of so large a number there will be incompetence, thriftlessness, and consequent unhappiness.

After these four examples of moral danger from the interaction of town and warehouse life, as a consequence of the excess of female population, it will be suitable to bring forward two sets of facts as illustrations of the evils hinted at.

1. *As to prostitution.*

It is a remarkable circumstance that those who are called low prostitutes have decreased in number during the last twelve years in Nottingham. About that time there were usually in the Lock Ward of our Union from a dozen to twenty patients. Now there are seldom more than one, or two, or three. I enquired of the police if they could give an explanation, and the suggestive answer was (though I think it well only to give part of it): "There are more houses of accommodation, and more private prostitution." I have heard of girls soliciting young men to take them as mistresses.

2. *As to illegitimacy.*

Only the statistics for 1878 are available for this enquiry. I suppose it is *not* remarkable, considering our circumstances, that the marriage rate of Nottingham is one of the highest in the kingdom; but it is, that, at the same time, its illegitimacy should be also one of the highest. Leicester, a town in some respects not dissimilar, had in 1878 a population nearly 9,000 in excess of Nottingham, but it had 61 less marriages, and Nottingham had 8 more cases of illegitimacy, 215 against 207. Again, Stockport, with a population in excess of Nottingham of over 10,000, had 120 less marriages, and 59 less illegitimates, 156 against 215. I Liverpool had had illegitimates in proportion to the Nottingham rate, she would have had three times more than she had; and even Manchester would have had 44 less cases, though her marriage rate was proportionately one-third less than that of Nottingham. There is one side point in the facts of the marriage register which may be

interesting and significant to some. The registrar marriages at the places mentioned above are as follows :—

Stockport,	population	97,000,	had	7	such marriages
Manchester	„	173,000	„	109	„
Liverpool	„	238,000	„	104	„
Nottingham	„	86,000	„	126	„
Leicester	„	95,000	„	198	„

Putting these marriages alongside the population, and alongside the illegitimacy, perhaps the comparison may bear the inference that rejection of religion means more immorality. We, Christians, have an instinctive feeling that it will and must be so, and these figures seem to justify it.

I come now to deal more directly with warehouse life, but on the threshold I must again urge my caution. Let me, therefore, emphatically assert that the majority of warehouse girls are thoroughly respectable,—remarkably so, indeed, considering all things. They are leading, not only pure lives, but many of them are noble with true self-sacrifice, devoting their lives to sick and aged relatives, or forming one of the best elements of help in our churches and Sunday schools.

Nor must it be thought that I lay all these evils on the woman only. God forbid ! Even the bad minority would not be what it is, if a certain class of men were only worthy of the name. There are men who swallow up home, and all which that means to wives and daughters, in drink. There are men who only marry to have a slave to work for them, and who waylay their wretched helots on the pay day to take from them their hard-earned wages. There are men, rich and poor, married and unmarried, who are the deliberate tempters of the unwary or the unfortunate, whose eyes are full of adultery, “and which cannot cease from sin.”

Entering the warehouse, then, we must remember that their moral atmosphere is necessarily exposed to town-life influences, either as secret under-currents, or as an open condition of things, according to the character of the place. For warehouses, there is good reason to believe, exercise a selective influence according to their repute. I do not assert that girls are always deliberately conscious of this on one side or the other ; nevertheless, it works. The respectable gravitate to respectable houses, the careless and dissipated to houses where morality is not a matter of importance. Nay, in the same warehouse, one room will differ from another in tone and feeling, probably in consequence of the difference of character in the overlookers or heads of departments. In the better houses, therefore, the evil is only a secret under-current, and easily abashed ; in the worse, it is more open and aggressive.

On the one hand, I have heard of girls leaving Messrs. T. Adams and Co. because they could not bear the chapel service, and because of the quiet character of their neighbours in the workroom. On the other, one has heard what it is almost impossible to believe, that sometimes the evil so predominates in a house or room, that deliberate scorn and insult has been done to modest girls who happened to drift there, in order to break down their modesty.

The character of those in authority, especially of the master or

masters at the head of affairs, is therefore a fact of the utmost influence and importance. The master, consciously or unconsciously, stamps the life of the warehouse with his own character, be it good or evil.

On the good side (and let it be understood that this includes the majority of masters) the influence shows itself in arrangements which indicate a sense of responsibility. For example, at Messrs. Adams and Co. a trustworthy man has general oversight over the rooms, with instructions to report anything which seems amiss. Care is also taken that during working hours the contact between men and women shall be as small as possible. But the sense of responsibility shows itself especially in the choice of overlookers, who exercise great influence. If an overlooker is really pious, and has tact, she is a power for good. She effectually gets rid of bad or low language, unsuitable topics of conversation, and low literature: all which are common evils, or at least likely dangers, if she be not such. A good master also looks to the sanitary arrangements of his place, and this tells considerably on the life of the girls. To breathe foul air in crowded rooms all day results in one of two evils. Some either sicken and lose appetite, and die of consumption; and others rush at night into dissipation, in order to get rid of the depression which has been induced.

But the bad master, what shall we say of him? There are some masters who are simply negative. Morality is no concern of theirs. Business is only money. With these, good and evil take their chance together indifferently, so long as they are no inconvenience to business. But there are others who are actively immoral, and who are, therefore, as a plague of infection; men, who, having command of wealth, think that it gives them the right to indulge their sensuality, and corrupt others.

Imagine one such (alas! no mere imagination), who keeps one or even two mistresses, and has not even so much of decency left as to prevent him flaunting them in the theatres and elsewhere, before the public eye. Then think of the possible effect—the *possible* effect, I do not say the actual:—

First, on the youngmen in his employment. It taints the moral atmosphere in which they all day breathe. It is calculated to set free their lower nature, and to give them scorn of women and of virtue. It is calculated to destroy their sense of manliness, and to make them think that weakness or misfortune are their rightful prey. There are stories, which make the blood boil, of pretty girls tempted with better work, or better wages, or easier times.

Secondly, the effect on these girls. It seems to them as if vice had an easy time, and virtue a hard one. One of their number is perhaps missed from the room, and is presently seen in the streets dressed in the height of fashion. The reason is well known, and in some moods of depression it tends to sap and mine their best resolutions.

In conclusion, my first reflection on these facts, in connection with all that has gone before, is that the degradation of woman involves the degradation of man, and of society. Here is woman tempted and degraded, and there are men in vile and dangerous conditions.

There is no question which involves such deep issues to national life as man's care of woman's womanhood. If woman be wrong, homes are wrong, children are wrong, and the future is dark. The Nemesis of the wrong is as certain also, as it is awful,—whether in the life of one town, or in the life of the nation.

My second reflection is, that, of all evils of our day, one of the worst is when men of wealth, who thereby hold public positions or have social prominence, are pointed at as sensual, and known as seducers. It inevitably works moral corruption. To see them taking the lead in philanthropic, or even religious movements, fills decent people with disgust, and tends to break down, more and more, all sense of moral distinction between right and wrong in the minds of the careless or the bad. It is revolting to every right-thinking person; and the sooner the Church washes its hands of such connections the better, cost what it may to the funds of a bazaar or the subscription list. If public opinion is to be pure, the Church must be pure, and moral integrity her first consideration. It would be well, too, if Christian men and women, and those who care for morality, and believe that it is the preservation of society, would dare to be true to their convictions, and, as they would not consort with a convicted thief or murderer, so also refuse to consort with the moral thief and the moral murderer.

ADDRESSES.

GEORGE HARWOOD, Esq.

I THINK you will agree with me, though I shrink from talking about myself, that I may fairly claim to be an object of your commiseration, and for two reasons. The first is that I am one of those unhappy men—once envied, now much to be pitied—who are called factory masters. And allow me to say in regard to the remarks of the last speaker, that whilst I fall behind no man in thoroughly sympathising with his tone and thoroughly condemning the evils of which he spoke in the conclusion of his paper, I must most emphatically protest against the idea—I know he did not mean it, but I wish to caution you against it—that such a description applies to factory masters in general. I have the honour of the acquaintance, I think I may say, of a great many in various parts, and I do not think I know more than one to whom that description would apply; but, on the other hand, I do not think they fall behind other classes in the desire to do what they can to serve their fellow men and to promote the cause of good. The other ground for your commiseration is the fact that I have been stuck down to speak to-night upon two subjects—one certainly, and the other I hope uncertainly—upon neither of which I seem to have any idea whatever. I should not have come to speak on this subject at all but for the wish of the Bishop of our diocese; and permit me to say that I think the laity—I would the remark were equally applicable to the clergy—are always loyal to their bishops. I shrink from this subject for the reason suggested in the opening remarks of Bishop Ryan, which are based upon this principle—that I do most emphatically object, except upon the most urgent necessity, against dividing people into classes at all. I object to meetings of working men, and I object to discussions about the failings of, or dangers to, working men. My experience of working men, which certainly has been pretty extensive, is that the moral dangers of factory life and the moral qualities of factory

people are not in the least degree above or below the average. I would rather join in a discussion on the moral dangers of the masters' life. I do not know that a more appropriate subject could be found—may I suggest it for the next Congress—than the moral dangers of the clerical life. There are, undoubtedly, certain conditions in the factory worker's life, as in every man's, that tell against his moral health and his moral safety, which, of course, must be considered; but I really do think it only fair—I am rather a social democrat myself—that if you take the factory people this year, you should take the factory masters next, and then mount higher, year by year, until you reach the social pinnacle of the bishops. There is, no doubt, in factory life a callousness that is necessarily born of hard and constant work. I do not know—I shrink myself most completely from judging factory people, even from judging my own people, for I only wish that I had as good reason to feel satisfied in any degree with myself as several of our men have, who are some of my closest and best friends.—but there is, of course, a callousness born of hard work. The curse does burn itself in, and we must bear that in mind.

Another thing we should bear in mind is, that, to be practical, I do think philanthropists should keep off gush. A friend of mine, a most innocent enthusiast, went in for teaching our hard-worked spinners Euclid, after ten hours' work in a mill. Why, a man must be intellectually an elephant to stand it.

Another thing to be borne in mind, on many grounds, is the crowding. Where people are crowded together, they get an increased receptivity of the ideas of others. They are like a train of gunpowder, and only want a match at one end to go off all along the line.

There is another consideration in connection with factory life, and that is the atmosphere. We are compelled to work at a standing temperature of 70 degrees to 80 degrees, and the windows must be closed to keep the wind and dirt out. I know the effect it has upon myself when I have been in it for about half-an-hour, and you may easily judge what physical effects it must have as a regular thing. This may seem a homely remark to make: but the consumption of red cabbage and other kinds of pickles among factory operatives is something astounding. That indicates that the effect upon the body is such as to require a fillip of that kind. And so it must be upon the mind. A gentleman who had been a clergyman in India, speaking to me last night of the religious condition of the people, said that it was often too hot to care about religion. Now, it is often too hot in a mill to have that sensitiveness to high feeling which we ought to have; and I often wonder there is not a greater difference between people who have the advantages which we have and the factory workers.

One remark as to overlookers. Of course, they consist of all classes. I know a great many, and as a rule I have found that they are as much above the operative in general intelligence as they are in position. Mill management is not the mechanical kind of thing that you may imagine. It is an intellectual thing. A man who boozes his brains away at night will not do to meet the master in the morning when the letters are opened. I find in my own case that I can seldom enquire about the personal circumstances of an operative who has been with us any length of time; but the overlooker will be able to give all necessary information. There are mental dangers greater than the moral connected with factory life. The first is the great division of labour, which makes less and less demands upon a man's mind. It is a serious thing that the subdivision of labour is constantly being carried further, until really what a single man has to do makes comparatively no claim upon his intellectual faculties; and so there is no intellectual development.

Another thing is the improvement of machinery. I am not complaining of these things—I might as well try to sweep back the ocean with a broom. But really if you were to see some of the changes which have occurred in machinery even in my time, you would almost fall down to worship the

machine itself. Work is done now in our place by machinery, which was not possible by the most cultured handicraft ten years ago. This increases the operatives' admiration for machinery to an extravagant extent, and decreases their sense of reverence in general. Then there is the speed at which the machines go. They are always going faster and faster. In a place I had to do with, the architect was putting in dull windows saying: "The people won't have time to look out of the windows." "But," I said, "we won't have the place made a prison; the people shall have the chance of looking at a bit of blue sky if we ever have it."

Then there is the evil of drunkenness. Very often we find the best workmen, the most capable, and the quickest are most given to break out in drunkenness; and my own experience, after watching for some years, is that that is much more a law than you would be inclined to suspect or willing to believe. I believe the cause of it is this: the man who is the most capable workman is the man who has a capable mind; and the man who has a capable mind is the man who has aspirations; and the man who has aspirations is the man who most feels the impossibility of his ordinary humdrum life to meet those aspirations. That man feels a temptation to drink, and it is absurd to deny that there is an exhilaration in drink which does meet the case to a certain degree.

Then there is this most wretched evil of suburbanism. I think the middle class have made the greatest mistake they ever made in quitting the towns. It is a fact that there is no considerable manufacturing town of which you might not make a map and say: "Here live the people who can pay so much rent; here live the people who can pay so much; and in the middle of the town, in dirt and darkness, live the people who have to make the money to keep all going." Patronage will not do; ladies coming down in their carriages and distributing tracts will not do. You must live amongst the people. If you would come into the towns, the smoke nuisance would be cleansed in a week.

There is another thing. I am one of those old-fashioned people who believe that whatever philanthropic efforts be started, whatever social re-adjustments be made, after all, you never get any great improvement in the condition and heart of a nation, except through its religion. I do not mean its dogma, but its religious spirit. You must work from within outwards. I am rather of Dr. Johnson's opinion—that I would not give half-a-guinea to live under any one form of government rather than under any other; but I would certainly give a great deal, if I could see a better religious tone put into the heart of the people. We have heard much about Scepticism and Atheism, especially in connection with recent political associations; but I am quite sure that the condition of the people at the bottom is at the worst one of indifference. They are not atheists; they have too much sense for that; for if religion has any good at all in it, to whom should it be most welcome, by whom should it be most welcomed, if not the poor? "Come unto me all ye that labour." And they will come in the long run, if you do your duty and if we all do our duty. I am not going to preach, except this one thing. Our religion must be, it must certainly be, downright honest. It must be practical right through, as free from cant as you can make it, and as free from gush as you can make it. I will tell you a story to illustrate this. I daresay some of you have heard it. A boy went to a gentleman's house and asked for some bread. The man was standing at his door, so he went inside and brought the boy out a crust. It happened to be a very miserable crust indeed, perfectly hard and useless for nutriment, certainly for enjoyment. As he was going away, the gentleman asked the boy if he had had any instruction. "No." "Cannot you pray?" "No." He then took the boy inside and began to say "Our Father." "Our Father?" said the boy. "Is He my Father?" "Yes." "Is He your Father?" "Yes." "Then we are brothers?" "Yes." "And how could you for shame give your brother a crust like that?"

LIEUT.-COLONEL HARDING.

FROM an experience of some years of factory life I am disposed to take a view not less hopeful than that of the previous speaker. We have heard very much of the evils of factory life, and it may not be without its use if we dwell for a moment upon its better side. In its best aspects it seems to me that the influences of the factory system are, not indeed of unmixed, but still of greatly preponderating good. It seems to me that it promotes among the people habits of industry, order, regularity, and cleanliness. By providing employment not only for the men but also for the women and children, it enables the family to be kept in comfort, and in some cases in ease, and it gives scope for the exercise of self-reliance and thrift. I was reading lately the pamphlet of Mr. Tuke on Irish distress, and he mentions a manufacturing village of about 800 operatives in Donegal which was an oasis of comfort in the midst of the surrounding wretchedness. He alludes also to the intelligence which the factory life had developed there. In order to see the best side of this factory life, we must look for it in well-built and well-ventilated mills, where the employers themselves are men of worth and good moral character, men who take an interest in their workers, who maintain over them a kind yet strict supervision, who are above all things careful in the choice of their overlookers and managers. Moral improvement goes hand in hand with sanitary improvement. Much has been done, and much good is yet to be looked for, in the extension of the Factory Acts and the improvement of buildings. Many of the modern factories are not only models of industrial economy and arrangement, but they bear evidence at every turn that the conditions of comfort and health and decency have been thoroughly considered. But even in its best aspect the factory system develops dangerous conditions. The mixed labour of boys and girls, men and women, leads to undue familiarity. The employment of married women in factories involves the neglect of home and children and the weakening of family ties, which are further loosened by the fact that boys and girls earn at a comparatively early age such wages as make them almost independent of parental control. But, in order to see the worst evils which have been feelingly alluded to by one of the previous speakers, we must look beyond the best examples, and own that in most factory districts there is a great deal of extravagance and drunkenness, and a freedom in the intercourse between the sexes which almost amounts to license; and there is a shamelessness of manner and language which is very shocking indeed. Some factories have for various causes obtained a bad reputation; there are others in which, owing to bad ventilation, there is such a condition of atmosphere that a looseness of costume is necessary which is not always compatible with decency; in others the work is of a very dirty character; and in all these cases, only the lowest class of operatives apply for the work; and the herding together of these leads to a deterioration of moral tone. A great many employments of a brutalising character still exist, in which it is deplorable to see women and girls engaged. With regard however to the shamelessness of language and manner to which I have alluded, we ought to remember that much of it is mere gross vulgarity and unconscious wrong, and that the low code of morality which we have heard about to-night is to a great extent due to causes quite outside the factory system. We find that workers in the country are more regular than those in the towns, and that is especially so where the employers live amongst their people. The condition of factory operatives is to a great extent moulded by the circumstances which surround them. There is a great deal outside factory life which leads to vice. Just for a moment think of the dense ignorance which until recently has prevailed, cutting away so large a proportion of the population from interests in life which the better educated possess, and confining them to the lowest and most vulgar pleasures.

Think also of the condition of the homes of the people, and perhaps we shall be surprised that factory workers are so good as they are. Think of the filthy literature which (in the shape of police reports and stories of crime) is circulated in our large towns and sold to factory boys and girls. Think of the gin palaces and dancing saloons, and I believe we shall find causes for a great many of the evils which exist. For my part I feel hopeful for the future, when I think of the great educational movement of the last few years. I was speaking to a friend of mine a short time ago, who told me that he employs a great many of the lowest class of Irish, few of whom can read and write. The children bring their fathers' dinners, and my friend said that it was with much pleasure that he saw them legibly writing their fathers' names on the tables, for it led him to hope that a great deal of the brutal ignorance which exists will in the next generation have passed away. The Church of England has done much in the cause of education, and it must continue its work especially in the direction of religious education. Both clergy and laity must do what they can by encouraging a taste for art, for music, and for self-culture. We must also not forget to do all we possibly can to improve the condition of the houses of the people. It is very difficult to change the habits of grown-up people; therefore let us train up the children aright. Let us try and train them to the Christian virtue of self-control. Let us try to promote family life, and teach parents also that it is only by good example that they can earn the respect of their children. The Church might also remind employers that, in addition to paying wages and carrying out the letter of the Factory Acts, they have duties which they ought to perform, duties which will be sufficiently obvious to those employers who think of the interests of their work people, duties which are not always easy to perform, but which, when performed in a large and Christian spirit, will do much to remove the evils of the factory system, break down class distinctions, and thus promote the happiness and prosperity of the country.

DISCUSSION.

The Venerable the ARCHDEACON of ELY.

I HAVE come now from the Congress Hall, crammed to excess, crammed with something like 4,000 or more workmen, and from St. George's Church where a supplemental meeting is being held, and which is full from floor to roof: and I learn from this that, if it pleases God to put wisdom and energy in us, self-denial and self-sacrifice, there is a vast element of good on which we may work in these factory and workshop people. A great deal has been said, of course, upon the moral dangers and difficulties and evils; but let me give the other side. There are many things to encourage us in trying to meet those evils. I am told that 2,000 of the railway men at Derby meet every morning for a short service and an exposition of Scripture. In a mission I had the privilege of taking part in, at Cambridge, a little after Christmas, we missionaries were invited for a whole week to go at the dinner hour to address the Great Eastern Railway men in a shed; and when we had done it for a week they asked to have the services continued. I know that in London and other places some of the great manufacturers employ either lay agency or clerical agency to assist in improving, encouraging, and elevating their work-people, and that, wherever it is tried, moral dangers are to some extent met, and moral improvement and religious improvement ensue. I remember, when at Nottingham, Canon Morse told me how he went every morning to a factory to take a service. One morning I went there myself and had the great happiness of assisting in a short, very short, service—for it was not allowed to be

more than ten minutes for prayer, praise, and exposition—with something like 500 girls. All these things show that although there are great moral dangers to our men and women, there is also a gracious opportunity given us by our Divine Master, if we will only go forth in the power of His spirit, for doing work for God and rescuing immortal souls. My experience of these men and women in the various workshops of England is that they are very sharp, far sharper than the rustic population, and I do not believe they are more wicked. I could tell of a good many dangers and moral evils in our country districts. In factories and workshops girls are more quick and intelligent, and more ready therefore to communicate their thoughts and feelings to Christian hearts, if Christian hearts will take an interest in them. What has struck me so much is this—the great responsibility of employers of labour in this matter. I shudder to think of what that man must expect, when his Divine Master shall come to try him and judge him according to his works, who neglects his moral and religious responsibilities towards his work-people. I tremble for the fate of that man who, in order to procure himself wealth and comfort and opulence and to put his family in good positions and keep them from evil and vice, can employ tens, hundreds, and sometimes thousands of work-people, and merely look upon them as machines for his own selfish pleasure and family advancement, and not as immortal souls for whom Jesus died as well as for him and his. I entreat employers to look to it for their own sakes. They are now, it may be, in opulence; but the time will come when the wealth they have gotten will be stripped from them, and they must stand before the throne of their Divine Master to give a more solemn and serious account than the poorer people who are earning the riches for them. If employers then would meet their Lord without fear, let them look to it that by doing their very best, by personal self-sacrifice, by prayer, by interesting themselves personally in the souls of their work-people, they may cure, or at any rate modify, the moral evils which we deplore, and help those who are earning wealth for them into a higher life, in imitation of our Divine Master. I think there are many ways in which this might be done. The clergy might help a great deal in it, more perhaps than they have done. We clergy sometimes fail in assisting to remedy these moral dangers and evils and getting at the hearts of the work-people, by the feeling that the work-people have the idea that we are proud. They do not listen to us because they say you are not in our class. I was with a most intelligent workman in a London workshop some time ago. He is almost a free thinker, although he goes to church sometimes. I said to him, “How is it that you workmen have such a queer idea about us clergymen? We are trying to do our best for you, yet somehow you are always treating us with suspicion.” He said, “I don’t know: the clergy are very good in giving us advice; but they don’t give us the friendly shake of the hand.” I said, “My dear fellow, how could you be so weak as to suppose that because a man does not shake your hand, he is not friendly towards you. I have known hypocrites who would shake your hand off nearly, and I have known other men, who, although they might not shake your hand, would almost give their lives for you.” Since that I have tried my best, not to shake off the hands of work-people, but to appear to them as a brother; whilst at the same time endeavouring to maintain the serious character and demeanour which a clergyman should always do. I think the clergy very often do appear proud through a sort of diffidence and fear of seeming to patronise the working men. In this, as in other matters, we should strive so to act that our good be not evil spoken of. There is a great opportunity for us the clergy, and for the religious laity too. We clergy cannot do the work before us, unless the religious laity will come forward and help, publicly and privately. But I think, if the clergy and laity work together as our Master would have us do, we may together modify many of the moral evils in our factories, and may stir up many to righteousness. This will be a greater comfort

and pleasure when the Master shall come, than rolling in wealth for awhile here by the exertions of work-people, looked upon by the work-people as mere ladies and gentlemen.

R. GRAHAM, Esq.

I DESIRE to be allowed to address a few words to this audience, first, because I am a Lancashire man ; secondly, because I know from personal observation and experience something of Lancashire life ; and thirdly, because I am very proud of the operatives of the county to which I belong. The first thing we have to consider is whether factory life is a necessity. There can only be one answer. If England is to continue the workshop of the world, factory life is an absolute necessity ; but, recognising that necessity, it is desirable that we should place as many safeguards about that life as we possibly can. The first danger that strikes me is this, that lads begin to think they are men at a very early age. As soon as a boy begins to see the first budding signs of whiskers or moustache on his face, he begins to think that he is much too big a man to be under the control of his father and mother. He takes lodgings for himself, and the large wages which lads obtain in factories give them an opportunity of setting up for themselves just at that dangerous period of life when boys most need guidance. The second thing that strikes me is the importance of giving a better domestic education to our working girls. The happiness of a home does not primarily depend upon the amount of wages brought into it ; but it depends to a much larger degree upon whether the wife has been trained into a knowledge of the best way of spending the money and whether she has any idea of bringing up her children in the way in which we desire them to be brought up. I believe there is one point which has been omitted in our educational system, and I do not quite know how to meet it. It is this, that girls go to factory life at a very early age, and that they have no preliminary training in domestic matters. I would like to see attached to our large schools classes where cooking, domestic economy, and other things are practically taught, so that when these girls get married they will be able to look after their homes as they ought to be looked after. I may say that I have been speaking to large audiences of factory men and women two or three times a day for the last three weeks, and there are no people in the kingdom who have so keen an appreciation of an argument as have some of the factory people in Lancashire, and I believe that no people would give a more cordial reception to any lady or gentleman interested in their welfare. I went to the mill of the Messrs. Garnett, at Low-moor, near Clitheroe. It has been in the possession of the same family for three generations ; it is a model village ; the houses belong to the firm, and the members of the firm live amongst their operatives. For the last fifty years there has not been there a public-house, a policeman, a doctor, nor a lawyer. I am glad to say that there is a parson, and he does very good work there. I had the pleasure of speaking to something like eight hundred people there, and when I saw them coming out of that four-storey mill, and saw the pears hanging within reach of the very youngest boy, and the master told me that he had never known the smallest theft to take place among their workmen, I thought that, if all masters would act like the Messrs. Garnett, there would be a different state of things. If there is one thing which has brought factory life to a lower level than it would otherwise have been brought to, it is the licensing of public houses, which are standing temptations in the way of the people. I may mention a factory town which has rather an evil reputation—Blackburn. You know that is the town where they burnt the house over the head of one of the employers with whom they had a difference. The other day in that town I addressed a class of men conducted

by the wife of the Vicar of Blackburn. There were over 150 men, some of whom were grey, and had been members of the class for sixteen or seventeen years. I went also to the Sunday Schools in St. John's Parish, in which there were five hundred children, three hundred infants, and six hundred adults; and it is well to remember that you will find in Lancashire Sunday Schools which are better managed than in any other county with which I am acquainted. At Bolton I applied to the large employers of labour to allow me to give an address to their work people on temperance; and, without exception, Churchmen and Dissenters were equally ready to grant me permission. In one place I had an audience of two thousand men. There is one other point I would like to mention. Our clergymen coming into the large manufacturing towns in Lancashire often feel at a great loss, because they are the only men who come to their work without the necessary practical preliminary training; and it seems to me highly desirable that a necessary part of the University education of young clergymen should be that they be trained to speak readily and promptly upon social questions, and have some knowledge of the working men amongst whom God calls them to minister.

The Rev. H. B. BOWLBY, Hon. Canon of Worcester.

It was not my intention, when I entered this room, to offer any observations upon this subject; but coming, as I do, from a large manufacturing town in this neighbourhood—I mean Birmingham—I desire to confirm what has been said by previous speakers with reference to the moral dangers of factory and workshop life. I have seen every one of those dangers in existence, and, therefore, I need not say anything on that point, except that they are found in Birmingham as in other manufacturing districts. But I also wish to bear my testimony from my knowledge of that large town to the truth of what has already been stated and ought to be borne in mind in justice to our factory population, that they are in no degree worse than any other section of the English people. I believe that in some respects they are better, and that they will bear very favourable comparison with rural districts, to which Archdeacon Emery referred, because of the intelligence, culture, and sharpness, which are marked features of the factory class. You find in this class developments in the direction of what is good, as well as unhappy developments in the direction of evil; and herein arises the tremendous and ever-increasing responsibility of employers and of all who have anything to do with this factory population. Several remedies have been suggested, and they are all of them valuable. May I suggest what I have not heard much dwelt upon as yet in this discussion, and think to be very important, in the direction of preventive measures? In the first place, I think that such agencies as the "Girls' Friendly Society" and the "Young Men's Friendly Society" may be looked to for much benefit in the future—for at present they are in their infancy—giving an opportunity to those who care for the welfare of the factory population to do a large amount of good. I have seen an excellent effect produced upon young men and women, and upon older men and women too, by personal influence; and I believe that this personal influence, apart, as has been well said, from patronage, apart from pride, apart from diffidence, which is so often mistaken for pride, is one of the best agencies that could be employed for helping those who are in danger. I believe that, if ladies and others in similar positions will become members of these societies and regard them as opportunities of doing good to their brothers and sisters in factory life, the best results may be fairly expected. I know that these men and women insensibly gather refinement, culture, and religious tone from occasionally mixing with persons who have greater advantages than themselves. I have seen it in the laying aside of little failings, peculiar to the class to which

they belong, in intellectual progress and strength of moral character, and in various little matters of dress and personal adornment. Let me say, too, how the circumstances of this class create a great necessity for amusements; and out of these grow the dangers of the cheap concert hall, immoral scenic representations, and similar questionable diversions. It is our duty to consider the best mode of promoting a more pure system of recreation. Some progress has been made in this respect in Birmingham. On every Saturday evening last winter cheap concerts were given in the Town Hall; and it was exceedingly interesting to see week after week, how the best kind of music, without a semblance of anything low or degrading—even such music as might have been supposed to be too refined and classical for any but the most cultivated taste—was thoroughly appreciated and heartily enjoyed by dense crowds of the working class. I believe that an extension of that system would do great good. So with regard to art a great deal may be done. But without pursuing this branch of the subject further, I should like to call attention to the great interest which working people in Birmingham take in early Sunday morning classes. When I first went to live in that town, I was astonished to see the great number of working men and women who attended these classes. They have been set on foot and carried on chiefly by the Society of Friends, but they are also conducted by some clergymen in their own schools. Reading and writing are taught, and the Bible is read and explained. The classes are opened and closed with prayer and singing. The members of the classes meet every morning at eight o'clock and invariably disperse at ten o'clock. By observing this time of closing, the promoters avoid anything like Sectarianism, and the men and women are free to go to their various places of worship, after the school is over. From this, and similar methods of providing instruction and wholesome recreation, I think we shall find considerable good to arise. In conclusion, I will just make this remark. It was stated in the Congress Hall this morning, that some of the philosophy of the present day desires to teach us that man was simply the product of his environments, and that we are by a sort of philosophical necessity the creatures of the circumstances by which we are surrounded. Now we must bear in mind that there is a certain amount of truth in that statement. And the use we may make of it is this: while we deny the absolute fatalism, in which it lands us, the factory and workshop people, in whom we are taking an interest to-night, are our brothers and sisters in flesh and blood. They are in all material respects like ourselves, and like other people. So far as they are unlike, they have become what they are, chiefly by reason of their environments.

CONGRESS HALL, FRIDAY MORNING,

OCTOBER 1ST.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

**THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS,—HOW MAY IT
BE STRENGTHENED AND MANIFESTED?**

PAPERS.

The Rev. PROFESSOR WESTCOTT, D.D.

IN the endeavour to commend the thought of the Communion of Saints to devout reflection, I wish to say a few words upon the idea itself, upon the realisation of it, and upon the charge which our belief in the fact lays upon ourselves.

I.—The idea of a Communion of Saints includes two main thoughts—the thought of a life wider than the life of sense ; and the thought of a life under conditions different from those of earth. The Communion is a Communion of Saints as Saints, and not as men under the present conditions of humanity. It is independent of limitations of time and space, both in its range and in its fulfilment. Each thought is of the highest practical importance.

1. Of the many great conceptions which are characteristic of our generation—voices of God, as I believe, calling us to unregarded truths in His Word—no one is more characteristic than that of the dependence of man on man, as well as on nature. We are learning, by the help of many teachers, the extent and the authority of the dominion which the dead exercise over us, and which we ourselves are shaping for our descendants. We feel, as perhaps it was impossible to feel before, how at every moment influences from the past enter our souls, and how we in turn scatter abroad that which will be fruitful in the distant future. It is becoming clear to us, that we are literally parts of others, and they of us.

Dependence is, indeed, an inexorable law of natural life. Our faith has anticipated the conclusion and hallowed it. Men must be dependent on one another. For saints this dependence is transfigured into fellowship. The believer recognises that the power which acts upon him from without is the expression of a spiritual life. He sees that the image of Christ's Body gives the truest possible view of the relation in which all who are "in Him" stand to one another. The one life, the one Spirit, by which they are united to their Head, united eternally, unites them in time to one another. In that divine vision life appears in the fullest proportions we can yet apprehend. We turn from the living to the dead, and

as we contemplate the splendour of the heritage which they have bequeathed to us, we confess with no unworthy self-disparagement that without them we are incomplete. We turn from the dead to the living, and, as we trace the lineaments of a divine likeness in those about us, we give thanks without presumption that there are saints now.

2. Again, this vast life which reaches through all time is in its nature beyond time. We are constrained, in our attempts to give distinctness to it, to use the language of earth, but in itself the spiritual life, of which the Communion of Saints is the foretaste, belongs to another order. And, however hard it may be to pierce the veil of phenomena, that is what our faith claims of us to aim at. Our efforts, in other words, must be directed not to materialising heaven, but to discerning the divine, the eternal, in earth. As it is, we too often communicate our own deadness to the creation, which is waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God; and rest, when we are bidden to enter the unseen. Yet we do not doubt in theory that we are immortal beings moving among the works of God, accomplishing His purposes, ministering to His glory; and if the life which angels contemplate with eager desire is poor to us, it is only because we allow our eyes to be satisfied with the surface.

The teaching of Scripture guards us against this perilous blindness. The words of the Lord and of His Apostles assure us that eternal life is here. Our blessings and our struggles lie now "in a heavenly realm" (*ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*); "Our life hath been hid in God." "We have come to a heavenly Jerusalem, to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born." The Communion of Saints in the largest sense, the communion of angels and men, of men already perfected, and of men struggling towards the crown which is prepared for them, is a present reality. There is one divine kingdom, and there are many worlds. There is one life, which finds expression in many forms; but that life is greater, deeper than all.

II.—How, then, can we realise it? The answer will naturally take account of the two sides of man's life. Each believer has his individual character, which must be hallowed as though he were alone; and he brings this to the service of the whole body of which he is a part. The Communion of Saints must, therefore, be realised socially and personally—socially, to speak briefly, by commemoration; personally, by meditation.

1. But here, as elsewhere, the social life is the true starting point of the personal life. We turn then first to public commemoration as furnishing the occasion through which individual fellowship with the spiritual world is quickened and guided. And in this respect no one can fail to have felt how imperfectly our Kalendar reflects the divine history of the Church. We must ask, when we look upon it, whether we do indeed believe in the continuous manifestation of the Spirit, and claim descent from an ancestry of saints. The Apostolic age stands there without preparation and without sequel. The old dispensation finds no representative from among the heroes of faith,—lawgiver, or prince, or prophet, Enoch or Elijah, Moses or David, Samuel or Isaiah. The new dispensation

finds no representative from among those, who in Christ's name and by Christ's power brought modern life and thought into His service. A few names, a few events, indeed, which witness to an effort after a larger sympathy, still keep a place in it; but even these cease with Hugh of Lincoln and Richard of Chichester, before our Church entered on its characteristic work in the old world or in the new.

As a necessary consequence of this narrow range of the commemoration of saints among us, our type of saintship has been dwarfed and impoverished; it has been removed far from the stir and conflicts of ordinary action. The kingly type and the prophetic type, the type of the artist and of the poet and of the scholar, have been put aside. We do not turn to those by whom these characters have been fulfilled in Christ's strength as the peers of martyrs and apostles. We do not seek in their examples the pledge of the consecration of gifts similar, however small, among ourselves.

And yet we cannot afford to dispense with the widest teaching of consecrated lives. We daily lose much by not placing these in their right position in the open teaching of the Church.

It is true, indeed, that every type of essential human excellence co-exists in Christ, the Son of Man; but we, "who are but parts, can see but part—now this, now that." We have no power to apprehend directly elements which are combined with others in an absolute ideal. It is only through Christ's servants—each realising, according to his nature, his endowments, his age, his country, some feature in the Christly life—that we come to have a real sense of the fulness of His humanity. The many typical characters who foreshadowed Him find their counterpart in the many saints who offer for our welcome and our study the riches of His manhood. Nor do they in the least degree trench upon His inviolable honour. Their saintliness is wholly from Him. They are what they are, so far as we call them to mind and seek their fellowship, by His presence,—He in them and they in Him. They have made His power visible; and for this we are bound to commemorate them, and their Lord through them.

The neglect or the indifference of centuries, no less than the discordances which are found in every life, involves such commemoration in great difficulties. Yet our faith encourages us to face them; and in many cases the solution will come through obvious channels. There are few parishes which do not include in their annals some names fitted to recall memories of Christ's manifold victories through believers. A dedication festival may not unfrequently lay open a fruitful page of Christian work. Our Cathedrals, again, are monuments of sacrifice and service which constrain us to recall Christ's working through those benefactions we inherit. Most of us, I fancy, have been deeply stirred by the commemoration services of College and University. We have wondered, perhaps, that the use is not universal. At Peterborough, in old time, to take one instance, almost every abbot had his memorial day, and four times in the year, in the Ember weeks, all were commemorated together. There is surely here something for us to embody under new forms of thought.

I should be the last to forget or to disparage the services of unknown benefactors. These have in a large degree made life for us what it is. These have their own commemoration when we recall the progress of the ages. But there are others who stand out as leaders, as representatives. Gifts, labours, thoughts of distinguishable ancestors go to swell our spiritual patrimony. It may have been by some conspicuous work which was nobly spread over a lifetime : it may have been by some sweet trait which was just seen in a crisis of trial : but here and there they have helped us ; and, if we are to enjoy the fulness of their service, we must solemnly recall it. In doing this we arrogate to ourselves no authority of final judgment by grateful celebration. We recognise a blessing ; and, so far, we acknowledge God's love in him by whose ministry it was shown to us. Nor would it, I think, be difficult to make a list of names from our own Church which all would accept as worthy of memory, names of rulers and scholars, of men who taught by their words and by their lives, who spread the faith and deepened our knowledge of it.

Such commemoration of men, such peopling with familiar forms of the vacancies of All Saints' Day, such filling up the noble but blank outlines of the Te Deum, would help us to understand better, as a society, the vastness of the Christian life ; but we require also the commemoration of ideas (if I may so speak), in order that we may bear in mind the new conditions of the spiritual life, which, as we have seen, are suggested by the belief in the Communion of Saints. And here one festival still survives by name in our Kalendar, which completely expresses part of what I mean, the Festival of the Transfiguration. The Transfiguration is the revelation of the potential spirituality of the earthly life in the highest outward form ; in that the present and the past are seen in a fellowship of glory, and the future in its great features lies open for consideration. Such an event, distinct in its teaching from the Resurrection, and yet closely akin to it, calls for more religious recognition than it receives. It is able, if we enter into its meaning, to bring vividly before us the reality of a communion of the living and the dead. Here, as elsewhere, the Lord, as the Son of Man, gives the measure of the capacity of humanity, and shows that to which He leads those who are united with Him.

The Festival of the Transfiguration furnishes an opportunity for bringing out the idea of the widest fellowship of men. The Festival of St. Michael and All Angels' furnishes an opportunity for bringing out the complementary idea of the interpenetration of human life by life of another order. And if it be true (and who has not felt it ?) that "the world"—the world of sense—"is too much with us," then a remedy is here offered for our use. The reserve and the revelations of Scripture are equally eloquent. I will notice one point only, which seems to be practically overlooked. We commonly limit our notion of angelic service to personal ministration. No doubt Scripture dwells specially on this kind of office ; but it indicates yet more, a ministration of angels in nature, which brings both them and the world closer to men. There is, I venture to think, something in this aspect of our subject worthy of attention

Perhaps one effect of the growing clearness with which we apprehend the laws of physical phenomena is to bring out into prominence the thought of the powers which work according to them. The sense of action by law places the agent very near to us. "I can see," writes one who was himself a distinguished physiologist, "nothing in all nature but the loving acts of spiritual beings." However strange the conception may be, it contains, I believe, truths which we have not yet mastered. And in this respect we commonly embarrass ourselves by mentally presenting all action under the forms of human action. Spirit, it is obvious, may act in other ways; and our festival of the heavenly order remains to help us little by little to apprehend in this larger sense the revelation of the Communion of Saints.

2. So far we have seen how public commemoration can supply examples and thoughts towards realising the Communion of Saints. These are made effective personally by meditation. And, to our great loss, the faculty and the habit of meditation have not as yet been cultivated among us. Our national character, and, at present, the prevailing spirit of realism are alien from it. Yet the praise to God's glory which comes through the devout consideration of His action in men is true work. This is the subject for spiritual meditation; and periods of quiet retirement may be made available for pursuing it.

But, as it is, we are apt to dwell on the littleness of men, or, if not, upon the picturesque aspects of their lives,—to bring them down in some measure to our level, and not to aspire to their highest.

It is, however, through such aspiration alone, quickened by the thoughtful study of that which the Spirit wrought in them, that we can enter into fellowship with their true life. Weakness, faults, errors, accidents of time and place, fall away. We learn to look upon the love, the courage, the faith, the self-sacrifice, the simplicity of truth which they embodied, and so become invigorated by vital contact with the eternal manifested through them. We rise, so far as we can rise under the pressure of earthly limitations, to some perception of the heavenly life, in which all that is personal is gathered up without the loss of personality in one, even "in Christ."

This fellowship of spirit with spirit is closer, and may be more powerful, than the precious fellowship which we can hold with books. That leads to this. The record of a life imaged in word and deed, the energy of a life shown in thoughts grasped and made ready for more, help us to gain an energetic sympathy with those who have laboured and written for the truth.

And there is no limit to this inspiring Communion. It embraces the living and the dead. It acknowledges no saddest necessity of outward separation as reaching to the region in which it is. It does not even seek for the confirmation of any visible pledge. It makes possible that unity of inward love to which final conquest is promised. It rests on that which is the source of action. It imparts to the believer something of the strength of every victory of faith. For by saints we understand all who welcome and appropriate and show forth, in whatever way, the gifts of the Spirit.

We look to the one life, flowing from the One Paraclete, and, by tracing the manifoldness of His action, gain strength for our own task.

In this case, also, special circumstances will serve to determine the peculiar objects of our meditation. Our position, our duties, our temptations, our endowments, will influence our choice. If we are ready to follow, Christ, through the Spirit sent in His name, will guide us to some one in whom we may study the virtue of His presence.

And in this connection I cannot forbear to notice the possible influence of what we speak of, with too little reflection, as Christian names. They are, indeed, and can be treated as, the dedication names of each believer.

Meditation on the saintliness of saintly men must be supplemented by meditation on angels as the representatives of the unseen world, if we are to feel the full extent of the Communion of Saints. We cannot, it is true, presume to press such meditations into detail. It is enough, if we recognise the service, the sympathy of "the host of heaven;" if we consider all that is implied in the most familiar and solemn words by which we claim to share their hymns of divine praise in our highest act of thanksgiving and communion.

III.—Briefly, then, to sum up in another form what has been said, we must, as far as we may be able, both in public service and in private thought, present and dwell upon the greatest facts, the greatest aspect of things, the greatest truths, refusing to rest on the transitory and temporal, if we are to realise, as we can do, the Communion of Saints, the fulness of the manifestation of the spiritual life, and its eternal power.

The familiar example of hymns will show beyond question what a capacity there is in this treatment of our faith, without any suppression of individual convictions, to unite, to elevate, to inspire, by unseen forces, those who are kept apart by intellectual and material obstacles. A hymn-book is a confession of the Communion of Saints.

Nor can we forget that the charge to strive after the fulfilment of this article of our creed is laid specially upon us. It is peculiar to the Western Creed, and it dates from an era of transition. The recollection of the old Empire, the anticipation of a new Empire, stirred the souls of men in the eighth century to proclaim a personal force of undying life in the spiritual society. It was not enough for them to acknowledge their belief in a Holy Catholic Church as a great fact: they felt that it must be a source of power; and that conviction they have handed down to us that we may realise it now, when some aspects of the continuity and solidarity of life have been made more evident than in earlier times. Modern science has given us forms which we can animate.

There is, indeed, a danger as well as a use in the contemplation of great ideals. If they lift us for a while above the strife of details, they may unfit us for dealing with the concrete questions which arise in daily work. But this ideal of one spiritual life, seen in its many parts through the ages and everywhere around us, made our

own by the Communion of Saints, seems to me to be most practical in its influence. The one ground of union is the possession of a common life, and not any nicely calculated scheme of compromise. To see the life even from afar, to look towards it, is in some degree to reach a serener atmosphere, to feel the true proportion of things, to gain the earnest of an interpretation of the mysteries by which we are perplexed.

This thought of a life eternal, underlying, so to speak, the fleeting phenomena of sense, not future so much as shrouded, is characteristic of Christianity; it is included in the fact of the Incarnation, and it meets our present distress and disharmony with a message of hope. I say "our present distress;" for do we not all sorrowfully admit that the elements of our being are unreconciled; that there is on all sides a strenuous occupation with the outside of things which tends to destroy real reverence; that even the highest religious faculties are engaged or distracted by external details? To such discordance and unrest and triviality the sense of a present fellowship in an existence infinite in its variety, one in its essence, divine in its spring and issue, brings the appropriate and adequate help.

Man is made to seek for the rest which it provides. Most of those who hear me will remember the magnificent myth in the *Phædrus*, in which Plato seeks to explain the origin of the highest forces in our earthly being. On stated days human souls, he says, follow in the train of the gods, and rising above the world gaze on the eternal and the absolute. It is only by strenuous and painful endeavour that they can gain for a brief space the vision, which is the appointed food of diviner natures. Then they fall to earth, and their bodily life corresponds with the range and clearness of the celestial impressions which they retain. So they recognise about them during their earthly sojourn the images of higher things, and again strive upwards.

For us the revelation of Christ has made this dream a truth. In Him we see perfect sacrifice, perfect truth, perfect wisdom, perfect love; and having seen it we can discern signs of His Presence in them who show His gifts. He gives unity, and they reveal to us His fulness. In our kinship with them we welcome the pledge of a life which is beyond time. Meanwhile, it is a blessing to acknowledge, once and again, a spiritual master. We grow stronger by the devotion of loyal discipleship. We "see the light and whence it flows," the light which is life eternal; and the Communion of Saints, with its manifold supplies of strength, with its boundless wealth of promise, becomes a fact of immediate experience.

The Rev. J. LLEWELYN DAVIES.

THE word saints is apt to lead our thoughts up to the invisible world. We think more easily of saints as peopling the courts of heaven than as singing and struggling here below. And it has been not uncommon to interpret the phrase, the Communion of Saints, as

meaning that we of the Church militant here are united in mystical bonds with the Church triumphant above. But in the form in which the subject has been presented to us for discussion the phrase will no doubt suggest, as it ought to do, the ideal fellowship that may be partially realized amongst saints still clothed with mortal flesh and blood.

“ We took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends.” These touching words, of one who was grieving over a violated friendship, will occur to many as they dwell in thought on the Communion of Saints. Our subject might raise before the mind an image of devout persons holding converse, in the confidence of familiar friendship, on the things of God and of the soul. Who can be called saints, except those who withdraw from earthly interests and turmoil that they may give themselves to holy meditations and religious employments? And when such persons meet, on what subjects will they commune together, except those on which the minds and hopes of saints will naturally be set? Communion, however, does not stand for communing, nor are we to understand by saints those only whom we should characterise as saintly persons. The New Testament word “ saints ” is equivalent to Christians, and by communion is meant the common interest, the sharing of possessions or hopes, the unity as of brethren and fellow-citizens, to which all Christians are called. How the partnership of Christians may be made more manifest and practical is the question before us.

In the Apostles' Creed, the Communion of Saints follows the Holy Catholic Church, and the Holy Catholic Church follows the Holy Ghost. There is more in this sequence than casual juxtaposition. Turning back to our origins, we find these three articles livingly illustrated. What we believe is that which has shown itself in historical reality. On the Day of Pentecost the Holy Ghost came down and breathed the Holy Catholic Church into existence. No sooner was this body born into its new life than the members of it, the saints, began to manifest their fellowship. The communion or partnership of the saints took the outward form thus described : “ All that believed were together, and had all things common ; ” “ the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul ; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own ; but they had all things common.” That was the primitive communion of the saints, manifested in a form which could not be permanent, but which was intended to stand on record for ever as a speaking symbol of the true consciousness of the Church. The power of the common calling, the common relation to the One Lord, induced a crowd of persons who had previously been strangers to each other to begin at once, in the simplest and most practical manner, the life of a family.

The point that I would urge is this, that we shall be doing what is most Scriptural and Catholic if we look away from the features in which we are like and the features in which we are unlike, from our agreements and our differences, to those principles in the nature and action of God which bind us as saints or Christians together. We have not to create a unity out of the most concordant elements we can bring together ; we have not to form a brotherhood of those who

are in complete sympathy with each other. We can leave it to the One Lord, the One Father, the One Spirit, to draw us their worshippers into such fellowship with each other as they please. If we are true to our calling and to Him who has called us, our loyalty to God will constrain us to regard our brothers with reverence and with natural family affection. It has been said, indeed, that we shall have more heart to give to our fellow-men whom we can see, if we do not waste our worship on a God whom we cannot see; but every Christian knows what an utter misconception this is. In order to love fellow-men who do not attract or please us, in order to make their interests ours, we need that self-surrendering love of Christ and of God, that love mixed with awe and sustained by a sense of duty, which embraces every man made in the image of God and claimed by Christ as a brother.

The partnership which depends on our common relation to the One Lord, the One Father, and the One Spirit is itself indiscriminating. If it compelled us, in our personal life, to put no difference between one brother and another in respect of friendship and confidential converse, we should instinctively rebel against it or neglect it as unreal. But it imposes no such duty upon us. The Divine Lover of Mankind allowed Himself to form companionships of different degrees with those whom He came to draw to Himself and to His Father. There were twelve of whom He said, "I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you." Of those twelve we find three—Peter and James and John—chosen for special companionship; and of these three one is distinguished as the disciple whom Jesus loved. Outside of this company also the Lord had His preferences. "Jesus loved Martha and her sister and Lazarus." Similar discriminations are permitted to us, His followers; nay, life itself, with Divine authority, compels us to cherish fellowships of varying degrees and kinds. All the infinite and beautiful variety of character and circumstances is not to be wasted upon us. The exquisite enjoyments of a converse in which the deepest hopes and solitudes may be interchanged are to be honoured as amongst God's most precious gifts. The healing of wounds, the ministration of courage, the confirming of convictions, which come of the sweet counsel-taking of familiar friends, are seals which God Himself sets upon human friendship. The special intimacies to which we are invited by feeling, by agreement, and by circumstances, lie within the great bond of the communion of the saints in Christ. "*Omnes omnium caritates ecclesia una complexa est.*" And, whilst they are not inconsistent with that bond, they are not unaffected by it. Intimate friendship, like conjugal affection, will have the more of strength and permanence and grace for being nourished at its roots by awe and reverence, instead of being entirely dependent upon mutual liking and the help the one friend may get from the other. The association of those who share the same ways of thinking and the same tastes in religion, so natural and yet so apt to be infected by the vices of a heated sectarianism, will be purified by the reverent habit of finding the deepest bond of union not in the agreement of opinions, but in the common redemption and common hopes of Christians. To

approve the same things and to condemn the same things has the great advantage of making fellow-work practicable, and so of promoting the sympathies which fellow-work generates, and there is no blame to us if we let such agreement bring us together and set us working for the same objects; but it will make an important difference to us to remember that God creates and fosters a mystical unity between saints who are not—as well as between saints who are—of the same school or party.

But is there not a duty of separating ourselves from those of whom we do not think well? God, it seems, makes us all one, and charges us, as we honour Him, to keep that unity; and yet we are warned by high authority to have as little as possible to do with a large number of our fellow-Christians. We are to give up the companionship of those who are likely to do us spiritual harm; we are not to keep company—no, not to eat,—with a brother whose moral conduct causes scandal: if any one brings not a certain doctrine, we are not to receive him into our house nor bid him God speed. Under the sense of this duty solemn protests have been made, I believe, against the confusion said to be wrought by these congresses, which bring together on the same platform of Christianity and Churchmanship clergymen who differ seriously on points of doctrine and ritual. What will the people think, it is asked, when they see an Evangelical clergyman owning a Ritualist as his brother in the Communion of Saints? Must they not suspect his pastoral warnings of having been insincere and formal? That there is such a duty we must all reluctantly admit. To put it wisely in practice is the work of Christian prudence and tact. If our subject of this morning could have been divided into parts, it might have been allotted to one speaker to dwell on the application of the Christian duty of separation to modern needs and circumstances. For we may be talking about communion idly and to no purpose, if all that we say is liable to be stultified by an opposite principle of separation, which asks—“What communion hath light with darkness?” What I would urge, if I had time, would be to the following effect—that prudential considerations can have no force against the law of union and communion; that the directions which prudence may give are variable, having relation to times, places, and persons; and that it is of capital importance to connect the use of the expedient of separation with the sovereign law of communion. The separation, let it be noted, may be seen to be actually in the interest of the true communion, and therefore may be regarded as prescribed and sustained by it rather than as conflicting with it; and those who feel bound, for the sake of the higher life of the body, to dissociate themselves from a brother, ought to remind themselves, whilst they do so, that he is a brother with whom God bids them be at one. A Christian ought to hesitate before even seeming to say, “I am holier than thou.” If he is honestly persuaded that what he owes to the spiritual fellowship of all men obliges him to refrain from some outward acquiescence which might injure that fellowship, let him act as he thinks right; but let him feel that then, more than at other times, he needs to cherish humility and considerateness and goodwill.

If it be admitted, as I think it will be, that by saints we are to

understand not saintly persons, but all who share the sanctity of the Christian calling, it is clear that we are under these obligations of fellowship towards all members of our own Church. So far, at least, we must go, in the recognition of Christian brotherhood. But must we stop there? Can we regard none but those who belong to the English Church as bound to us in the communion of the saints? We should none of us consent to our unity being thus circumscribed. Probably there are few of us who would not feel more at one, spiritually, with some persons outside the Church of England than with many members of it. Where then are we to draw the line? What is to be the enclosure within which Christian partnership is a duty? If we determine that to all rightly baptized persons, and to them only, the rights of fellowship are to be conceded, it is certain that this, also, will prove itself to be a merely formal rule, by which our Christian sense of duty and our Christian sympathies will refuse to be bound. If we ask, "Who is my neighbour?"—the answer, "Every baptized person—no one who has not been baptized," will not satisfy us. Nothing will satisfy us but to push all barriers aside, to throw down every wall of partition, and to say without reserve—"Every fellow-man, whatever his religion, whatever his character, shall be my brother in Christ." Yes, in Christ. We do no dishonour to the one Head and the one Body by such comprehensiveness. On the contrary, we rob Christ and the Father of their due honour, if we resolve to treat every man as a brother on the ground of our common humanity, but with the proviso that there shall be no Divine relationship to sanctify the fraternal bond. To keep Christ for an ecclesiastical community is to lower His place as the universal Lord and Saviour. It is true that the communion of the saints cannot mean, by definition, the brotherhood of all men; but it may involve it. The facts on which the partnership of fellow-Christians rests are too large to permit any separation of interests between man and man. It is the glory of Christ to be the veiled Lord of those who do not acknowledge Him, the Redeemer whom they are feeling after. It should be the pride of the Christian and of the Churchman to see in the Christ whom he adores a Head who constrains him to be the brother of the unbaptized and of the reprobate. Any arrogant exclusiveness, any refusal of human or social rights to non-Christians, any public injustice towards non-Christian races, ought to be felt by Christians as an outrage done to Christ, an insult offered to the Father in heaven. It is sometimes assumed that to gain breadth you must give up depth; that you cannot have both extension and intensity; that there will be no warmth of devotion and attachment but where there is narrowness. The notion is refuted by many examples, rising up to that of a Paul, to the Example which Paul followed. To be drawn with power to Christ is to have a fountain of the true enthusiasm of humanity opened in the heart. If the free spirit of fellowship breathes faintly in us, let us suspect our devotion to Christ and our appreciation of His nature. Let it prick us with wholesome shame to see men, who do not believe as we do, more generous, more humane, more ardent for justice and brotherhood, than we are. According to our faith, Christians may look for fire from heaven to burn up the prejudice and bitterness of

faction and to melt the ice of selfishness. To make our Churchmanship an excuse for indulging jealousy and pride, for putting bad constructions upon other people's conduct, for cherishing occasions of strife, is to use our calling for opposite ends to those for which it has been given to us. The truest Churchman is he who is most loyal to Christ, most filial to the Father, most obedient to the motions of the Spirit. In that devotion will be the best safeguard of the brotherly feeling which should bind each member of the Church to his fellow-members and to all men.

The Rev. A. F. KIRKPATRICK, Fellow and Assistant Tutor
of Trinity College, Cambridge.

THE language of Scripture speaks of the Church as the Body of Christ, and the saints of whom it is composed as His members. But constant use has obliterated the force and blunted the sharpness of the metaphor. We employ the term "member" with scanty thought of the manifold lessons it conveys. It is worth while to dwell for a moment upon its significance.

In the physical body, the harmonious concert of all the parts, however small, is necessary for perfect health. In order that the complete organism may exactly fulfil the highest functions of which it is capable, each nerve and vessel, however insignificant, must serve its appointed purpose in the complex machine. But it can only do this in its proper connection and subordination. Separated from the whole, the part is useless. The perfection of the body results from the perfection of its component members. The mischief arising from the failure of some minute organ to do its work may be imperceptible; it may not appreciably impair the usefulness of the body; yet the body suffers insensibly by it, and becomes so much the less a perfect instrument for the purposes of the will which moves it.

Such reflections, rough and hasty as they are, may help us to understand the striking force of the metaphor. Each individual who is made a member of Christ has, we cannot doubt, his peculiar function in relation to the whole body; has a work to do in obedience to the Head, and in harmonious co-operation with the other members, which must remain undone if he fails to fulfil it, and which cannot be done in isolation. The resultant failure may be imperceptible to our dull faculties, but it is seen and marked by God. The body suffers loss from the inaction of one component unit, however infinitesimal, and each unit can only perform its duty in conjunction with the whole.

The truth of the close inter-relation of all the members of the Church of Christ, each working for the welfare of the whole, and all working for the welfare of each, drawing the energy of their life from their common Head, constantly directed by Him, and unceasingly serving His will, was more easily realised in the early days of the Church. Then the society was small; it had the vigour and simplicity of youth; it was refined by the fire of persecution; it was welded together by the blows of external opposition. Yet even then the dividing influences of fallen human nature were at work.

The sundering forces of self-will and independence and self-seeking made themselves felt in the Corinthian Church, and, doubtless, elsewhere. The problem, how the fellowship of the saints, that harmonious co-operation, that mutual helpfulness in thought and word and deed, which is the ideal set before us, is to be strengthened and manifested, is no new one.

Would not the concordant union of all the members of Christ be irresistible, if it could only be attained? Vast results follow from the work of even a small society of men, with aims and efforts closely united for a common end. How much vaster would be the results, if all the members of the Christian Church could work in perfect harmony! Would it not go forth conquering, and to conquer, led by its Almighty Captain, in the great battle against the world, the flesh, and the devil?

We turn from the ideal to the actual, with a painful, baffling sense of isolation in lieu of fellowship, of division in place of union, of weakness instead of strength. The enemy looks on complacently, for his motto is *Divide et impera*: Christ gazes upon the spectacle with sorrow, for He has said, "Unite in My name and conquer," but we will not do it. Perhaps even as we grow older we feel our sympathies contracting instead of widening, our fellowship continually tending to limit itself to an ever-narrowing company.

But now, if ever, there is need for all the members of the Church of Christ to draw together in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace. How else shall the vast mass of moral evil in this country, not to say in the world, be overcome? How else shall we stand firm against the rising wave of unbelief and secularism, or that negation of belief which will lead eventually to a moral paralysis?

In what ways, then, can we endeavour to make a reality of the union which is presented to us as the ideal?

I.—What are the hindrances to this fellowship, and how can we remove them?

1. The tendency of our thought, if not corrected, is constantly to contract in a narrowing circle. We dwell exclusively upon that aspect of truth which has living force for us, upon that fragment of the vast whole of God's ways and works, which He has brought home to our own conscience; we emphasise our own view instead of constantly endeavouring to place it in its due relation to the views of others, and to recognise how each reflects some portion of a sphere, which it is impossible for us to see in its entirety at once. We let the individuality of our character override the community of our Christianity. We mistake the tint, which our prejudice casts upon the truth, for its absolute and essential colour. We see but one ray, and imagine that it is the perfect light.

2. And this habit of thought affects our language. The curse of Babel has come upon the Church as well as upon the world. We adopt a partial phraseology for ourselves, and we use it till we can understand no other, and fancy that it and no other is the absolute expression of that truth, which infinitely transcends our little formulas. Thus we repel one another; thus we cease to cultivate fellowship one with another practically in common counsel and

mutual interchange of that which we have received for the common good.

3. And, because we cannot understand one another's language, we cease to work together. We leave off building in common; nay, one seeks to pull down the stones which another has laid. Distrust and suspicion spring up between us, as though God had no method of work except our peculiar plan; as though the familiar words were not manifoldly true—

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

Thus in thought, word, and work we are divided. If we desire to strengthen and manifest the Communion of Saints, the fellowship which is our privilege as members of the same society, the mutual helpfulness which is our duty as parts of the body of Christ, we must strive to widen the range of our thoughts, to appreciate the meaning of one another's language, to co-operate in work, although not carried on exactly on the lines which we might have planned ourselves.

On all sides we have to watch and guard against that human wilfulness which limits and obscures the truth. We want to recognise more candidly the diversities of gifts, and diversities of ministries, and diversities of operations, which all proceed from the same Spirit, the same Lord, the same God. No doubt our sinfulness mars and discolours and veils the working of the Spirit. But do we not too often concentrate our attention on the human error, instead of striving to pierce through it to the Divine truth which lies beneath, if we would but strip off some accidental accretion which is not of the essence of the thought, or the phrase, or the work?

II.—But negative removal of the hindrances to the Communion of Saints is not by itself sufficient. We must seek for the positive means by which we may be knit together.

1. The true bond of union must come from the inner life. It is the deepening and strengthening of spiritual life in each separate member which will cement all together. The closer we draw to Christ, the closer shall we draw to one another. The more perfectly we discern the Will of God, the more harmonious shall we be in our thoughts and words and actions. The more simply we apprehend the mind of the Spirit, the more capable shall we be of understanding one another. The perfectness of the Communion of Saints will be in direct proportion to the perfectness of their communion with Christ.

We need more light and more love. More light to know the will of God, to see it undistorted by the mists of our prejudice; more love "to bear and forbear" one with another.

2. For something of self is mixed up with all our work, and it is only love which can prevent self clashing with self in an unseemly strife.

It has been said, by a great thinker*, that "an antagonism of influences is the only real security for continued progress." If this

* J. S. Mill, *Representative Government*, p. 42.

is true, if it is the law of our fallen nature that we must advance by antagonism, it is love alone, love for Christ, love given by Christ, which can prevent the antagonism from degenerating into conflict.

Waste seems to be inevitable in the moral and spiritual sphere no less than in the physical world. Imperfect instruments will work upon wrong lines and theories until experience has proved their falseness. But when the work is done in an honest spirit for the sake of Christ it ill becomes us to pronounce a harsh condemnation. Rather we must strive to turn the current of energy into a truer channel for the sake of Christ. And all those who are humbly and honestly working for the same Lord and Master have a common ground whereon to unite. When they learn that it is devotion to the same Master which inspires them all, however different the ways in which they are striving to express that devotion, they surely can recognise that there is an indissoluble bond binding them all together.

3. I venture to plead most earnestly for patient endeavour after more sympathy with us young men on the part of our elders. Most gratefully do I acknowledge much, very much, that we do receive; but there are quarters in which it is most natural to look for it, where we miss it most painfully. Those who have felt the want will know what I mean. In this age of rapid progress, of shifting and intermingling currents of thought, some separation of the young from the old is unavoidable. But when we are conscious of earnest seeking after truth, of eager longing to be loyal to one Master, we feel it hard to be denied the right hand of fellowship and condemned as dangerous innovators because we cannot always accept old formulas or agree with past interpretations of Scripture. We do not pretend that there are no faults of hastiness and impatience on our side; but we do claim that some effort should be made to understand the trial of our position; we plead that the heart of the fathers should be turned to the children, as well as the heart of the children to the fathers.

III.—The manifestation of our fellowship as members of Christ must be exhibited in common work and common worship.

1. The growing readiness to unite in work for God is surely a healthy sign. It is a recognition that the bond which unites all Christians is something far more deep and strong than the differences which separate them. When we stand in the presence of the overwhelming mass of moral evil which surrounds us, when we are brought face to face with blank uncompromising unbelief, when we gaze upon the millions still in the darkness of heathenism, our differences melt into insignificance. In the presence of a common foe, we must unite our forces.

2. The Communion of Saints must be manifested by common worship. Happily we have a liturgy in which we can all join, and find our wants and our aspirations expressed in language which appeals to every cast of mind, and strikes a chord in every heart.

But it is not in services of human devising, however beautiful and however true, that we must most of all seek for fellowship. We must seek it in that central act of Christian worship which our Lord Himself instituted to be for all His disciples the means of

fellowship with Him, and the pledge of fellowship with one another, until the end of time. It is in the Holy Communion that we must chiefly look for the strengthening and manifestation of the Communion of Saints. We draw near together, not inquiring too curiously how each worshipper interprets the rite, but confident that all who draw near in the full assurance of faith cannot fail to find the presence of their Lord there, and, realising afresh their union with Him, realise their communion with one another. We go back to our work with faith and hope and love quickened in our hearts; with a livelier faith to believe that, in spite of all our failures and dissensions, our Master is carrying forward the work He came to achieve; with a brighter hope, to wait for the time when His prayer, "that they all may be one," shall be visibly fulfilled; with a more fervent love, to endeavour, so far as in us lies, to prove the reality of the bond which binds together all those who confess that Jesus Christ is Lord.

ADDRESSES.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP of BEDFORD.

I SUPPOSE the "Communion of Saints" may be defined as being that secret and invisible, yet true and living, bond of union whereby God's servants, whether living or dead, are united both to Him, and to one another, in Christ. Thus our subject belongs altogether to the domain of the spiritual. It is one of the things of the Spirit, which are spiritually discerned, and the very existence of which is realised only by faith. In an outer and visible bond of union we profess our belief when we say, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." When we say, "I believe in the Communion of Saints," we profess our belief in an inner and invisible bond of union. That the essence of this bond of spiritual union is the communication of the Divine life through the indwelling of the Spirit of God must be the leading thought to guide us in our meditation. We are contemplating all those to whom that Divine life has been imparted, and in whom it still abides through the power of the Holy Spirit.

It is plain that in contemplating these we are at once constrained to divide them into two companies. There are the Saints on earth, and there are the Saints at rest. Nay, we may enlarge our boundaries still farther; for in a wider and higher sense, as the Apostle shows in Hebrews xii., Christians are united in a holy union, not alone with the "Church of the firstborn which are written in heaven," and "the spirits of just men made perfect;" but also with the "innumerable company of Angels," and, higher yet, with "Jesus, the Mediator of the New Covenant," and with "God the Judge of all." But for our purpose to-day we may confine our thoughts to the bond of union which links together all God's holy ones, whether on earth or in Paradise.

How is this bond of union strengthened and manifested? It is strengthened by all which strengthens our union with God, because the bond of union with one another flows from and depends upon the bond of union with Him. All acts of faith and love and prayer and praise bring the soul into closer union with God. They open up, as it were, channels by which the Life of God passes into the soul. And that inner life being strengthened, the union with that Life as it lives and operates in others is strengthened also. But I imagine that the question asked in the title of our subject was meant rather to refer to the *conscious* strengthening of the bond of union with God's people.

And first, then, as to the Saints at rest. It is surely well to remember them. Our Church in her observance of Saints'-days, would at least lead us to recognise and dwell upon the holy ones who shine out most brightly in the "cloud of witnesses." But our thoughts of Apostles and Martyrs and Confessors must always, however full of reverent admiration, lack something of personal affection. If there were none but such in the world unseen, it would seem farther off than it does. No, thank God, we have *our own* there. As life goes on, the "store" grows. Oh! do not let us try to forget, as some do. If we *can* speak of them simply and naturally, surely it is better, wholesomer, than that chill silence wherein many will bury their dead over again. Let us think and speak of them as still living unto God, still one with ourselves. It will strengthen faith, and help us in the realisation of the unseen. And shall we speak of them to God? I suppose we should be able to speak of all things to God. At least we are taught by our Church to bless God's holy Name for all His servants departed this life in His faith and fear, and to pray that we may follow their good example, and, with them, be partakers of His heavenly kingdom. For myself this has sufficed; though I would not condemn those who, following the example of the Early Church, ask for their dear ones departed rest and peace and a happy resurrection. Only I have nothing in Holy Scripture to guide me; for I cannot bring myself to elevate the Apostle's pious wish for Onesiphorus (even if he *was* dead, as seems probable) into an argument for prayers for the dead. But there is for most of us some sweet and beautiful memory, drawing us upward from all our earthliness and selfishness, to love, and purity, and light, and holiness. We will cherish that memory, and, as we link with it the thought of the prayers and intercessions which are surely offered by those who, "free among the dead," are now "present with the Lord," the memory and the thought shall strengthen in us the Communion of Saints.

We must turn now to the earthly side of our picture. It is indeed a blessed and beautiful Creed which tells us how closely we are bound to all God's true children here on earth. And the more we mourn over, and pray over, our "unhappy divisions"—the more all these sad walls of separation that man's carnal will has built up to mar the unity of our Zion make us sad and afraid—the more we cling to the thought of that inner unity which, however hindered and weakened by outward disunion, nevertheless pushes through the walls of separation and claims in its loving embrace many who stand aloof from each other in the flesh. Yet our first thought is surely to be given, and is well and truly given, to those who are one with us in the holy bonds of our own beloved Church. It is here that the Communion of Saints is most fully realised. As we kneel together in the same holy worship, as we say together the same dear old prayers; above all, as we share together the most blessed Sacrament of Love, and feel ourselves indeed "one bread and one body," we evermore deepen and strengthen the bond which links us together in the Communion of Saints. God forgive us that even those thus kneeling at the same altar should mar their love and unity by bitterness and party spirit! We must be fully persuaded in our own minds, and I, for one, would never plead for the rounding off of the square corners of truth lest anybody should be hurt by them; but that is no reason why truth should be defaced by the uncomely accretions of uncharitableness and exaggeration. There is such a thing as "speaking the truth in love;" and, depend upon it, no other way of speaking it is half so forcible. But whether it be with those of our own communion, or whether it be with those separated from us in doctrine, discipline, or worship, still it is surely by valuing most, and contemplating most, the points on which we agree, which are sure to be the most important ones, that we shall best strengthen our sense of the bond of secret and spiritual unity by which we are held fast to Christ and to one another. I think it sometimes helps one to realise this blessed truth of the Communion of Saints to remember that there are many ducts and channels

of Divine life and grace, and that in the great Vine there may be branches in which the bark may be wounded or torn off, but in which the inner pores of faith, or love, or devotion, may still be healthy and open, so that the life of the branch, though marred by the broken unity of the bark, may still be capable of bringing forth much fruit to the glory of God.

I have left too little time to speak of the help in deepening and manifesting the Communion of Saints which is to be found in all intercommunion of work and sympathy. Let us thankfully hail all opportunities of working for the good of others with those with whom in some things we are compelled to differ, so long as we do not compromise our principles or forget for one moment the sacredness of truth. We shall learn to know each other better; and the better we know each other the more we shall love and respect each other. And let us thankfully show our sympathy with such in all times of sorrow and suffering. I am myself disposed to think that there is more of such sympathy shown between those honestly differing in many things than is sometimes thought. I see many signs of a free and loving interchange of friendly offices between those of varying views, and I thank God for it. This is, at least, one main way of strengthening and manifesting the Communion of Saints. And there is one way more I must speak of. We can pray for one another. Nothing draws us together so surely as mutual intercession.

Well, there are dangers before us. There is a coarse exultant infidelity rearing its head here and there. There are more subtle, and therefore more dangerous, forms of unbelief winding themselves into all grades of society. There is the solid mass of impenetrable indifference, which is hardest of all to deal with. And we, who believe in a God of love and unity—we, who believe that God's dear Son came and lived and died that He might gather together in one all things both in Heaven and in earth—we often do not even long and pray to be one. Yet Jesus prayed that we might be one, as He and the Father are one. Oh! may the Holy Spirit draw us nearer together in love and unity. May He "take away all hatred and prejudice and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord;" and may we so live and so love that the world may know that our religion is true, and that the day may once more come when men shall say, "See how these Christians love one another!"

The Rev. CANON KING, D.D., Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford.

IN speaking on this great subject it is necessary to say at the outset to which part of it the speaker will confine himself. The mind turns naturally, first, to think of the great communion between the spirit and God,—the great communion, the foundation of all other communions;—but there is also the intercourse between the spirit and the angels, and the intercourse between the spirit and his fellow spirits on earth, and the communion of the saints on earth, and also the communion between the saint on earth with those departed yet living in paradise. It is of this last communion that I propose to speak. Now, if I ask myself what I really think would tend to strengthen this communion between the spirits living and departed, I should say this—a more true realisation of the spiritual organisation of the Church. Have we not, when we have heard or given lectures on the Church, too often spent the first half-hour in showing—quite rightly—that we are not to yield to the unjustifiable claims of modern Romanism; and then spent the last half-hour, or nearly so, in maintaining—and quite rightly—the Divine authority of the Episcopate? I venture to submit that, if we could guide ourselves by the profound maxim of Bishop Butler, that there is a tendency in the human mind, when two things are compared, to account that which is called second of no value at all, we might be able to realise the spiritual organisation of the Church, and yet

to enter into the full enjoyment of the blessings of that spiritual organisation. For two reasons I hope we may increase in this; first, because we have not sufficiently directed our attention to it; and, secondly, because there has been, I believe, a great growth in the individual spiritual life. The blessing promised to the pure is that they shall see God; and, if our own souls were but purer, our eyes would see that we are now in the midst of a spiritual organisation with infinite Divine intricacies close at hand. Next, I would ask, Have we done all we can to keep the Saints' days marked out for us by the Church? Does not the pressure of our time practically prevent us from doing this? And I must go further and say, Do we prepare for the Saints' days in the way that the Church intended? If I were to ask this assembly, Did they keep the last festival?—I feel sure they would be able to say that they did. If I were to ask whether they kept the last *vigil*, some might possibly wonder if they had remembered when the last vigil was. Might we not make greater efforts to keep these fasts of preparation? Then, further, should we not do well to use and study the lives of the Saints of God? The real study of the lives of men such as Bishop Patteson, or Milman, or Keble, is what we need. It is not necessary to go out of England. Keble and Lowder, Sister Dora and Katherine Tait, have left us in different ways and degrees saintly examples. As Christians we need greater exertion and self-sacrifice before we can honorably compare ourselves with our sailors or soldiers and our men of commerce, who readily risk their lives to effect *their* purpose. Again, have we done all we can in order to keep the memory of the departed before us? Just lately, many Churchmen have felt greatly wounded at that which has been done with regard to our burial grounds. Whether we deserve this rebuff, this suffering, I will not say; but we may well ask ourselves, Have we done all we could for the departed? Might not communicants ask for the celebration of the Holy Communion on the day of their friend's funeral? Or if that be difficult, because in the country funerals of the poor are generally in the afternoon, might it not be possible to have always an early communion on Thursday morning when there had been a death during the week? Might not this more perfect exercise of our higher Christian privileges make us less sensitive of our lesser rights, strengthen our communion with the departed, and remove a little of the bitterness of the jealousy with regard to the resting places of those who have gone before us? I would add one more word as to the way in which we may manifest this Communion of the Saints. I think if we can go on and do as some have already done to improve the brightness of our funerals, it will be well;—if our churchyards, in spite of what has recently happened, can with a brave faith be made still more brilliantly Christian. Our care of our funerals and of our churchyards is one way of manifesting our belief. And now I desire to ask a question, Have we not been led by an unconscious utilitarian spirit to make so much of the *young* that we have neglected the *aged*? Do we show the full reverence which we ought to show to the old saintly man? I cannot help thinking that we ought perhaps to show more real reverence than we do, and to regard the old saintly man, not as one who is failing or becoming useless, but rather as grain that has ripened, or as a vessel which has passed over the sea and brought its treasures to the harbour of safety. As to the good effects of a more real belief in the communion of the departed, they would, I believe, be manifold. It would help to keep up the high moral standard which is so necessary for us Christians in this day of comparison between different religions. We know what a powerful help the memory of the departed is to us all. Whether there are many saints or not in the public calendar of our Prayer Book, we all have a domestic calendar, and in time every Christian family has its own. The story of the old Highland shepherd is still true: When he could not get his flock to pass over the risen torrent, he caught a lamb in his arms, and, plunging into the flood, crossed it, and held up the little one

on the other side. The bleating of the lamb soon caught the mother's ears; in a moment she was in the water, and the rest followed her. The Good Shepherd devises the means of taking one with Him, which is not really lost, but gone before. He makes the lost one the means of saving all.

The Rev. PREBENDARY CADMAN.

WE do not meet here for controversy; and therefore I proceed at once to state my own thoughts, as they have been suggested by a consideration of the subject of the Communion of Saints, and how it may be strengthened and manifested. With some remarks that have been made I, of course, shall not be expected to agree; and in some of the observations that I make I shall possibly be repeating what has been already said. But I shall endeavour simply to express the thoughts that have occurred to my mind, without reference to what I agree or disagree with in what has gone before.

Well, then, this subject of the Communion of Saints has ever arranged itself in my mind in three divisions. I have thought, first of the Communion of Saints, in reference to those whom our Church calls God's blessed saints. They have been removed from the toils and trials of this present life, but with them, in the mystical body of His dear Son, He has knit together all His servants who are still upon earth. I would not give up this idea of communion with departed saints for any consideration. It has deepened in my own mind this year more than ever. Many dear friends of my own have departed this life. I saw some of them entering into the Valley of the Shadow of Death, whilst I was standing on one side of it. They are gone, but they are my brethren still; and every Sabbath and every time that I read the Offertory Prayer in our Communion Service I have to add some fresh name to the list of those who are gone before, when I say "We bless Thy holy name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear." I would not lose the precious thought of our being one family still. We are divided by the circumstances of death; but we are still one in Christ Jesus. And may I say that the days of commemoration which our Church suggests always seem to me very precious and profitable? I have said again and again what I now say here, [that I thank God for every such opportunity, and care not to listen to those who talk against Saints' Days, when my idea of a Saint's Day is, realising the communion which I still hold with those who, whether I have known them in the flesh or not, belong to the Saviour to whom I am pledged, and with whom I hope to spend an eternity in heaven.

I do not stay for a moment to do more than protest against the act of successive lovers of pre-eminence in one branch of the visible Church in canonising certain persons and having the presumption to add them to the list of those whom the Lord has accepted. With such presumption I have no sympathy; but it is a very different matter to commemorate those who are commended to us in the Holy Scripture itself. In thinking of them we may lawfully realise something of the blessed Communion of Saints. And there are some points of fellow-feeling that I am as sure of as of my own existence. I believe that those who are gone and those who remain who love the Lord Jesus Christ have common feelings which cause the ascription "Unto Him that loveth us" to be applicable to both. Though we seem to be divided, He loves us still; and unto Him that loves us "and hath washed us from our sins in His own blood, to Him be glory for ever."

And there is another point besides this in which we have a fellow-feeling with those gone before. They are represented as saying "How long, oh, Lord, how long?"—desiring the Saviour's advent. And from saints who

are keeping their watch in the Church on earth the cry is continually going up, "How long?" It seem to me that in this cry the very feeling of God's saints in the presence of Jesus animates the hearts of those who are looking on this side the veil for the coming of Jesus, and that their language before the Throne can be echoed from our hearts whilst yet we are amidst the toil and conflicts of earth. I think, then, that we have some means of realising Communion with God's blessed Saints who are at rest.

There is a second division of our subject in its application to the servants of God on earth. A connecting link between the two seems to be indicated in that verse of the Revelation where, preceding the voice saying "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord," we read "Here is the patience of the Saints;" and the definition of saints is "They that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." The bodies of saints that sleep are spoken of as having been subject to corruption, but the bodies of those that are alive are referred to in those striking words of the Apostle, where he says that when the Lord comes we that are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air. There is a real communion in this sense between those who are gone and those who remain. But I am now only speaking of the living saints on earth who love the Lord Jesus Christ, but who are included in that command "Gather my saints together unto me—those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice." The time is coming when mortality shall cease, and they shall be caught up to meet those whom the Lord brings with Him.

But how can communion with the true servants of God on earth be strengthened? There are many of them scattered abroad, strangers through all parts of the earth, many an Antipas, faithful witness for his Master, though the world may know nothing and the Church may know but little of him. There are the 7,000 here who have not bowed the knee to any Baal, and there are numbers here and there who may be compared to the fruit that springs from the handful of corn of which the Psalmist speaks, and which is being ripened for the final glorious harvest. Amongst these, love to the Saviour is the great means of strengthening their communion. Each has been taught, or is being taught, to feel, "Grace be with all those that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ let him be anathema maranatha."

There is a third point of view from which we may consider our subject, namely, in its application to those who are admitted into the Communion of Christ's visible Church. On this point I take the Epistle to the Corinthians as my guide. We all admit the Church at Corinth to have been a true branch of the Church of Christ. It was one, nevertheless, in which there were great divisions, and in which those divisions assumed a very fearful character; and yet the Church is addressed as those who are "Sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints"—so termed because of their profession as visible members of that true branch of the Church of Christ. Now, visible profession could only have been made by baptism. And, therefore, I say that besides those two which I have already mentioned, those who are Christians by profession and admission to Christ's visible Church must be recognised in a certain sense as saints. But, then, what divisions and abuses there were in the Corinthian Church! Parties, of which we have heard on former days of this Congress: the party of Apollos, the party of Cephas, the party of Peter, and another party saying "I am of Christ." Then abuses! Desecration of the Lord's Supper, contentions, going to war before the whole world, conniving at the conduct of a notoriously immoral man, and unbelief as to the Resurrection itself—all these were evils amongst those who were members of a church that was yet described as "Sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints." Say not that the former days were better than these. All

these things that existed in the Corinthian Church, if they existed in one of our own dioceses to the same extent, would occasion the bishop of that diocese no little anxiety. They did occasion St. Paul no little anxiety, and he spoke about them, not to approve of them, but to remedy them. The remedy was by first acknowledging all the good that he could see amongst them, and by encouraging hope in the future; but chiefly by fixing their thoughts on the Lord Jesus Christ. Let anyone take up the Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the first ten verses he will find that the Apostle mentions ten times the name of our Lord and Saviour. He speaks of Him as the Head of His Church, as the centre of unity, as the source of privilege, as constraining to duty, as the bestower of all grace, and as One, the contemplation of whom could cause them to put aside those things for which they were to be blamed, whether party spirit or anything else, and to seek to be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. And he would bring no greater argument to bear upon them than this, that he exhorted them by the name of that Saviour whom they ought to recognise, and whom they ought to be like, to whose commands they ought to render obedience, whose coming they ought to wait for,—to avoid all those evils which he had pointed out to them and condemned. And it is in this way, I think, that we must strive to maintain and strengthen the Communion of Saints with professing members of the Church. It can only be done through considerations that are connected with the sacred name of Him who has loved us, and is coming to take account of us, and, we hope, to receive us to Himself. Let us all think more of Him, seek to be more like Him, to act in everything so as to please Him. It is in this way that we shall the more nearly approach the point of unity; and by looking unto our Blessed Saviour, and loving and serving Him, be the better prepared for that blessed time when good men shall no longer misunderstand each other.

The Rev. T. YARD, Honorary Canon of
Peterborough Cathedral.

I SHALL be following a suggestion in your Lordship's opening address if I call attention to the latter part of the subject before us; to certain practical considerations in connection with the devotional subject. I must be understood to build the practical suggestions which I offer to you on a very broad basis. What do I understand by the Communion of Saints? I understand their Communion with the Ever-Blessed Trinity; their communion with an innumerable company of the angels, the hosts of heaven, whose services and the services of men God has ordained and constituted in a wonderful order; I understand their communion with the saints of the past and the saints of the present, their communion with the Church in Heaven and the Church on Earth, their communion with those on earth, especially who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, in whom there are common features of spiritual life. That is a very broad basis; and if I were to build in proportion to that basis I must go much further than my time will allow. But, now, I ask your attention while I try to draw certain practical reflections in connection with our communion, first of all, with the whole Church of Christ on earth; and then, more especially with our own Communion on earth. I understand by Communion of the Saints, Communion with the Incarnate Lord—first objectively. There is an objective Communion by union with our Incarnate Lord, in that Body of Christ, the Church, which is the habitation of the Holy Spirit. "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus; all by one spirit baptized into one body." That communion is evidently spiritual. The objective communion is known only to God; not visible to us. But there is also a subjective Communion of the Saints, of which we are conscious. I mean that we are conscious that they are exposed to the

same trials, that they go through the same temptations, that every brother in Christ, every member of His body, passes through more or less the same experiences in the spiritual life. And of that subjective union there are visible bonds.

There is a sacrament of initiation, and there is a sacrament of continued fellowship, there are common prayers, there is a common hope, and, what is best of all, there are natural acts of spiritual and corporal charity. These are the exhibitions of our own personal love; these are the manifestations of the Church's corporate life; these are the things of all others which strengthen and manifest the Communion of the Saints of God. In the exercise and use of these we shall best manifest and strengthen this communion. That is the part to which I ask your attention now in this devotional subject. I understand, with some of those who have gone before me, by saints those who are generally understood as represented in the Epistles of the New Testament—all the baptized, however mixed; and especially those manifesting in their life a spiritual state. There may be some in error, brought on by ignorance or early education, who, being misled, do not stand within the pale of the Catholic Church. We may embrace them in our prayers, we may sympathise with their position, we may long for their union with us. These we may admonish, but not count them as enemies; yet we must lament and censure as dishonourable to God, as a rending of the Body, as a violation of Apostolic order, their separation. There may be those in sin, who virtually separate themselves from God and His Church; whom it may be necessary to cut off; whom we should regard with compassion, and seek to restore. There may be Churches in error, whose errors we may lament and condemn, and with whom we cannot hold full communion.

This brings me to consider how far it is a duty to recover and maintain Intercommunion with the Orthodox Churches. We must be careful how we commit ourselves to fellowship with Churches which are not orthodox, lest we offend the Churches which are so, and expose ourselves to the charge of schism or heresy.

As the Communion of Saints is the fruit of catholic love, at least let us regard with such love the now divided Churches, longing for their re-union, and not allowing ignorance nor prejudice to hinder this. We should have more information as to the condition of some of these Churches; especially the Eastern, which are further off from us than the Western Churches.

When I suggest this Intercommunion, I recollect that in the wide extent of the Universal Church of Christ there cannot be the same extent of fellowship as existed in the Primitive Church, when the distinction between the world and the Church was more marked and definite, and when the common suffering drew together the few bands of the faithful and bound them by a common sympathy with the saints of God. Then, again, there are difficulties in our way from national customs; but they need not be a hindrance to our intercommunion. It is the opinion of a learned and living doctor that "the suspension of intercommunion does not alone destroy unity." That is, in the sight of God and in our own sight, we may calculate that we are one, even though it happens that our present intercommunion is suspended. But he goes on to say, what we shall do well to remember, that intercommunion is the proper outcome and the proper expression of the subjective union of Christians:—that is, that we must never be satisfied as Christian members of the Church of Christ, until we do our utmost to express the longing for and the effort for intercommunion with the Church of Christ.

In these efforts there are certain principles, rules, and cautions to be observed. Dr. Stillingfleet says, "The foundations of the Church's being are the grounds of its Communion: the bonds and terms or conditions of union should not extend beyond those foundations—the things necessary to salvation." He elsewhere says, "Whatsoever Church imposeth the

belief of other things as necessary to salvation which were not so antecedently necessary to the being of the Catholic Church, doth, as much as in it lies, break the unity of the Church."

We may not be too exacting in the conditions of communion which we require. For myself, I could wish for a return to the simplicity of primitive belief and communion, but I cannot overlook the apparent design of the Founder of the Church that it should "grow to a perfect man, to the stature of the fulness of Christ;" and that the oppositions of men necessitated the enlargement of forms of belief and further conditions of Communion.

Then, there are certain rules to be observed in seeking Intercommunion with the Churches—

1. We must not claim what would invade the rights of other Churches, because such action would violate decisions of Catholic Councils; we may not undertake in other provinces sacred offices, except at least by tacit agreement with the bishops of those provinces.

2. We must not compromise ourselves in the essentials of doctrine or practice.

3. We may not hinder the prospects of future unity and communion with one part of the Church by pursuing intercommunion with others, so as to create a spirit of jealousy, *e.g.* between the East and West.

There is, perhaps, a greater difficulty in the way of our communion with the western Church. As long as the claim to universal monarchy on the part of the Church of Rome continues, the Churches of the east and west will remain as they are. As long as Rome imposes new articles of belief and makes them conditions of Communion, she not only hinders, but violates unity. But let us not despair of restored communion in this instance. Unity is in a sense a miracle. But "with God all things are possible." Perhaps we may recognise in the universal longing for unity and re-union earnestness of these. Let us break through the idea and feeling of any isolated position of the Church of England, as insular and national; it is no longer insular, it is more than national. We may be loyal to it as the representation to us of the Catholic Church, and yet at least long and labour for communion with the Church Catholic. Let our prayers be for all the Churches, for all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Churches—[Here the time was up, and Canon Yard was obliged to stop before entering upon the consideration of the Communion of Saints amongst ourselves.]

The Rev. H. W. WEBB-PEPLOE, Vicar of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, London.

It has been truly said of that great branch of the Church of Christ to which it is my privilege to belong, that one party in it regards too much the objectivity, another the subjectivity, and a third what is called the relativity of Christianity. This is too true; but we may thank God that, in speaking together on the Communion of Saints, we find ourselves at last on this common basis that all these separate views of Christianity must have their due proportion in every man's heart and life who would claim for himself the privilege of joining in the Communion of Saints. For, in speaking on this subject, ought we not to remember first the great objective gift which we possess, irrespective of all subjective enjoyment—viz., the gift of God's beloved Son; but, then, is there not also a subjective enjoyment which enables a man to know that he has been accepted in the Beloved; while it is equally important that we recall the constant duty of saints to give to all their due relation and place which God would have them occupy, and that thus we aim at that perfect unity which shall hereafter exist, and which nothing will ever be enabled to destroy, when once the great enemy of mankind has been bound, and the Church has

been gathered in safety to glory. This, at least, it is our privilege to apprehend, by God's truth, and, so far as is possible, to enjoy even now by faith. For, by the communion of saints, we understand something far deeper, something far more widely-embracing, than mere "community of interest," or "community of property." There is, thank God, a community of interest! For all saints can speak of possessing Christ Jesus. Does He not give to them that are in Him such a wondrous community of interest as enables all of them to say, in the words of the Apostle Paul to the Ephesians, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ?" But there is something far wider than this in the Communion of Saints, for it involves the doctrine of the unity of Christ's body, which is the Church; the great truth that all true believers are one in Him, both in the presence of the Father, "accepted in the Beloved," and blessed with an everlasting interest in Him, who is the Way, the Truth, the Life, the All.

But, beyond all this, if we would do justice to our subject, we must include the thought of an interchange or intercommunication from one to another. This it is that St. Paul has described to Philemon, in the 6th verse, as "The communication (the same word as communion) of thy faith." But it may only be with the idea of *giving*, that we satisfy ourselves upon this matter of "communion." There is a personal interest in, and a personal acceptance of, some wondrous blessing that is to be *communicated*, so that, just as a member of the body gives forth the life-blood, which it receives, to the other members connected with it, so those who receive from God, by the Spirit, His wondrous gifts to men in Christ are ever to be passing on to the other members of the body that fulness of blessing which all alike have a right to enjoy. And, if the communion of saints involves the idea of communicating as well as receiving, then, we see at once how infinitely broader is the basis of the truth that we are called upon to consider now, than that selfish idea of Christianity, with which too many are contented, that men are saints if they accept the gift of God, and that they may selfishly hug themselves with the thought of their enjoyments and blessings, both here and hereafter, "communion" being in their minds simply enjoyment—a personal partaking rather than participation. Infinitely broader is it, again, than that view which bids us believe that communion consists in the external act, or that it is to be found in the mere representation; something placed before the eye and the ear—an *opus operatum*, which men term, "The Communion." Far beyond all this, we believe that, in the Communion of Saints, is involved an intercommunication of Christ Jesus Himself, as the grand universal possession of the Church; the interchange of the whole realm of Gospel truth; the mutual intercourse with that Person, who is all-possessing, all-entrancing, all-prevailing, all-enabling. It is the communication of Christ from one to another; that glorious Christ whom God has bestowed upon all, and from whom we enrich ourselves as we communicate Him to others; while they, too, enrich us as we seek to communicate with them; so that, wheresoever we enjoy the Communion of Saints, it is the life of Christ passing from one to another, and each being enriched by the act of participation. All the members of the body are thus equally interested in the truth, that we are to be joint partakers of the one life that is given us in Christ Jesus the Lord. But, if this be the doctrine involved in the subject before us, it becomes essential, I fear, to the development of true Christian life, to enforce a fact which is patent, but which is too little remembered, namely, that, for the Communion of Saints, there must be saints; that, to enjoy their privileges, saints must live the saint-life.

Now, in order that men should be saints, as God has described them, there must not only be that personal acceptance of Christ, which enables men to look up to Him as their Saviour before God, nor only that enjo

ment of Christ's salvation on earth, which enables them to rejoice that they are delivered from wrath; but there must be the fulfilment in each man's soul of those words of St. Paul, "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity;" or as St. Peter, when he says, "God hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, whom having not seen ye love, in whom, though now ye see Him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory." For when men have become saints by the acceptance of Christ, by the enjoyment of Christ, by the life of Christ lived out in the soul, then, and then only, will they carry out, without any coercion of mind, soul, or spirit, the true ideal of Christianity, and, as a very necessity of their being, begin to pour forth upon others that glorious possession which they themselves have received in Christ. Thus, as the old martyr said, when giving his life for the truth, we may sum up Christian possessions—Christian participations—in the simple words, "Christ, Christ, nothing but Christ."

The objectivity of the Person, the subjectivity of the enjoyment, the relativity of all things brought to bear upon the Christian life, these enable us to enjoy the communion of saints. I speak, of course, of the saints upon earth. Time forbids me to speak of the position we occupy towards the saints departed. But, speaking only of our relations to one another on earth, I cannot help thinking of what Dr. Pearson has said, that "communion of the saints, in this present life, consists in the correspondence of their internal holiness;" that "it is fundamental and internal;" and thus, unless there be this "internal holiness," it is vain to seek, by external symbols or by mechanical action, to bring about any true communion. Bear with me, then, if, as a commissioned servant of the Lord, I press upon you my deep conviction that the only means by which the communion of saints can ever be brought about in this world of sin, suffering, and sorrow, is that men personally and experimentally apprehend by faith their proper relations to the Lord Jesus Christ, accepting him as God's personal gift to them for life, and yielding themselves to God as those that are alive from the dead, so that sin no longer has dominion over them, but they live out before men that life which they have received. A man must first apprehend his glorious relation to Christ, and then will he perceive his deep personal relation to, his wondrous, vital connection with, every individual member of Christ's Church on earth and in heaven. The whole family becomes one, because the brotherhood is in Christ; the whole family in Heaven and earth are one, because the Father and the Head are one in Heaven; and in that glorious union the union of the Church is consummated (of which communion is the revelation and the enjoyment), not by a manifestation which we call either "The Church of England," or any other "Church" upon earth—constituted by the mechanical arrangement of men, but by a glorious manifestation of the very life of Christ, which can only work or exist in the truly faithful. Upon this point, Dr. Hooker says, "For lack of diligent observing of the differences between the visible and the mystical Church of God, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed."

Observing this truth, and endeavouring personally, by faith, to realise our vital connection with that great body of which every living soul is to become a working member, we are brought face to face with this thought, that it is by realising our connection with Christ and each other, that we become fitted to take whatever place the Lord Jesus would have us to occupy in His body. Then, if Christ please to make us the foot, we gladly accept this lowly place in the Church, and, as a foot, we begin to minister to and enjoy the Communion of Saints. This is the first step towards practical union of those who, while calling themselves members of one great Church, are too often afraid to meet each other on earth; and, while acknowledging that they have one Lord, often dare not communicate their ideas to each other, lest it should lead to disputes where there ought to be love. If once we were filled with that love which is in

Christ Jesus, instead of our finding it a matter of difficulty to speak to one another on the subject of the Sacraments or upon this or that particular doctrine, there would arise the necessity in the soul to draw all brother Christians into communion with ourselves; for the love of Christ that is in us must well forth. The panacea for the visible Church's ills would seem to be the saintliness of the mystical Church, *i.e.*, of the saints of God; so that, as "the world takes knowledge of us," it may be compelled to admit that "God is in us of a truth." When this has been gained, by the entire subjection of the man, so that he becomes "dead unto sin" and "alive unto God through our Lord Jesus Christ," then will there be that true Communion of Saints, which is not an act, but the vital action of the heart of Jesus in His body, the Church; and the world around us, contemplating the saints, will see that what we really mean by communion is an interchange of our grand common possession—an intercommunication of Christ's own life by which we constantly enrich the whole body of Christ. It can be Love; it is to be Love; and if, instead of seeking to glorify our "isms," we were to bring ourselves face to face with the truth that every Christian is to communicate Christ the Lord, we should soon discover that, as souls are brought into vital union with us in Christ, "blood begins to flow thicker than water;" the brotherhood of believers begins to be a reality; and in all the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ we begin to enjoy the true "Communion of Saints."

Captain GRAVES.

I TAKE it that the communion of saints must have a foundation; that that foundation must be inflexible, immovable, and eternal. I take it also that the communion of saints, to be real, ought to be such as is built upon that foundation and upon none other. I take it that the communion of saints built and propped up by superstructure is not a real communion of saints. Now, the Apostle John in writing his first Epistle writes with a purpose that those written to may have fellowship with him and his fellow-labourers, and he states "Our fellowship, or our communion, is with the Father and with His Son." If then our fellowship and communion one with the other be based upon this foundation, I take it that our fellowship and communion is a real one, and is one that will last, not only through the ending and fast ending scene here below, but through the endless ages hereafter. The thoughts of communion and fellowship run so closely together, that I was led, in thinking over this subject, to look out the different words used in the original for the expression, and we find three, *κοινωνία*, *μέτοχος*, and *κοινωνός*.

These three words express so much one idea that it would be a matter of metaphysics to separate between them. They give something more than communion of idea and opinion; they bring us down to communion of property and possession, and to communion of actual existence. In thinking of this I was led to think of the first great breach of communion that took place in this world's sad and simple history. In going back to the garden of Eden we see the communion between the Creator and the creature broken there. History shows us God searching out a spot where He could again meet and enter into communion with His creature. A covenant was made to prepare a plan, to prepare a way in which God could enter into fellowship with His creatures, and yet retain his character not only as a God justifying the sinner, but as a God just in doing so. Part of the compact evidently was this, that as the children were made partakers (*κεκοινωνήκε*) of flesh and blood, so He, the Lord God, should take part (*μετέσχε*) of the same. In taking part of the same—of flesh and blood—with us, not lowering the Godhead into our manhood, but taking our

manhood into the Godhead,—He did it for a distinct purpose. Sin had entered in, sin had blotted and blurred in man's imagination and mind the image of God. God wanted to translate Himself to us in His own dear Son. He wanted to reveal Himself to us. He wanted to bring us back to a spot where he could be one with us. He wanted to restore us, not to primeval purity and simplicity, but to give us something higher, to give us something which could be shown as a power, and that the power of the living God. He wanted us to become partakers of His Son. The "high and heavenly calling" spoken of in the Hebrews is evidently this, that He called us into the fellowship or partnership with His Son that we might be, as St. Peter says, "partakers of the Divine nature," that that nature should be shown forth in us who are truly His, not only to each other, not only to God, but to the world at large. It seems to me that a simple simile of this may be taken from the sun and from the rays of the sun. The sun so affects things here below that they must, in some sense, partake of the nature of the sun. We have the ray coming down and bringing us, not the light of the ray, but the light of the sun. We have the ray coming to us, not with the heat of the ray, but with the heat and warmth and life-giving power of the sun itself. So, while we are made partakers of the Divine nature in Christ, I take it, it is for this purpose, that, as God has translated Himself to us in Him, so He should translate Himself to the world through us, that we being joined by the operation and power of the Holy Ghost, joined to Him the Head of the Church militant and triumphant, joined to Him who is the Life of the Church, joined to Him who is Head over all things to the Church, we should shed abroad the warmth of the life of our Father which has been revealed to us, we should go and reveal it to the lost and perishing world around. We want not only this, but we want to show that strangers and pilgrims have a bond of fellowship to the farthest end of the earth. As a stranger abroad has a bond of fellowship with the fellow-countryman he meets, so have Christians a bond of fellowship one with another. If we live in the hope of this fellowship, it will be a real, a helping, a comforting, and a strengthening bond between us. As our meeting closes in a few minutes, I wish to ask you a question which may be profitable, not only to myself, but to you. I put it to myself in a personal, plain, simple manner. As we want a blessing in our own souls from this Congress, as we want to be made stronger for our work, the question I would ask myself is this—"What do I know in my own spiritual experience of this communion with the Father in the Son by the power of the Holy Ghost?" For if I know nothing of this for myself, my friend and brother or sister, I can do no good to you, and *vice versa*, you can do no good to me. Both want this individually; it is not a generality, it is not an idea; it is a reality which flows out to us from God through His Son Jesus. It is a reality which will unite our hearts, which will unite our lives, which will bring out our love, such as no mere bearing down of outward things or levelling up of outward things will ever bring about. And, oh, I would plead earnestly with every soul here, and with myself, that we should seek to exercise that love one for another which should be based upon the knowledge of Him who first loved us, of Him who first begat us, who called us from darkness to light, who by His own life has renewed us. If we so live, working on this foundation, our communion will be real; and then that prayer of our Lord will have its fulfilment:—"I pray not for these alone, but for them also which shall believe in Me through their word, that they may be one, even as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they may be one in us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me." God grant that that prayer of our Lord and Saviour may be answered to-day in my heart, and in every heart here present.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I WILL not attempt, by any words of mine, to deepen the impression that I trust has been produced in your hearts by the addresses to which you have been listening. Their aim has been to teach us how the Communion of Saints may be strengthened and manifested; and I think we all feel that those speeches have not only strengthened, but have also manifested that communion. I have said that I will add no words of mine to them; but I will ask you, in conclusion, to listen to a word of Divine prophecy, which, as you listen to it, you will feel carries us on beyond the great historic traditions of Church saintship in past times, on beyond the nearer and dearer memories of those who have but lately passed from the Communion of Saints on earth to join the gathering of the saints in paradise, on beyond the struggles and the difficulties, the errors and the failures, through which we are striving in this life to realise, and to manifest our share in, that communion —on to that hour which the Apostle, whose heart was filled with that spirit which knits men together in mystical communion with one another and with Christ, was given in prophetic vision to see; that hour when this Communion of Saints should be fully and finally manifested in its glory as they shall all be gathered round the throne of God. “After this I beheld and, lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands; And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb. And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.” May God of His great mercy grant to all here present a share in the blessing and the glory of that final manifestation of the Communion of His Saints!

CONGRESS HALL, FRIDAY AFTERNOON,

OCTOBER 1ST.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP of CARLISLE took the
Chair at 2.30 o'clock.

POPULAR RECREATIONS,—HOW TO IMPROVE THEM.

(a) LIGHT LITERATURE. (b) THE STAGE.

PAPERS.

Rev. GORDON CALTHROP, M.A., Vicar of St. Augustine's,
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THE subject which I have been requested to introduce this afternoon is, "Popular Recreations,—How to Improve Them." It is to be handled in two divisions; in the former of the two, we are invited to discuss "Light Literature;" in the latter, "The Stage." I propose to move on the lines thus indicated for me, and to speak briefly on the two topics in discussion.

I. With regard to Light Literature, then, I may begin by saying that, if we wish to know how *not* to improve it, our simplest plan will be to indulge in wholesale denunciations on the subject, in the pulpit or elsewhere. On this point, however, we are all of us probably agreed. We have heard of sermons in which novels were dealt with, in a lump, in terms of unsparing condemnation, and in which the practice of novel reading—under whatever limitations and safeguards—is spoken of as being altogether inconsistent with the Christian character and the endeavour to lead a spiritual life. Such sermons, I fancy, would be almost anachronisms now. Not a few of us will read a novel, if it be a real good one; and that, not for the sake of studying the nature of what we have to warn others against—as a doctor studies poisons or investigates disease—but with the honestly avowed object of obtaining relief from the tension of mind and feeling to which our calling so continually exposes us. We wish then to deal with this subject in a reasonable and common-sense way. Reserving for ourselves the right of condemning, and, so far as we can, of prohibiting and banishing the "scrofulous French novel," and, with it, the publication which makes vice and unbelief attractive, and poisons, imperceptibly, the mind of the young,—reserving, too, for ourselves the right of pointing out that the use of light literature must be made subordinate to higher aims, and brought under the law of Christ, the Great Master of us all,—we yet feel perfectly free to acknowledge that the demand for

fiction is a natural and a healthy one, and that we, all of us, or at least most of us, at whatever age, require to be interested and amused, as well as guided and taught.

I may venture to assume that there is yet another point of agreement amongst us. Probably, we all think that the "improvement" spoken of in our Thesis of this afternoon can be expected to arise only from one source, from the improvement of the mental and moral tone of those to whom the light literature addresses itself. The demand creates the supply, and the character of the demand determines the character of the supply. And if this be so, what we have to do, as would-be improvers of the light literature of our day, is to aim at the constituency, at the great body of readers. Make the readers better—purer, nobler, more intellectual; win them to loftier aims,—and the literature, which they will demand, may very well be left to take care of itself.

Now, how to improve the constituency? I feel unable to offer any but the most obvious and commonplace suggestions. First, I think,—by supplying those, whose palate is yet unvitiated, with wholesome food. We may arrange readers—I have the young at this moment more especially in my view—in three classes. At one extremity of the line, there are the mentally degraded, the incurably vicious (if we may dare to say such a thing of any human being), those whose favourite, whose almost only reading is the scrofulous French novel, to which I have already alluded. For these we do not legislate now. At the other extremity are young people, possessed of strong and decided religious convictions, who may almost, we may say, on that account, be left to themselves; for a true instinct within them will take them to the right pasture. For these, too, we do not legislate now. But, between the two extremes, lies a vast mass of youthful humanity, which is waiting to be influenced by circumstances, waiting to take its colour from the food with which it shall be supplied; and it is for these that it is so essential to provide occupation for the mind, which shall do them good, instead of doing them harm. Obviously, then, we should encourage, as far as in us lies, the production and dissemination of pure and unobjectionable literature. The opportunities of doing so are not wanting in the present day. I need not indicate them; they are so well-known. But, perhaps, it may be well to understand that we need not shrink from an *honest secularity* in the publications we countenance. Dull, of course, those publications must not be; dullness is fatal:—"goody," of course, they must not be; goodness, as distinguished from goodness, more fatal still.

But surely there is no necessity for a covert aiming at a religious object in such publications. Every one who has been beguiled with a sermon in the disguise of a story, is apt to feel as some of us did in far-off childish days, when a powder, say, jalap or scammony, was administered to us, surreptitiously, in a spoonful of jam. People don't relish being entrapped into goodness. No! I should not hesitate to be honestly secular. We want to have this wondrous earth of ours, this manifold and many-sided human life, this strange history of the thoughts, and passions, and doings of men, depicted to us by the pen of able men—men influenced, of

course, by that truth, and purity, and righteousness, and loftiness of purpose which are the outgrowths and products of true religion—but not influenced by the ulterior aim, avowed or secret, of making us religious.

That, as I conceive it, is not the object which such literature properly professes to accomplish.

Then, with a view to still further improving the constituency, as I have called it,—I would suggest the cultivation of worthy ideas about the position and work of women. You will easily trace the connection of thought. By the unfortunate arrangements of modern society, a very considerable proportion of the unmarried women of England—our sisters, our daughters—have really nothing whatever to do. Why, what in the world is a girl to turn her hand to, when her education is “finished,” as they say, supposing she does not get a husband? District visitors, Sunday school teachers some of them can be. Not all, of course. Some, especially gifted, find their way into the ranks of literature; others undertake, under a cloud of most unjust slight, the instruction of the young. But what a vast number remain—*must* remain—totally unemployed, with noble faculties rusting and decaying and becoming impoverished for want of use! We—we men, have shut the door against them, and kept them out. And so they dwindle, many of them, intellectually. And so they become the great supporters of the wishy-washy circulating library, with its interminable three-volume novels. The impure press, of course, they recoil from, but the feeble press they befriend.

This might be altered; altered not only for them, but for us men, whom they so deeply influence, and a better and nobler tone might be introduced into light literature,—if the doors of employment were thrown generously and not grudgingly open to women, if their higher education were countenanced and not frowned upon or sneered at, and if the grand old maxim, “*La carrière ouverte aux talens*,” the tools to those who can handle them—were applied, without partiality, to one sex as well as to the other.

I have but one thought more to suggest in connection with this part of our subject, and it is this: that we should encourage, to the full extent of our power, by the formation of Bible-classes, and in other ways, the systematic study of the Word of God. We clergy do this professionally, as it may be said; but I wish to impress the obligation upon all who can influence others. What do your well-disposed young people do on a Sunday, in the quiet hours they have to themselves? They take up the religious magazine, as a rule—not the Bible, which requires thought, and looks like a task; and the eye sometimes wanders on to the novelette, which lies close beside the essay, and is, of course, in harmony with the general tone of the publication. And so the outgrowths of the Bible set the Bible aside. I am not speaking against the religious magazine; far from it. I am very thankful for such literature. Nor am I demanding that young people should be for ever reading the Bible. What I simply contend for is, that the use of comments on the Word should be made subordinate to the Word itself; and that the solid study of Scripture should prepare our minds for

estimating, at their proper value, the ideas, and inferences, and deductions, and the imaginations of our fellow-men.

II. With regard to the Stage—a far more difficult and delicate topic, and one that I approach with some hesitation—I begin by endeavouring to put the matter on what seems to me its proper basis.

We may make up our minds, then, that the stage will *exist always* in the present state of human affairs. So long as there is a “world,” that world will find its expression, its exponent, on the boards of the theatre; and any attempt at forcible restraint, were such a thing to be desired, would simply be a ludicrous contending against the inevitable.

We may admit also that there is no intrinsic unlawfulness, no wrongness in dramatic representation. Your children act almost as soon as they can walk and talk. Ay, and Christ Himself seems to have been no uninterested spectator of the mimic funerals or weddings with which the little ones of his day entertained themselves in the streets of the towns and villages of Galilee. To speak, then, of the theatre as *essentially* sinful, to speak of actors and of audience as *essentially* un-Christian,—would seem to be not a little absurd, to say the very least of it. Such talk, surely, is calculated to produce a reaction of opinion, a revulsion of feeling, not always contemplated or expected by those who indulge in it.

The subject is to be dealt with in another way.

A thing intrinsically lawful may become unlawful to a Christian from force of circumstances. There may be an accretion of inseparable concomitants which shall greatly modify its nature—so greatly as almost to change it to something else. And, under such circumstances, the man may fairly ask himself, not whether the thing is sinful *per se*, not whether it is allowable or no for other people, but how far his own allegiance to Christ, and his own desire for purity and unworldliness, and his own sense of responsibility towards others who may be influenced by his character and led by his example—will allow of his meddling with what has undergone so painful a transformation.

“But,” it may be asked, “are you justified in being so hopeless about the future of the stage as your language implies? Granted, if you like, that its present state is bad, is not that the very reason why, as a professing Christian, you should try to make it better?” Well, but have I not too much reason for hopelessness about it? The stage is no recent thing. It has existed for centuries. But at what time in the Christian era can it be said to have been really the friend and auxiliary of religion and virtue? You say it may become so in the future. But, I ask, “has it ever been so in the past?” Before Christianity, I suppose it did fulfil the function of purifying the emotions and calling out the better and higher feelings of the audience. But since Christianity came in, what help has she really had from the stage? And time has rolled on, and now, at the close of the nineteenth century after Christ, a distinguished Prelate of our Church—the Bishop of Durham—speaks of the last quarter of a century (a period, let me say, that has been characterised by a most marked increase of vital religion amongst

us, account for it how you will, and in which, consequently, an improvement in the stage might have been expected to have taken place) as a time during which "a poisonous taint has been spreading throughout literature and society;" and tells us that "the *degradation* of the Stage" (the italicising is mine) "is only one token of a much more general corruption." With such evidence before me—after the lapse of so long a time, and after so protracted a trial, am I not justified in being hopeless? And above all—when I remember that the theatre gathers into its neighbourhood, by a sort of irresistible attraction, all the apparatus of sensual and fleshly indulgence; that it seems to become invariably a maelstrom of impurity; that, plant it where you will, there springs up at once round it, clustering under its very shadow, a foul assemblage of the haunts and homes of vice and immorality—and these are facts which cannot, I fear, be gainsayed; when I remember this—well, it may be the misfortune of the theatre and not its fault, that it draws such evils in its train, but the misfortune is so unvarying, so persistent, so universal, and to all appearance so inseparable from the thing itself, that I cannot help being—I do not wish to be—I cannot help being hopeless.

Besides—I am inclined to think that while the world is the world—a system in antagonism to the Lord Christ; and while the theatre is what I conceive it to be, an embodiment of the world in all its phases—an embodiment from which you cannot make a selection, but which you must take as a whole—any effectual Christianising of the theatre is simply out of the question.

Some of our brethren, confident in the strength of their Divine Master's cause, do not think so, and are endeavouring to bring about an alliance between the Church and the Stage which shall promote, as they think, the best and truest interests of both. We honour them for their exceeding gallantry. In the name of duty they go forth to confront public opinion, and do, for conscience sake, what is probably most unpalatable and distasteful to themselves. But though we may admire the courage of the men, and respect their motives, we may still venture to believe that their enterprise is a Quixotic one; we may still be convinced that it will ultimately come to nothing—as convinced of it, as we are that the famous Passion-Play lately being enacted in that remote village in the Bavarian Highlands—innocent as it may have been in its origin, and perhaps (I do not know) acceptable to God—will, in course of time, putrefy into a carcase which men will only be too glad and thankful to bury out of their sight.

As far as I can see for myself (you will acquit me, I trust, of the presumption of judging others), the minister of Jesus Christ has no concern whatever with such matters. He moves in a totally different orbit; or, if he must interfere, it must be indirectly,—with the constituency by which the theatre is supported, and not with the theatre itself. In the Millennium there may be, for aught I know, a condition of dramatic representation perfectly innocuous and unobjectionable; but in our dispensation, when there is a Church *and* a world, it seems to me quite clear that, as the Church thrives, the stage will suffer—suffer, I mean, by the diminution of the number of its

adherents and supporters—and that a lasting alliance between the two, however well-meant the attempt to bring it about may be, is a simple impossibility, because it is, in its essence, a forced and mechanical conjunction of two elements whose natural tendency it is to repel each other and to stand eternally apart.

HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq.

A MASTER in fiction, be its form dramatic or narrative, cannot fail to wield a greater influence for good, if he employs his powers worthily upon the art which he has chosen for his field, than any number of theories or theorists can ever exercise. While we discuss with ceaseless iteration the difference between French and English novels, between French and English drama, the masters have it their own way with all of us still, and are not for an age but for all time, not for a nation but for all the earth. "What is the use," Weber is reported to have said, when the battle between the musical schools was at its hottest, and he took up a score of Mozart, "what is the use of talking about the difference between Italian music and German. A page of such melodies as these teaches us in a moment that art is of no nation." It is through such men as Shakespeare and Walter Scott, whom (with all deference to so clear-sighted a literary critic as Matthew Arnold, who assigns the place to Byron) I should call the second original force in our English literature of invention, and through such men alone, that the stage or the novel can claim to be anything more than a popular recreation. But by right of these men they *do*, teaching and elevating and humanising us, and forbidding us to depreciate any form of fiction in the world's uses or give it a lower place than God has given it through these His great ones. I love to think of these as of the favourite, almost the spoiled, children of the loving Father, and to bring home to them the beautiful little poem of Schiller about Zeus and the poet, who dreams away his time, while Zeus is distributing the earth among the farmers and the traders and the other classes of mankind. When he comes for hisdole nothing is left for him. "What were you doing," says Zeus. "I was thinking of you," he answers. "The earth I have parcelled out and given away," then says the god, "but

Willst du in meiner Himmel mit mir leben?
Komm wenn du willst, es wird dir offen sein.

That is a different estimate of the poet's place, no doubt, from that of, I think, Lessing, who, laying out Heaven in flats, puts the successful author next in rank below the successful trader. I am bound to add, from my experience, that managers and publishers take Lessing's view much more than Schiller's. But the great creative writers are the property of a later day. These men speak to us as the prophets spoke, fulfilling their mission as the prophets fulfilled theirs, with an unconscious working of the mind, and an unenquiring, uncavilling, reverence of faith. There is no finer argument for God than the constancy of these men to Him. Not among the Scotts and

Shakespeares—no, nor among the Tennysons and Thackerays and Carlyles, are we to look for the sceptics who take for their province of knowledge what they themselves call the unknowable, and worship at the shrine of their own reason. Genius is seldom clever enough to disbelieve. Endowed with the rarest and highest of all gifts, the gift of creation, highest because it partakes of the greatest attribute of the Creator, these men have no time to waste in questioning where they got it from. To write and to believe is to them the same thing. What was good enough for Isaiah and for St. Paul, and then for Shakespeare and for Scott, may yet be good enough for lesser men. But there are lesser men who are not content to think so; and, if I may use without irreverence one of the odd analogies of the world which are constantly forcing themselves upon us, I will say that the old antagonism between the creative and the critical runs down the whole scale. Even as the little critics cluster round the weavers of fiction with every little dig ingenuity can devise, so do the great critics, men far too big in their own eyes to have much to say to such trivial people as the fictionists, set to work to criticize the great Creator. And a nice mess, to my mind, they make of it.

The place of the great minds in the order, then, being what I have tried to describe, we may look at any time for a new dawn. But the visits of the masters to this earth are like those of another order of the hierarchy, few and far between. The advent of one, when he comes, is as in other lines of life a revelation, and blows away as with a breath of fresh air a whole congregation of pestilent vapours, which the great god Commonplace may have been busied in conjuring up in the region of his work. Meanwhile, "*Quand on n'a pas ce qu'on aime il faut aimer ce qu' on a,*" and let us see what best we can do with the materials we have.

Now I will ask your permission to deal almost entirely, in the short limits at my command, with the question of the drama, as it is that with which I have the most practical acquaintance. With the passing hint that half the growing evils of our periodical literature may be due to the system of anonymous journalism, which on the broad lines of right cannot, to my mind, be defended,—I will stick to my special text. The visits of the great men, like those of another order in the hierarchy, are few and far between. But we have at this time plenty of good practical dramatists as well as novelists amongst us, as by the laws of supply and demand we always must have, and when you read in the papers that we haven't, take the bold course or disbelieving the papers altogether. Nonsense enough is talked about most things in these priest-ridden days, but nowhere, I think, nonsense so amazing as about the stage. The stage is not what it was, and it never will be, for, through the growth of printing and the spread of libraries, narrative fiction has quite taken its place, and relegated it to a second rank in literature. But it has had a long and a noble day, for it is a far cry from Aristophanes to Sheridan. During all that time, in a greater or a less degree, it ruled supreme in the pleasant region of pure literature, and attracted to itself as by natural gravitation all the greatest of imaginative writers, succeeding to the more primitive epic which had gone before. If Homer had

lived in the time of Æschylus, Homer would have written plays. But if Shakespeare had lived in the time of Scott, Shakespeare would have written novels. For Scott was fond of plays and players, and his stories are so full of the dramas of life, that upon adaptations of his works, and of those of Dickens afterwards, our stage has half lived from that day to this. But they both of them felt the truth, that the novel is the larger thing, for it is fettered by no bonds of time and space as to a certain extent the most Shakespearean drama must be. We have all of us felt, I think, that such leaps and bounds as those of "The Winter's Tale" and some of the historics surpass dramatic license, and tax the fancy too far in representation. The novel, to indulge in a paradox, is even more dramatic, for by powerful personal description, instead of stage directions, a great author can bring a figure before the reader's eyes in his habit as he conceived him, with far greater vividness than he can bring him before the spectator through the distorting medium, as at the best it must be, of the best actor who ever played. Again, play-writing, too, is as a rule the delight of the young author of fiction, novel writing the quieter resource of the old. It is curious that Scott and Thackeray both began writing after forty. A certain gravity then takes possession of the more responsible lives; the sum of long and varied and sad experience sues for a freer license of moralising than the stage allows; the footlights begin to lose for most of us their strange fascination, and the pleasures of rehearsals and behind-the-scenes sensibly to abate. Never altogether: for there is truth in the saying of an old actor to me, that if you once rub your back against the side scenes you never get the paint off, and we all of us, lay and clerical, staid or frivolous, have at heart, I believe, a certain attraction, affection almost, for that unreal fairy world. It was an odd sense of pleasure with which I found myself the other day turning straight from the glare of business and daylight to chat with princesses and shepherdesses and jesters, in all the tricked-out grace of Phyllis and Corydon, Orlando and Rosalind, in the fair middle of the Forest of Arden.

We love the stage, then, in spite of ourselves, even for the very atmosphere of harmless folly which floats around it. I have let my adjective go, and I do not intend to recall it. You will never repress the stage; for the world will have its "panem et circenses," and in the times of trouble and difficulty has been known to go to the theatres the most. Probably the second necessity of man is recreation. And the drama, stricken with a mortal disease, probably from the days of Thespis, has been in a decline ever since we heard of it, and is not dead yet. It is at once a mark, I think, of the enduring loveableness of the stage, and of the growing spirit of Catholicity in the Church, and, thank God, of tolerance everywhere, that a professed playwright is here to-day by invitation, to read his paper to a gathering like this. Many of our forefathers' most respectable hairs would have stood on end at the concatenation. But we must remember that our forefathers had some reason on their side, which has in our day been removed. The theatres suffered at first in serious estimation, and rightly, from the shameful cynicism of the stage of the Restoration, for which honest Charles

Lamb apologised so lamely ; and it suffered as worthily, if not as severely, from the scandal removed only in Macready's day, which made certain parts of the theatres places of acknowledged resort for a certain class. That has never since been so ; but the evil still exists, I believe, in many of the music halls ; and I should not be doing justice to my audience or to my subject, if I did not say that, as long as it is so, I think it both unwise and premature for some of the clergy to do what lately there have been signs of their doing, and to embrace theatre and music hall in a common encouragement. The theatre, believe me, does not thank you for the connection. Music-hall actors may be deserving of all praise and help, though the recognised nature of part of the audience must exclude all countenance of the places they play in, till their managers have done as Macready did, and raised them as alone they can be raised. To put music halls and theatres on the same footing is to throw the drama back, not forward ; and will end in raising a new prejudice in the minds of its enemies, instead of removing an old one. Nor is it wise to go on harping upon the supposed wrongs of the Church and Society to the stage. The stage, like the rest of the world, has no especial enemy but itself in these socially tolerant days ; and as for Society, it makes a pet of the stage. A favourite actor or actress finds all the doors of what is called Society more open without respect to what is called character, than the member of any other profession. Very recently, in the case of a notorious French actress, the licence was carried to the extent of an open and even ludicrous scandal.

The Church and Stage Guild, which has been in my mind in making these last remarks, has begun a good work, and will, I hope, bring it to a goodly harvest. That it has worked to substantial purpose already is, I think, proved by the fact that this subject is discussed here to-day. Its present chief difficulty consists, I believe, in inducing the male members of the theatrical profession to join it. This ought not and will not discourage those of the clergy who believe in the Guild as a real thing. But it should help to shew them that the men of the stage, which in that, as in other things, holds a mirror up to the Nature of the day, have caught to the full the sad and dangerous infection of carelessness of all higher things so generally prevalent, and a sort of negative unbelief. For really, in most cases, the sceptics of the day are like Dr. Johnson's friend :—“ Sir, the man is an infidel as a dog is an infidel : he never thought about it.” Men have caught it, to begin with, from the Agnostics. They have wit or interest enough to know that some very clever people have all said there is nobody beyond to be responsible to, but not enough to know that the clever people expect them to be moral without any reason for it. Nature abhors a vacuum in the way of God, however ; and the corollary of the old text, “ Ye cannot serve God and mammon,” is that you must serve one or the other. So the motto on the stage, as elsewhere, is :—“ Make money, come what may.” Hence, I think, come the especial difficulties which would now be experienced on any attempt seriously to improve the character of the drama. The general difficulty we have to combat is everywhere else as well. The demon of Indifference rather than

that of Unbelief is terribly abroad, and the weapons to fight it on the stage are the same as elsewhere. But of the especial difficulties the first is this, though there, too, we are dealing with an infection of the day. There are dangerous signs of a submerging of the old landmarks of honesty, and of a laxity in bargains, very bad to see. One time after another, I have had experience of late of a growing dishonesty on the stage, which, if it continues as it has begun, will make it an impossible field for an author who respects literature and himself. It is bad ; very bad ; shamefully bad ; and all the worse, because those who will not do these things themselves apparently see nothing to reprobate in those who notoriously do—careless of the credit of their profession (which it nevertheless angers them to hear abused) provided that it “ pays.” “ Smartness ” is, I believe, the name under which a quality, much on the increase, is known and admired in the modern theatrical world. I was brought up in an old-fashioned school of morality, and am apt to call it by a sterner word, once dreaded, as “ Dishonour.”

To the general desire to make money, and the absence of any other purpose whatever, I also trace the want of English plays, of which you all hear so much. There never was a want of them when men like Garrick, Sheridan, and Macready were at the helm ; and the natural and true conclusion is that it is not authors who are now wanted to write plays, but managers to judge them. There is no magic in writing a play. Where marketable pictures and novels, good, bad, and indifferent, are plentiful, so of course are plays in the same proportion, neither less nor more. But the first two go before qualified judges, and plays don't. I am hardly aware of a manager in London to whom I should care to submit a literary work. An old friend of mine once told me that, on looking back, he wondered how any of his children ever got born. I am sure I wonder how any of my plays ever got produced. No amount of success with what are called “ original ” plays will help an author merely to any secure position, unless he is an actor and a speculator besides. No doubt many a manager will rush at him with one of his MSS. and say ; “ This is very fine ; but you see it is such a risk. It is well written ; but I'm rather afraid of that. Would you mind ‘ doing ’ this for me ? ” And he produces a French play and a dictionary, his experience of “ adaptation ” teaching him that the last is a good deal wanted. His confidence in his sure judgment and the author's goes no higher than that. This is the cause of the French plays which flood us ; I do not hesitate to say the worst and the most maudlin form the drama has ever taken, and for the sake of art, ay, and morality too, requiring most to be discouraged and driven from the stage. I do not say that any one of the stray motives of life, good or evil, should be forbidden to the dramatist ; but I do protest against a whole nationality of writers, light and serious, who seem to believe in the existence of no human motive but one bad and corrupting one, being called “ dramatists ” at all. Had I the time, I would undertake to shew that in the best technical rules of art the contemporary French play-writer is as far astray, as he is in all the higher regions of dramatic power. Yet, here are all our critics, in all the bliss of ignorance, ecstasizing over that French drama, which is

described by one of the keenest of living French literary critics, Albert Wolff, as "*l'art le plus parfaitement grossier qui ait surgi chez un peuple*"—the most utterly degraded art a people has seen! A wholesome English play is worth a dozen of these things: but these things have succeeded in Paris, and are not a "risk." In the words of "*Hamlet*," if we are to reform the stage, "do reform it altogether" and at once, by sweeping fifth-rate versions of tenth-rate foreign immodesty from the face of the wholesome English stage. The sin of them lies at the door of managers, and of them alone.

Other difficulties there are in the way of an English dramatist, worth a passing mention, which I allude to here, slight as they may seem, because the first step to improvement is to know what to improve. Within the last few years, the so-called stock-companies of the provinces, which nursed the drama, have disappeared. Every piece, moderately successful in London, has its special company formed for it and it alone, which to the ruin of writing and acting goes round the country from week to week for a term of months or years—for the especial benefit of the "speculator"—Mammon again—who invests in the play. The author is not to publish as he used, for fear somebody shall get at the play and steal it,—an odd passing comment upon stage morality. For it often happens; and, when the play is not even printed, some "smart" gentleman will sometimes send a shorthand writer to take it down, and then he can act it for himself. Judge now, what may be another reason why the best writers of fiction prefer the novel to the drama, and what good work, if they will get upon the right lines and not persevere in hitting out in the wrong place, such bodies as the "*Church and Stage Guild*" may, some day, find it to their hand to do.

I say in the wrong place, because if I am not here to say soft things about the stage, neither am I here to say hard ones upon a basis to me, at least, out of much personal experience, utterly unestablished. In common talk, the sin spoken of as stage "*immorality*" is confined to one sin, the sin to which under certain conditions, if I may venture to say so, surely our pole star and our Master, Jesus Christ, was gentlest, who weighed all human temptations and their relative strength and evil in the hollow of his hand. He was not very gentle to "*smartness*." Yet I will go further: I deny stage immorality, in the popular sense: I do not plead for it. A few years ago there was a growing custom, much marked upon the stage though leniently treated by "*society*" where in my belief all true reforms are to begin, for certain noble lords to take theatres, under other names, for young ladies whom I must decline to call actresses, in whom they were interested. In a country where there is not, as there should be, government supervision over all to whom a manager's license is given, that sin rests, to my mind, at the door of society and the noble lords. The good sense and feeling of the stage revolted, and the evil died. That there may be laxity of living on the stage, or rather among the hangers-on and camp followers of the stage off it—we on the stage do not call such people actors—I do not deny. But I know of no better husbands and wives, better fathers and mothers, better and truer friends, than the working stage can show.

Nowhere in the world have I met with so many examples of mutual readiness of help, so much strength and courage of mutual comfort, such infinite and varied and touching stories of the battle of life fought out, by young and helpless girls, with their shields fast locked the one's in another's, with never a stain on their hard-trying purity. Forgive me if these things raise me to an infinite scorn, when I hear the stage decried by those who know not what these fiery ploughshares mean. For myself, I have been a stage-lauder since seven years old, when I wrote a five-act tragedy in blank verse called "The Poisoned Pancake," which might have been acted, music and all, in ten minutes. Afterwards, as a Harrow boy under the loving and well-loved care of one of a name well known here in Leicester, Dr. Vaughan, I spent every moment I could beg or steal (for like others I was but a bad boy) behind the scenes of Charles Kean's theatre. I do not remember at or since that day, in the working life of any theatre, to have ever seen an immoral act or heard an immoral word. I have been told by a young girl, born and bred as a lady and driven on the stage by sudden and helpless reverse, that her experience of two years was just the same. Nor am I conscious of the smallest breath of blight, moral or intellectual, that has hurt me one iota during all my connexion with the stage. I may be Arcadian; but so it is. Therefore I must be excused from entering into the question of the harm the stage is supposed to do to its frequenters. They may thank themselves for it, to my mind. Mind that I am speaking as an English dramatist, and have nothing to say about French ones. You needn't see French plays, if you like them as little as I do. Let the French defend themselves. If I may venture to quote our President's words upon a higher question, I am something tired and ashamed of defending the stage for the vices of audiences, which it is in their own hands, and in the power of the manhood and self-control demanded of all of us, alone to correct.

A better class of plays is wanted: true; but, except through the Shakespeares, the stage is an amusement, not a teacher. Improve your audiences first, and they will demand a better class of play, and get it at once, and hiss the French drama as richly as it deserves. There are plenty of English plays waiting for them, as soon as our friends the managers find that they "pay." Society, in the stalls and private boxes, is not worth much consideration. It follows the fashion of the day always—good or bad—foreign or English—plays in a language it understands, or plays in a language it does not. Below them come the large upper-middle class, the best part of the audience, who are kept out of the theatres altogether by prices so prohibitive as half-a-guinea for a stall. No play in the world was ever worth that; and only the people who know no difference between a shilling and a sovereign throw so much away. Those who confound a shilling and a sovereign, will confound a comedy and a burlesque. But for them the managers provide, and then, when society is out of town, complain, with much anguish, that "the public" won't go to their theatres. Poor public! The true public haunts the pits and galleries. Educate that public in taste and beauty, as Matthew Arnold with my infinite sympathy expresses,

and the thing will be done. At present—to the class to whom, in France, the Molières and Hugos and De Mussets are household words—in England, Shakespeare is practically a name unknown. But I am not going to introduce a treatise on education into a theatrical discourse of twenty minutes, warned by the little monitor on the table. May it soon be introduced into the House of Commons! I have told you as clearly as may be, what I believe to be the besetting sins of the stage, and what not. My part in the discussion, I think, is so best fulfilled: though I cannot help adding that, to me personally, the invitation to speak here is especially gratifying, as one, who, while practically connected with the stage, prays that he hold, by his very heart-strings, to the church and faith of Christ. Between Church and Stage there should be no gulf whatever.

Rev. H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, Minor Canon of St.
Paul's Cathedral.

IN one of those Arabian fables which delighted our childhood we read of a certain fairy tent which a young prince brought to his father, folded in a walnut shell. Spread out in the chamber, it covered the King and his servants; brought into the courtyard, it was found to afford shelter for the whole Royal household; taken beyond the city walls into the wide plain where the army was encamped, the tent threw its mighty shadow over all the host.

The Church of Christ was once the least of all seeds. It grew until beneath its shade there rested Jew, Greek, and Roman; it adapted itself to the needs of the barbarian tribes, and has since then found acceptance alike with the educated gentleman of India and the wild tribes of the African Coast. Alone among the world's religions, it has been found to suit every type of the human race.

Not only does the Church adapt herself to all varieties of mankind, but she embraces all departments of human life. She claims for her Master all that makes for righteousness, wherever it exists; she hails it as her right and duty to draw out, to guide, and to develop that likeness of and relation to God which she finds in humanity, once created in His image. The Church has to regenerate society by contact with its varied life; as "the salt of the earth" she renews and preserves that with which she mingles; as "leaven" she pervades and sanctifies "the whole lump." The Church must, therefore, take account of all the forces and influences which sway society, and either oppose them, or make use of and guide them. In all ages of the world, amusements must be reckoned among the most powerful of these forces. The people will have and ought to have recreation; and in a time like the present, when life is lived at high pressure, when work is so hard and its conditions so harassing, amusement is simply necessary for the relief of the strain upon mind and body. The Church has her duty towards this part of the people's life; and how best to fulfil it is, I suppose, our subject to-day. There is scarcely any point as to which the people have more need of education and guidance. In old time "Merrie England" was our country's happy title: now we are said to take our pleasures, not merrily, but sadly. The reason may be the same

as has been observed in France since the Revolution, among the emancipated serfs of Russia, and the freed slaves of the United States ; namely, that, when a nation acquires political freedom, the people cease to enjoy simple and childlike amusements. Be this as it may, the prevalent ideas of recreation are surely deplorable. What is commonly said to be the one idea associated with a holiday by so many of the working class ? Alas, it is to get drunk. Look at a crowd of London excursionists at the sea or in the forest. To eat, drink, and make a horrible noise, is all they generally seem to care for. Might we not sometimes preach more definitely and plainly about right forms of recreation, and try to create a more healthy public opinion on the subject ?

Amusement is only right and healthy when it is a pause in the work of life. When it becomes the business of life ; when the whole circle of the year is filled up by one round of varied pleasure ; when to amuse himself is the one only thing at which a young man aims, then amusement contradicts the purposes for which humanity exists. Such a life is a wrong done to mankind and to God. And when recreation is in its proper place, as a resting-place amidst the rush of life's duties, we have to ask further whether this or that form of amusement is of itself right or wrong. There are pastimes, such as betting, or sports involving cruelty, such as pigeon-shooting, which hardly admit of justification. There are others, such as cricket, boating, and football, and athletics generally, to which little or no objection can be taken, though of course, like other good things, they are capable of abuse. Most of us will agree that clergy and laity alike may use and take part in such amusements as these. The parish cricket club is often as powerful an agency for good as the parish pulpit itself.

There is one form of athletic amusement for which I would say a word here before I pass on. I mean *boxing*. Although many of us can testify from our school experience how valuable the use of the boxing gloves is, yet comparatively few, so far as I know, have introduced them among boys and young men of the parish or the club. Believe one who has taught many a lad to box : you will find no amusement better for winter evenings, and few so good for the muscles, for the temper, and for keeping the peace.

Athletic amusements, however, are not those which claim our special attention this afternoon. We are invited to consider, more particularly, two forms of that class of popular amusements which are not wrong in themselves, but are thought doubtful by many, on account of their associations and surroundings ; Light Literature and the Stage.

1. Of Light Literature I will say but two words ; first, as to the cheap fiction which has so enormous a circulation in our large towns, chiefly among the young of both sexes. We are accustomed to condemn it as entirely mischievous. I would venture to submit that there is more good in it than many of us think. I have now and again bought a handful of half penny numbers, and I have always laid them down with the comforting reflection that they are not so bad after all. I have found a certain respect paid to religion ; virtue is nearly always triumphant ; and though the stories are of

the most thrilling order of sensationalism, and the views expressed of life and society are startling and often mischievous, I do not know that many of the magazines and novels to be found in West-end drawing-rooms are very much better. My second word on this point is simply a protest against the unreal and "goody" type of so many of the stories and publications put forth by Church writers. Some well-meaning lady conceives that her mission is to write tales for boys ; and, worse still, finds a publisher or an editor to aid and abet her. We all know her curly-haired choir-boy, who prefers Evensong to cricket, converts his father, and dies of consumption ; or her Sunday scholar whose conversation is so offensively grammatical and whose behaviour is so exasperating in its correctness. I sincerely believe that this "pernicious nonsense" needs our vigilance as much as do the "penny awfuls" themselves. The great publishing societies have at last recognised this, and some of their late publications are quite admirable.

2. It is of the Dramatic Stage (excluding the Opera) that I wish chiefly to speak. Of all the influences which act upon society the drama has ever been one of the most powerful. The dramatic instinct is natural to mankind, and the Stage will never cease to be an instrument of tremendous power for good or evil, "The theatre is all-powerful : organise the theatre !" exclaims a brilliant modern writer. We must recognise the Stage as appealing directly to the sensibilities and the emotions of our nature as God has formed it, as meeting a want, nay, a necessity of our being.

In its early days, the Stage was the great moral and religious teacher of the nation ; "the pulpit," to quote the Bishop of Durham, "not only in name but in teaching." The old miracle plays, for all their grotesqueness, had a definite religious aim and intention, and has not Ober Ammergau preached to many of us the most thrilling and effective of sermons ? This is only possible or desirable under exceptional conditions ; but, to use the words of the head-master of one of our great public schools, lately spoken in St. Paul's Cathedral to a congregation consisting chiefly of actors, "May not the Stage in all ages do the Church's work,—not necessarily, though this is a high function of the drama, by quickening and refining the intellectual life of the people ; not even necessarily aiming at imparting directly high moral lessons ; but by supplying without irreligion, without debasement, without immorality, a means of healthy amusement and recreation ?" With such objects in view, Church and Stage should go hand in hand. That they are rather rivals than fellow-workers is to my mind one of the saddest facts of modern life. And I cannot pretend to conceal my strong feeling, that in a great measure this is the Church's fault. Since the days when the Stage was suppressed by the Puritans,—with what results let the drama of the Restoration, "the foulest blot on our national literature," declare—we have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. With that disastrous lesson before our eyes, we have been short-sighted enough to force the religious world into antagonism with the Stage. What has the Church done to direct or improve the drama ? We have scolded, we have denounced, we have condemned the theatre from pulpit and platform. The clergy have refused to attend

the theatre themselves, and have done their utmost to prevent Christian people from doing so. We have despised the actor and actress, and refused to recognise their profession as an honourable calling. We have adopted towards the Stage that most fatal policy—the policy of isolation. Is it surprising, then, that the modern Stage is not all it might be? To my mind the wonder rather is that it is no worse; that the English theatre of to-day contrasts so favourably with the coarseness and immorality of past times; that the influence of the East-end Stage, even more than that of the West-end, is, *on the whole*, with all deductions made, on the side of virtue. As in the penny fiction of the East-end boy, so at the cheap theatre of the East-end workman, virtue is represented in an attractive and vice in a repulsive form. There are now several London theatres I could name, to which the most innocent could go without hearing a word spoken on the stage which can suggest aught of wrong. Thanks mainly to the foremost of modern actors, Shakespeare no longer spells ruin to the manager. At the Lyceum, night after night for months, not only the stall and boxes of the wealthy but the pit and gallery have been crammed by people of the working class, who had in many cases waited for hours at the doors in order to see *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Richard III*, or *The Merchant of Venice*. Are we to denounce all this in the recent language of Exeter Hall, as “evil, and only evil, and always evil continually,” and tell these people (as a clergyman once said) that the pit of the theatre is the way to the pit of hell? Or shall we rejoice to recognise those who are thus educating the people of London, as fellow-workers with the best of us for good, for righteousness, for Christ?

But it is not only for the Classical Drama that I would claim this, and not only to managers and actors like Mr. Irving that I would pay my humble tribute of respectful thanks for help given and undying lessons taught. To see the great tragedies of Shakespeare well acted is hardly amusement: it is the study of the deepest problems of human life. For mere recreation, depressed and brain-weary working people would probably prefer a comedy of modern society, a bright and pretty spectacle, or a light play which amuses and refreshes them without making much demand upon their harassed minds. To the town workman especially, the theatre or the music-hall affords a temporary escape from the terrible crushing dulness of his life, from its hideous and brutalising surroundings. After a hard day's work, neither he nor his wife will always relish that kind of recreation which struggles to combine instruction with amusement, in much the same way that powders are administered to children in jam. They need something pretty to refresh their eyes, which have looked all day upon a leaden sky and a muddy pavement, upon streets of wretched dwellings where poverty, misery, and sin meet them at every turn. They want to hear something brighter than the roar of machinery, or the talk of the beershop, or the quarrelling and crying of children. They want something to lift them out of all the wretchedness around them. At the theatre they find it. There they see graceful movement and beautiful scenery: bright colours and lively music mingle their influence to amuse and to refresh them. The sentiment of an East-

end drama seems exaggerated and high-flown to us: but to them it is the expression of something higher and brighter than their own weary lives. With all its dangers, with almost infinite room for purification and improvement, the theatre provides recreation for workers which they find nowhere else. Whether upon the stage of Shoreditch or St. James's, I claim for the lighter drama, even for genuine burlesque, and for stage dancing. *if modest, free from vulgarity, and true to art*, their place among helpful and wholesome amusements; and for those who act upon this lighter stage, for the comedian, the singer, the dancer, I claim the respect due to members of a useful and honourable profession—that of public amusers. I desire to enter my protest, with all the indignant emphasis of which words are capable, against the too common opinion that such persons are almost necessarily of questionable moral character. There are plenty of black sheep, no doubt, in the theatrical as in other professions; but there are numbers among them who would do an honour to the best of us by their acquaintance—numbers who are Christian ladies and Christian gentlemen in the highest possible sense, numbers who give up much of their scanty leisure to earnest Christian work. In illustration of this, it is told of a London clergyman that, when he first came to his parish, he took his choir-boys to see a pantomime. To his amazement, when the principal actress came upon the stage, there went up a shout from all the boys in chorus, "Oh! there's teacher!" and he learnt for the first time that the most regular and capable of his Sunday-school teachers, and one of his most constant communicants, was an actress and dancer. If we would do our part for the improvement of the Stage, let us first do justice to those who earn their bread upon it.

But, when all this is granted, there is very much about the modern Stage which calls loudly for improvement. French plays, "adapted" so as just to pass the ordeal of the Lord Chamberlain—plays which make a jest of unchastity or of drunkenness; the preference of what is debased and remunerative to what is beautiful and innocent; the suggestion in dialogue or action of more than is actually said; the want of delicate respect for the purity of youth and the honour of womanhood; the profane oath or the sneer at religion; the admission behind the scenes of persons whose purpose is notorious; "understandings" between managers and wealthy patrons;—are these scandals, and such as these, unknown on the London Stage to-day? What can we do to influence all this for good?

1. We must remember that the Stage is the mirror of life, and that the corruptions of the theatre are the index of the vices of a corrupt society. What the taste of audiences demands the manager will provide. And if it is debased, it points to the imperfect fulfilment by the Church of her work of regenerating society. We can do something, then, to create the demand for pure and healthy stage amusements, and to rouse a just indignation against all that degrades them. When good and evil are mixed together, the wisest way to do battle with the evil is to recognise and uphold the good.

2. But we shall not do much to this end by standing at a distance. We should surely counsel earnest Christian people to give the support of their presence to theatres which are conducted on high principles; and, further, I confess that I cannot see why the clergyman is to have another standard than the layman: why we should cut ourselves off from the tremendous lessons of the tragic Stage, or (when we need it) the recreation afforded by the lighter drama. Only in this way can we use our power as members of society, and bring it to bear upon the character of the plays represented. If we hear or see what is doubtful, we can rise and leave the theatre, and write to the manager. I could tell you of cases in which this has been done with the result of getting the objectionable phrase or joke cut out of the piece. I would add that I once had the privilege of hearing a speech from one of the very first of modern actresses, whose position and character place her advice far above suspicion or cavil. "You can never help us to make the theatre better," she said, addressing the clergy, "until you are seen there yourselves."

3. Some of those actors, clergy, and Churchfolk, who are more or less of this mind, joined together a little time since in the formation of the Church and Stage Guild. As some of the members will speak for themselves at the meeting to be held here presently, I will only ask you now to give it a fair hearing as an honest attempt (which has met with some success) to make a contribution towards establishing a better relationship between Church and Stage.

4. It may be possible for some of us to direct the inevitable taste for stage amusements, and make use of the dramatic power which is sure to exist among many of our young people, by promoting the performance of amateur theatricals. I know parishes where the happiest results have followed the establishment of a dramatic society under the clergyman's immediate superintendence, and the occasional provision of good dramatic performances as we provide Penny Readings and the like. Young people will have this kind of amusement; it is surely wise to see that they have what is good.

I know well the objections which can be made to the position I have ventured to take up. I know the dangers of the line I have myself been endeavouring to follow in these matters. I have tried to weigh them well by such light as God has given me. And I believe, in the words of an eminent East-end clergyman, that this is "a question of *indirect* efforts to Christianise the people by slowly civilizing and refining their amusements. You cannot do this without in some degree sharing their amusements, and contributing as much as they will let you, and can bear, of a better sort. And they certainly will not let you do this, if you try to suppress all which is the natural expression of their own minds, or even of their mindlessness. It is our unlucky knack of combining the pedant with the priest, which has cost the Church of England so much of her natural leadership of the people. And to recover it, it is clearly necessary to begin by trying to put oneself at the point of view of those whom we wish to lead into higher paths."

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. J. PONSONBY, Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene's,
Munster Square.

I WILL not attempt to do more than bring before you one or two practical points, in regard to what have been, and, perhaps, still are in some measure, my difficulties on the subject, and in regard to the ways in which the stage may be improved so as to meet some of the objections that some people entertain to it. I need scarcely refer to those objections which are more or less common to every amusement. Some people say they have not time to go to the theatre. Well, we have time to go to the Royal Academy and spend two or three hours there in looking at the pictures; or to a cricket match, which takes a whole day; or to engage in a game of croquet, which appears to me to be interminable.

Again, some people say that going to the theatre gives them a headache, that it does not agree with them to go into crowded places, that the bad air and the gas unfit them for work next day. I suppose the simple answer to that is that, if going to the theatre gives you a headache, you had better not go, unless it be as an act of kindness to another, when your self-denial will be repaid. But there is no compulsion about going to the theatre. It is an amusement, not a duty. Then there is another point, and that is the expense; and it is a very serious expense for many of us. We do not like to feel that we are spending much upon our enjoyments, when day by day there are calls of all sorts upon us which we, perhaps, are reluctantly obliged to refuse.

A further point is this. Put yourself in the position of a father giving advice to a son who is going up to London; or of a clergyman giving advice to young men going up from his parish. You may have a certain amount of hesitation as to the advice you ought to give. Your son goes up to some Government office. Can you find it in your conscience to tell him that you believe the theatre to be a thoroughly wholesome amusement? You all feel that difficulty. I have felt it myself. The first difficulty probably that will present itself is as to what sort of company he is there likely to meet with. Mr. Merivale has told us that some of the worst scandals of the salon of the theatre were removed in Macready's time, and that there is no fear that a young man going to the theatre will meet with persons likely to lead him into sin. That I am quite prepared to endorse as far as I have any experience of theatre-going. Of course clergy are not so likely to be subject to that sort of temptation; and I hope that clergymen, when they go to a theatre, will go as clergymen and not in disguise. Of course, in all large assemblies the company must be mixed, and among audiences, as everywhere else, some bad will be found; but the simple way to obviate this danger is, not to find fault with the theatre, but to tell the youth to whom you are giving the advice, that wherever he goes he will find the evil mixed with the good, that the world is full of temptation, that he cannot be packed up in a band-box and labelled "This side up," and that the only chance he has of keeping himself pure is by manfully fighting against temptation, and by constantly keeping before him the motto, "Thou, God, seest me."

With regard to the character of the plays, much has already been said, and I will only just make one remark. The purpose of plays, we are told, is to hold the mirror up to nature. But is the mirror only to reflect the bad? Too often it does; and I wish that in our modern drama we had much more virtue held up for our admiration instead of vice for our reprobation. Years ago, Thackeray, in his *Paris Sketch*, said, "How that unfortunate Seventh Commandment has been maltreated by M. Scribe (the father of the comedy of the day) and his disciples! You will see four

pieces at the Gymnase of a night, and, so sure as you see them, four husbands shall be wickedly used. When is the joke to cease? Play-writers have handled it for about two thousand years, and the public, like a great baby, must have the tale repeated over and over again." Thackeray here likens the public to "a great baby," and, if one may borrow a simile, I would say, Let us earnestly hope that the English Baby will have as little as possible to do with the French Baby, because infant diseases are exceedingly catching, and also let us ask our good friends, the dramatic authors, to be very careful not to fill the English Baby's bottle with French milk. Remember, however, there are a great many good wholesome plays, and therefore don't condemn the stage because of some bad ones.

Let me tell you a little story to show how useful a play may be. A clergyman, a friend of mine, giving advice to a young fellow who was going up to London to take a groom's place, said, "Whatever you do, don't forget the old folk at home." The meaning of that was obvious; and, in order to back up his advice with an illustration, he advised his young friend, "Go to the Olympic and see the 'Porter's Knott.'" In that piece the hero divests himself of all his hard-earned savings, and with his wife seeks again the drudgery of the "Porter's Knott" in order to save an extravagant son from disgrace. The young man went to the Olympic, saw that matchless performance of the ever-to-be-lamented Mr. Robson, and some time after said to my friend (when sending some of his wages for the benefit of his old parents) "You preach many a good sermon, but that man and his wife sitting on their barrow taught me a lesson I trust I shall never forget."

I should like to read to you what has been told to me about the theatre in this town. It is a letter from a friend in London, and he says, with reference to the Royal Opera House and the "Children's Pinafore," now being acted in Leicester:—

You will be glad to hear that nothing is allowed on the stage of the Opera House which can offend the canons of good taste. The object of the management is to make the stage a good moral instructor. None but those engaged in the performances are allowed behind the scenes. I had a conversation with Mr. Oxberry, the manager of the Children's Pinafore Company, and learnt something of the forty-six children who are connected with it. Most of the boys have been selected from Church choirs. They are all boarded and lodged by the management, and are under constant superintendence. On Sundays they are taken to Church, and during off-hours on week days they are under very careful supervision. In fact, they resemble a travelling school, the acting manager being like a school-master to them. The girls are divided into lots, each lot being superintended by a matron; whilst the boys are equally under the supervision of men. The important matter of diet is also carefully attended to. The children are never allowed to touch beer or spirits, and never permitted to go out by themselves. On going to the Opera House they are under the charge of a responsible matron, and their acting does not interfere with their childish simplicity as soon as they are off the stage. Their salaries, after some deduction for necessary expenses, are forwarded to their parents."

In the face of these things, therefore, we should have some hesitation in condemning this or that theatre. Not that there is not room for improvement; but I am not inclined to wait for Mr. Calthrop's millennium before thinking that the stage, which has a great deal of good in it, can become a great deal better. Let us hold out to actors and actresses the right hand of fellowship, and not listen to the clap-trap which would make them either too good or too bad, which would make an actress either a goddess or very much the reverse. "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players;" but it is equally true that every stage is a little world, and that players on every stage are merely men and women. Not, then, by mutual recrimination, but by mutual help, let each one of us play our parts in the great Drama of Life.

The Rev. J. F. M'CALLAN, New Basford, Nottingham.

THE condition of the Stage at any time is both a symptom and a cause. It is a symptom of the tastes, culture, and moral sensibilities of the audience which it seeks to please: and from its popularity, vivid attractiveness, and its appeal to the emotions, it re-acts upon and intensifies the moral conditions out of which it springs. Plays of an elevating and noble character tend to purify the moral impulses of the people, to stimulate their intellectual life, and to illustrate and exalt everything that is noble and of good report. On the other hand plays in which impurity and vice are represented in attractive lights are degrading, and both in the interests of morality and religion ought to be avoided and denounced. Both the Drama and the Opera need to be improved, and I venture to think that "La Traviata" and "Don Giovanni," to which refined ladies go, and to which they bring their daughters, are far more directly and obtrusively immoral than nineteen out of twenty of the plays which draw the masses in London and provincial theatres. If, in a play, what is immoral is presented to the imagination of the young and susceptible in constant connection with what is attractive and winning, by the law of association the immorality will itself become attractive. If, in the case of conjugal infidelity, so often made the subject of dramatic representation, the unfortunate husband is represented as stupid, exacting, suspicious, mean, and tyrannical, and the seducer as endowed with cleverness, wit, generosity, and other popular qualities, the result must be profoundly degrading and evil.

There is no doubt that the matter of dress, especially in the ballet, needs reforming altogether; but I venture also to suggest that the reform ought not to be confined to the theatre, but ought to extend also to fashionable drawing-rooms.

The Church of God cannot leave so vast and influential a province of the life of our age to sink to lower depths, but must try to bring Christian influences to bear upon it. Whenever in the history of mankind civilization has dawned, there also, as the natural result, has appeared the drama.

It has a fair claim to be admitted to the sisterhood of art, and even to take the highest place, combining as it does eloquence, poetry, painting, and music.

It has the rare power of appealing to all conditions of mental culture—the highest and the lowest—and in our great towns it is to thousands almost the only link connecting them with intellectual pursuits. To the theatre they regularly resort, as the amusement which beguiles the monotony of their lives. There is not a great town in England in which there are not one or several theatres increasingly attended by the more educated and intelligent of the industrial classes. Where multitudes are massed together, of all classes and characters, many of them separated from domestic ties and home life—strangers, visitors, lodgers—amusements are absolutely necessary. The young people of our parishes, who have been trained in our Sunday schools, find their way to the theatre, and therefore the moral condition of the stage is of incalculable importance.

Merely to denounce the theatre is not of any use. That was tried vigorously by the Church long enough, and it utterly failed; and if we merely continued the policy of anathema against the drama indiscriminately, then the advance of this sort of public amusement would be only the measure of the Church's defeat.

The arguments against the drama *in itself* have been singularly poor, some of them even puerile. Tertullian, in his treatise *De Spectaculis*, did not see how any actor could obtain the Divine mercy, because actors systematically contravened the evangelical warning, and endeavoured, by high-heeled boots, to add a cubit to their stature.

Now, how shall we reform the stage? I don't think it likely that State or Municipal subvention is within the range of practical politics.

No doubt that would enable managers to put the best pieces before the public, and make them independent of pandering to degraded tastes by playing low dramas. But I think we shall not soon see that done in England.

Of practical reforms, I think the first should be a reform of our language respecting the theatre. Let us discriminate—a good play, healthy in morality, stimulating to intellect, true to nature, sparkling with wit, scorning base tricks, and appealing to the best affections of the heart, is a good and useful amusement, and may be even the ally of the teacher of morals and religion.

Let us honestly and bravely say so. Let Christian people encourage by their presence noble efforts when managers try to put good things on the stage, and an immense influence for good will be immediately exerted.

When managers produce a good play, try to let them have a good audience. They must play to their audience, and you cannot expect them to be much in advance of it. *The way to make good plays pay is to go and see them.*

Sweeping denunciations of the theatre from the pulpit tend to prevent Christians from encouraging the good, and leave the stage to continuous degradation. But let Christian people, who seek amusement, encourage by their presence dramatic performances that are good and pure, and managers will supply them and the stage be purified. The imitative instincts of the industrial classes will lead them to follow those above them, and if the boxes are occupied by persons who scorn and resent profanity or immodesty, in dress, or word, or look, or gesture, the pit and gallery will do so likewise, and drive such things from the stage.

Indeed, so far do the working class desire to follow the middle class, that many of their vices are but the imitations of the vices of their betters. The reason why the legitimate drama does not pay is that it costs so much to put it on the stage, while “Pink Dominoes,” “New Babylon,” and other doubtful pieces do not cost one-fourth the money, and draw full houses.

If the public who are chaste and moral patronize good plays and those alone, the managers will supply them; and they have themselves to blame, if the stage is degraded.

A firm and indignant protest against scanty dress, or equivocal dialogue, would settle the matter.

It must be acknowledged that there is a large number of people who belong to the fashionable class, of both sexes, who are not actuated by high principles of moral purity, and who deliberately patronize both doubtful plays and doubtful characters. If the stage were left to these it would rapidly decline. They are far below the working classes in their moral sentiments, and it is not the highest type of play that takes best in the London season. So far as these gentlemen and ladies are concerned, reform must begin at home.

The excellent education which the young of the working class are receiving in our schools will stimulate their intelligence and inspire higher tastes and aid those who endeavour to make the stage what it ought to be.

Let us not sweep all actors into one class and denounce them. There are good, bad, and indifferent among them, as amongst the members of other professions; and there is a tendency in any calling either to rise upwards or to gravitate downwards towards the public estimation in which it is held. Actors have suffered much from the censures of the Church. There was a time when they were denied Christian burial, whilst rakes and reprobates of the vilest character were interred with the rites of the Church in consecrated ground, to complete under the earth the corruption of which they had been such active propagators when they lived upon its surface.

There is one other consideration which ought to impel us to attempt by all means to improve the moral tone of the stage.

It is the mischief which in large towns is being done by music halls and dancing saloons, where intoxicating drinks are sold at the tables, and where bad characters resort, and where the songs and entertainments are of a character with the surroundings.

A well conducted theatre and a pure stage are more than ever needed as counter attractions to these snares of the young men and women of our large towns.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. J. E. SYMES, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

I HAD intended to make some remarks similar to those which were made three years ago by my friend, the Rev. S. Headlam—remarks which at the time brought down upon him the most terrific fulminations, and induced his Bishop to say— (“Question.”)

The CHAIRMAN—It is quite in order, this preface.

The Rev. J. E. SYMES—I wish to keep within the lines the audience desires; and will, therefore, only say that I rejoice at the change which three years have made in the feelings of what I may call the religious world—at least in the Church of England—upon this question. I rejoice at the sympathy with which you have listened to Mr. Shuttleworth, Mr. M'Callan, and others, who have said better than I could the things I wished to say. I now propose to confine myself to a most important question of fact, viz., as to what is the moral character, as a rule, of the stage at the present day. I don't know whether you will extend to me that impartial and charitable attention which you have before extended to so many bold speakers, when I tell you that during this Church Congress week I have visited the new Opera House of Leicester, the Old Theatre of Leicester, and one of the chief music halls of this town. I wish to give you a general idea of the kind of things that are being done at these three places of entertainment. In the first place, at the Opera House, the “Children's Pinafore” is being performed; and I cannot imagine any one going into that theatre and getting anything but good from the performance. Looking to the effect on the audience, it was wholly satisfactory. It is very pretty and graceful; the music is very pleasing: and there are pretty children—all children are more or less pretty. There is a good deal of what is wanted for the mere recreation of the people (and some recreation is needed for those whose lives are dull and monotonous), and there is nothing in this play which any one would consider at all harmful. Nevertheless, at the time, I was not satisfied with it. I had an uncomfortable feeling, which made me ask myself, “How about these children? What about their surroundings? Would they not be much better in their beds?” I took shame to myself to think that the position which the religious world had always taken up towards the drama almost precluded us from making our voices heard and insisting upon an inquiry into these things, and on some assurance being obtained as to the conditions under which these children were acting. When, however, I heard that members of the profession had attended to the moral and physical needs of the children, that they were kept under good control and well educated, and that their wages were sent home, so as to enable the physical, moral, and social condition of their parents to be improved—when I learn these things, I feel compelled to say that it is not for the Church to be patting the Stage on the back, but it is rather our duty to admit the grand and noble things that are being done by the members of that profession. Now I pass to the Old Theatre. Having been some time in the Opera House, I had only a few minutes to devote to this theatre, where the performance belonged

to a special class, frequently seen in the poorer theatres, viz., the melodramatic class. In the judgment we pass on such plays we must exercise a certain amount of charity. An audience like the Church Congress belongs to what I may call a comparatively educated class. Now I say that we, of this comparatively educated class, are repelled to some extent by the sensational sort of dramas. We are apt to laugh at them, and think that the order of the sentiment is high-flown and exaggerated. But the things which excite our ridicule may, nevertheless, do those who usually witness them an immense amount of good. The sentiments expressed in these melodramas are almost invariably essentially right; and the very exaggeration which a cultivated taste condemns may help to bring home to a rough and uneducated audience the transcendent beauty of heroism and virtue. Tennyson has said:—

“ Though truths in manhood darkly join,
Deep-seated in our mystic frame,
We yield all honour to the name
Of Him who made them current coin.”

And I hope I shall not be thought guilty of any profanity when I say that what we call “low melodramas” often do this very work, and help to convert into “current coin” truths which are implanted in the human heart, but which need to become incarnated in living examples before they can be really apprehended by most men. As to Paul’s Music Hall, I will only say I did not like the songs I heard; but, nevertheless, I do not think they would do anybody much harm. There was a certain amount of drinking going on, although I did not see anybody who had drunk too much. Everybody appeared to be perfectly sober. They were, in fact, too solemn, and that I was sorry to see. They did not laugh heartily enough—neither the men nor their wives; but I saw very little that I can imagine is doing any harm; and if it is a question of keeping people out of temptation, I do not think that there is much danger in such places as I visited. [Here the speaker was interrupted by the bell.]

The Rev. A. A. ISAACS, Vicar of Christ’s Church,
Leicester.

I THINK those persons must be living in the land of Utopia who conceive the possibility of all evils being removed from the recreations of the day. The attempt to do that would lead to re-action in a direction we should not like. It is well to bear in mind, also, that the course now adopted by some persons, in the extension of questionable forms of amusement, will inevitably lead to a re-action in the other direction. Some time ago I entertained the idea of forming an association by which the recreations, especially of the working classes, might be improved, so as to assume a healthy character. I, however, gave it up, on the ground that I found that too much of their time and their money were already employed in recreation of various kinds, both evil and good; and I concluded that it would be in the highest degree rash and undesirable in any way to accelerate any movement of that kind. But, apart from this, our attention has been directed to-day to the course which we are called upon to take who occupy the position of clergymen and ministers of the everlasting Gospel. The plain question we have to ask ourselves to-day is this: What attitude ought we to assume towards movements of a kind which have always been regarded by a large body of Christians as unbecoming their calling and profession? I dare not forget that I have a great responsibility to discharge towards the people under my spiritual care, and to whom I minister week by week. Let it be assumed that on any

given Sunday I preach on the passage, "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof, but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever." On the following day, let it be supposed, that I am seen at a theatre—not such an immoral theatre as has been described by Mr. Merivale—but a so-called purified theatre, purified from that which is universally considered to be objectionable. Let it be that the next day I am seen at a public fancy ball. Further, we may imagine that the day after I am known to be present at a large convivial entertainment. On the succeeding day, supposing I have sporting proclivities, I am to be seen in the shooting field, taking my part amongst the sportsmen of the day. What will my people think when I enter the pulpit on the following Sunday, after taking part in such recreations during the previous week? What will be the impression regarding my ministerial character? What correspondence has there been between my life and my ministry—between the sermon on the Sunday and the pursuits of the following days? Nor must it be forgotten, that a clergyman is frequently called to the bed of the sick and the dying. Would it be becoming that he should be called from the theatre? Ought such a summons to reach him at the festive entertainment, or in the shooting field? What appearance would he make under such circumstances, before the relations of those who have passed or are passing away from time into eternity? I do not intend to occupy much of your time; but let your ministerial standard be this, "Even when all things may be lawful to me, all things may not be expedient." Young men and others have been recommended to frequent the theatre. I would rather say, Endeavour to carry out the injunction of your Lord and Master, and "enter not into temptation." For ourselves, as Ministers of the Gospel, our duty is plain. The divine precept is, "Giving no offence in anything, that the ministry be not blamed." Whatever may be the consequences, and however great may be the temptations, our path should be the path of self-denial.

The Rev. Canon MONEY, M.A., Vicar of St. John's,
Deptford.

ONE young man who had been at one of our meetings the other day said to another: "How did you like it?" The reply was: "I felt a little confused." I hope that will not be the result of our meeting to-day. There is one thing on which I think we are all agreed, and that is, that recreation is not merely desirable, but it is an absolute necessity. What we want is to see that this recreation is really of such a character that no moral harm will be done by it. And I would say, it would be well for all classes of the Community if they enjoyed those recreations more together. If they played together more, they would be able the better to work together. Now, with regard to the Stage, I would just say, first of all, that our friends who have spoken to-day on behalf of the Stage are very much mistaken if they think that any clergyman of the Church of England would be sorry that an effort should be made to reform and improve the Stage. Some of the sentiments which have fallen from the lips of Mr. Merivale were of a very noble character, and went straight to one's heart; and I should like to assure him that we regard much that he said with feelings of admiration. But when we come to speak of the Stage, it is not a question of an ideal Stage, but it is a question as to what the Stage is now, and whether it is a fitting thing that Churchmen, and especially the clergy of the Church, should attend the theatre. I fear that to bring the Church, to bring the clergy of the Church, into the theatre, would be to bring the world

into the Church ; and I can only say to our young friend here who has just spoken, that Old Adam may prove too strong for our Young Melancthon. We are told that the object of many managers is simply to make money by their theatres. What does that mean but to pander to some of the lowest vices of the people ? Then we are told that French plays are bad, and that one would be glad to see them hissed off the Stage, and that it is not in the theatre but in society that reform must begin. Well, then, approach society—educate society upon this point, and do not let the Christian man show his face in some of those theatres where plays are performed which must bring the blush to the cheeks of a modest woman. When Mr. Hall, Member of Parliament for Oxford, spoke at the Croydon Church Congress of being no enemy of the Stage, yet he said he was not aware of any play being acted in London which he could comfortably sit to hear with his wife by his side. Again, Mr. Herman Merivale has told us that, with regard to one play acted in London, the world has never given birth to a conception so obscene as that of “ Pink Dominoes.” We have the acknowledgment of friends here, that there are bad plays, those adapted from the French, of an immoral tendency. What we want is to encourage taste and high moral feeling, and then will it be possible for a minister of Christ to show his face in such places. I do most earnestly trust that, with the Voice of God speaking to us, with the responsibilities that rest upon us, whatever may be attempted by noble-hearted men like Mr. Merivale, it is not the province of the clergy of our Church to show themselves where encouragement may be given by their presence to that which is really bad. Reference has been made to the Pantomime in London. There we find children, in contravention of Act of Parliament, being kept out of their beds to twelve and one o’clock at night. The lessee of one of the most important theatres in London told the School Board that it was no use taking any of these children for the Stage, unless they had them as young as five years ; and at the Alexandra Palace the School Board stepped in to prevent some children being employed who, they reported, were so young that, instead of being employed on the Stage, they ought to have been on their mother’s knee. Now these are the things we are asked to encourage. (“ No, no.”) Very well, then. It is true that the Stage has had a good innings here to-day, and it is difficult to stand against such severe bowling ; but there is one thing I would ask should be taken to heart as a rule for the laity, and especially as a rule for the clergy—viz., “ Whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God.”

Mr. JOHN COLEMAN, an Actor.

I AM here quite by accident, having only arrived in the town of Leicester within the last few hours. Having by accident learnt that this meeting was taking place here to-day, I determined to attend it ; for it seemed to me a somewhat anomalous proceeding that a discussion should be held on the ethics of the stage without the stage being represented by a professor of the dramatic art. It seemed to me very much like the play of “ Hamlet ” being enacted with the part of “ Hamlet ” left out. I am not prepared to make anything like a set speech, but I should like to sweep away one or two fallacies which occurred to me in the remarks of the last speaker. We are entirely in accord in this respect. We do not wish you or any Christian man or woman to enter a theatre in which improper amusements are going on, where improper plays are being acted, or improper language is being used. But what we want you to keep in view is this. The Drama must represent society as it stands. There was a time when the Drama was so profligate and disgraceful that no actor of the present day could read it without a blush. How came the Drama to be part and parcel of the time in which we live ? It was created in the infamous

period of Charles the Second. But the stage is not what it was then, and I say to you that the stage of to-day is an institution which is quite prepared to take care of itself. I indignantly deny—and I am in as good a position as any one to speak on the subject—I indignantly deny the allegation of the last speaker that all managers have in view merely to make money by their theatres.

The Rev. CANON MONEY—I did not make such a statement. I said we had been told that it was the case with many managers.

Mr. COLEMAN—Then it has been said, and I emphatically deny it. I have been an actor and manager for twenty-five years. I staked the whole earnings of my life and my fortune upon the one object I had in view—to elevate the public taste in London. I found, however, that the public taste at that period was not sufficiently cultivated to make the effort successful, and I consequently lost all in trying to do what I conceived to be a noble and honourable duty. But I will now turn to what I have more particularly to say. The stage is quite prepared to do its duty to you. Do your duty to the stage. I was the other night in the Lyceum Theatre, presided over by my friend Mr. Irving; and I am happy to say that in every lobby and in every corner of the theatre I encountered gentlemen of your cloth, and gentlemen, too, who are not ashamed to appear in their clerical costume. A word more on this subject. Not a very long time ago I happened to be fulfilling an engagement in a town of the Midland Counties, not a very long way off. At the principal hotel, where I was staying, the vicar, an old friend and schoolfellow of mine, called upon me. I said—"I am delighted to see you, Ned; but why don't you come and see me at the theatre?" The reply was—"Ah, Mrs. Grundy, my boy! Mrs. Grundy!" He added—"I cannot go to the theatre in the country, but whenever I go to London I do." Now, if you will come to the theatre and help us to stamp out that which is bad, and stamp it out thoroughly, we will welcome you. Come to the theatre, and when you see there is something good, bring your wives and children with you, and we will jointly work together in improving the recreations of the people; and then we shall make the stage what it ought to be—if in fact it is not so now—one of the crowning glories of our literature and country.

The Rev. J. M'CORMICK, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Hull.

SOMETHING has been said about athletics. I also am an athlete. I have been a University oar, and Captain of the Cambridge Eleven. Not only so, but I claim to have been distinguished at the University in almost every branch of athletics. On one occasion, in presence of my Bishop, an account was given of a pugilistic encounter in which I took part; and the Bishop, by way of turning the conversation into a profitable channel, quoted St. Paul's statement, "When I became a man I put away childish things." For my part I do not consider it was a very childish thing to give a thrashing to a professional prize-fighter. I say these things about myself because I take a different view from that held by a previous speaker with respect to the subject before us. I should like to utter a protest against the excessive athletic exercises of the present day. I do not think it is right to make such heroes of our athletes as too often is done. It is sad to see how much time is given by gentlemen at the present moment to contests of this character; and I hope we shall not have a continual exhibition of men who are positively turning themselves into professional cricketers. Gentlemen ought to use their time for better purposes, though of course there can be no objection to their playing cricket occasionally. With respect to the theatre and music halls, I have listened with great pleasure to the observations of the gentlemen who represent the stage here this afternoon. The first one read a paper of much ability, and the general tone of it was most satisfactory. I think there are many things which it would be good

for us to take seriously to heart in regard to this question ; but, at the same time, I think that many of us will feel compelled to differ from those two speakers on certain points. We are asked to go to those theatres where there are proper plays acted. Where are they ? I think that is a most important question for us to ask. {“ The Lyceum.”} I am extremely glad to hear there is one. Reference has been made to another theatre. A friend of mine was at one of the theatres in London—in the Haymarket—where he saw in the body of the hall a clergyman’s daughter and son ; and his observation to me when he came home was that he was astonished to see So-and-so sit there throughout the play, and his sister hearing and seeing all that was said and done. On another occasion I was in the train on my way home when I heard two theatre-going gentlemen talking together. One of them said, “ What did you think of the play to-night ? ” And the other answered, “ Words were used which I should have been sorry my mother or sister should have heard.” Amongst the remedies that have been mentioned are, (1) that we are to elevate the character of the plays ; (2) that we are to be on terms of friendship with actors and actresses ; (3) that we are not to denounce actors and condemn them ; and (4) that we are to have a pure ballet. As regards all these remedies, I am quite ready to join in carrying them out, if they are possible. It is right that we should go in for elevating the character of the people, and that is the main object which clergymen have at heart ; but I cannot take quite such an indulgent view of the theatres and music halls as some do. As to extending the right hand of fellowship to actors and actresses, I am happy to say that I had some friendly conversation with Mr. and Mrs. Kendal, when they were at Hull, and I shall be glad to meet them again. I quite admit that there are good and bad people among those connected with the Stage, as there are in other classes ; and I should be happy to have amongst my acquaintances the two gentlemen of that profession who have so ably addressed us this afternoon. With regard to music halls, one of the agents of a religious society told me that scenes were sometimes witnessed, and songs sung at them, which were simply disgraceful. I should like to say, before I sit down, that, if we do not go to theatres, it is not because we do not desire to see reforms carried out, but because we think that in their present state it would interfere with our spiritual character.

GEORGE HARWOOD, Esq.

I ONLY wish, as a business man, to say a word or two in reference to the argument which has been used that Christian men ought not to go to the theatre because there are sometimes plays which cannot be approved. Now, every manufacturer prefers to make a good article ; but, if there is no demand for this, he is obliged, in order to keep going, to meet the market by lowering his quality. So it is with the drama ; that must be kept going, because the dramatic instinct is inevitable to humanity, and so must be gratified in one form or other. If those withdraw their influence who could make that form good, then the determination is left to those most likely to make it bad. For here we come within the compass of the great moral law, that if the best influences of life withdraw themselves from the essential elements of humanity, then those elements will go on under the worst influences. So the theatre will not stop because some people keep away from it, but it will be lowered to the taste of those who still go. And let us remember that the question before us is not, whether clergymen, or Christians more generally—for I don’t see why the same rule should not apply to both—shall go to bad plays, but whether, because there are sometimes bad as well as good, they shall not go to plays at all. I am unwilling to take up your time, for we all wish to hear the Bishop of Carlisle, who is to close this discussion, but I should like to remind you of two facts in connection with this subject. One, that nations have not been degraded

by dramatic taste, but by the want of it; and the other, that the drama as we have it took its rise in the Church. It has been said here, that Christian men should keep away from the theatre, because they have no right thus to tamper with worldly things. But are we sure that the principle quite applies here? Life would be very charming—righteousness would be comparatively easy—if we could separate things good and bad with such straight and hard lines; if we could, by such simple rules, classify one set of actions as all right and another as all wrong. But worldliness may take many forms; it may lurk most when expected least, and there may be quite as much of it in desiring high pay, or a comfortable post, or one's own way, as in going to a theatre. And let me say a word as to the attitude of the Church of England in this and other such matters. I fear that even yet she does not realise the breadth and variety of her duties as the National Church of this great people. We hear much about the masses being atheistic, but I always feel sure that they have too much sense for that. They may be indifferent, but only with an indifference which can be overcome if religion comes to them in a fair and manly way. It must recognise their needs and be prepared to meet them with sensible geniality. And one of these needs is recreation, which can only be gratified in the highest form of appealing to the dramatic instinct. The masses of the people will never be made prigs or puritans, and will only despise a religion which can expect working-men, who have been hard at it for ten hours or so, to find sufficient diversion in singing hymns or learning Euclid. Personally many of my happiest, and some of my best, associations are connected with the theatre. As a boy I was taken by my good old schoolmaster, and I hope I shall preserve the good taste to enjoy going until I am an old man. If I have any desire to be a bishop, it is that I might set an example by going to a good play in full canonicals. The way in which the theatre has been treated by some of the speakers—first misrepresenting it, and then exhorting us to have nothing to do with it—reminds me of an old story of a young sweep who, going into a shop, asked the price of some pies. "A penny each, my boy." Then, sticking his sooty finger through the middle of one of them, he asked, "And how much will you take for that damaged one?"

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I REJOICE to find that the state of the clock is such as to forbid me from trespassing long on your time; and I really could not speak with any great force on this subject, even if I were disposed to do so, because it is a subject with which I am not practically acquainted. I never was a theatre-goer, and for reasons which I need not explain. I do not say I have never been inside a theatre, and have not had pleasure as a young man in seeing dramatic representations, perhaps half-a-dozen times in my life. It is therefore not a subject on which I could possibly speak with any weight of experience; but it is no doubt a subject which must approve itself as most important to every one of us, whether we are playgoers or not. Because, as has been admitted on all sides, the drama, for evil or for good, will exist; and therefore it is in the interests of all—of society and of the Church—that the drama should be rendered pure. There are several conclusions to which we seem to have come without much difference of opinion. There is, first, the great conclusion that a considerable amount of the drama of the present day is of a very inferior character, to say no worse. I think it has been admitted that much takes place in our theatres which ought not to take place there—that there are things represented and said upon the stage which you would not wish your wife or your daughters to see and hear; and that therefore there is unquestionably room for reform. The very existence of the Church and Stage Guild, and the Dramatic

Reform Society, of which I have the honour to be Vice-President, indicates a feeling that reform is necessary. Then again, I think it has been pretty generally admitted, that, if there be objections in the minds of almost all of us with regard to the theatre, there are objections in the minds of almost all of us with regard to the music halls. Therefore, undoubtedly, there is a great work to be done, and the only question is, how it should be done. Here, of course, we come to an extremely difficult question, as affecting the clergy. It has been argued very earnestly on both sides, and I am bound to say I think there is a great deal to be said on both sides; it has been contended, on the one hand, that it is well for the clergy to attend theatres; and, on the other, that it is undesirable for them to do so. For myself, I think that each one of us must go down on his knees before God, and consider what is his duty in the position in which he is placed. I am quite sure of this, I should have a very poor opinion of the probability of good parish work coming from a man who was a regular and systematic play-goer; I should have the same opinion, in a modified form, if he were a systematic croquet or lawn-tennis player, or made it the business of his life to indulge in those "childish things," which, when a man is called to preach the Gospel of Christ, he should in some true sense put away. But, at the same time, I am not going to condemn those who think it to be their duty and right to attend dramatic performances. I do not say there may not be advantages, if a man can go to the theatre and keep himself pure. It may be that the very fact of attending may have the admirable result of introducing purity and reform on the stage. But that is one of the questions concerning which we have not come to any distinct conclusion this afternoon. There is one other point, on which I think we have come to a pretty clear conclusion, and which I recommend to the consideration of Mr. Merivale, that these discussions of the Church Congress are really *bond fide* things. When Mr. Merivale first rose, it was obvious that his mind was a good deal disturbed by what he had heard from the previous speaker. If I might borrow a figure from what has been referred to in the course of these discussions, I should say that, if Mr. Merivale came here under the impression that we fight merely with boxing gloves, he will go away with the idea that the fight is a real "pugilistic encounter," although not on that account necessarily a breach of the peace. I think we have had a very good fight this afternoon, and that we have had, nevertheless, as much peace as is good for us on an occasion of this kind; and I hope that nobody will go away from this meeting with any unkindly feeling towards another—that clergy and laity, professional dramatists, and professional actors will go away feeling that there is a sincere desire on the part of right-thinking men that the English Stage should be purified, and should become the means of teaching morality, instead of being a source of injury and danger to the people of this land.

TEMPERANCE HALL, FRIDAY AFTERNOON,

OCTOBER 1ST.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 o'clock.

CHURCH FINANCE.

- (a) DIOCESAN FINANCE ASSOCIATIONS.
- (b) AUGMENTATION OF POOR BENEFICES.
- (c) UNION OF SMALL PARISHES, AND PLURALITIES' AMENDMENT ACT.

PAPERS.

The Hon. WILBRAHAM EGERTON, M.P.

DURING the last half century, the growth of population, and the consequent necessity for providing more adequate spiritual ministrations for the masses in our large towns, have forced upon the Church the duty of increasing its financial resources, and perfecting its machinery for collecting funds. Besides these normal wants, a new difficulty has lately arisen. When the rights of the Church of England to its property are challenged, and its endowments are claimed, by a minority of the nation, it is time for the Church to consider in what way it can best meet the pressing claims of its members for greater support to its growing institutions, and invest the funds collected for these objects with the greatest security for the future. The Church has indeed spent millions during the present century on its cathedrals, churches, and schools; but it is, I believe, true that the Church, as a body, has been accustomed to rely too much on the liberality of past generations, and has not hitherto paid sufficient attention to the important question of finance, if we compare its organisation in that respect with any of the other great religious bodies, such as the Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, or the Free Kirk in Scotland.

I will not dwell upon the means of raising money by the Church of Rome in times past, but we may emulate, with advantage, the centralised organisation of that Church, and its widely-spread machinery for raising large sums by the small contributions of the faithful. The Free Kirk in Scotland has, within a short period, given us an example of providing, by a central fund, a moderate stipend for its ministers, which is larger, in many cases, than the scanty pittance of too many of our clergy.

The Wesleyans have also shewn, from the first, great readiness in

raising money by their "classes;" and an anecdote, which I may be permitted to quote, shows from what small beginnings their finance has grown. In 1742 there was a question at Bristol of the payments of the debts of the Wesleyan Society, when one stood up and said, "Let every member of the Society give a penny a week till all are paid." Another answered, "But many of them are poor, and cannot afford to do it." "Then," said he, "put eleven of the poorest with me, and if they can give nothing, I will give for them as well as for myself, and each of you call on eleven of your neighbours weekly, receive what they give, and make up what is wanting." It was done.*

In the Church of England, if we except the funds and property administered by the Queen Anne's Bounty Board and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, there is no central organisation for finance. From time to time pious men, representing various schools of thought in the Church, have founded central societies in London to meet the pressing wants of the Church, such as the Missionary Society, S.P.G., S.P.C.K., Church Building Societies, and many others.

Outside these societies the organisation has been wholly parochial, and but little has been done by the collection of small sums, except through the offertory, and even this means has only been partially and irregularly resorted to.

We have lately had brilliant examples of what a few individuals can do in the foundation of three new bishoprics, of which that of Liverpool is most conspicuous, which was initiated by the energy and liberality of the late Mr. Torr,—by his noble example he was able to raise the first £70,000 from 70 contributors, since which £30,000 has been raised in smaller sums.

The Briefs frequently issued by the Crown in the 17th century, for various objects, are said to have been an inconvenient and expensive way of collecting, and although some improvements were effected by legislation in the statute 4 Anne and 9 George IV, they have been discontinued since 1854.

If the diocese, rather than the parish, be taken as the true unit of Church organisation, a diocesan society is in harmony with the whole theory of church work; while Central Societies in London, managed by self constituted committees have no recognised position, except to stimulate the action of the diocese. Mr. Ingram, the able secretary of the Additional Curates Society, in a paper read at the Truro Conference, has advocated Central Societies for collecting money, and diocesan committees as the best agency for spending money, and he grounds that opinion on the advantage of a properly conducted office, with accounts systematically kept, grants paid, and a staff of organising secretaries covering the whole field of work.

For a Diocesan Society to be successful it must imitate the machinery of a society constituted like the Additional Curates Society. This leads me to consider what steps have been taken to introduce a diocesan system of finance which would work in harmony with the great Central Societies.

Bishop Selwyn, before he went out to New Zealand in 1838, was

* Smith's *Hist. of Wesleyan Methodism*, vol. i, p. 188, quoted by John Stoughton, D.D., in *Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges*.

one of the first to recognize the Cathedral as the spiritual heart of the diocese, from which as a centre every church work should flow. He laid the first foundation of a scheme of diocesan finance in a sketch of a "Cathedral institution." His plan was as follows (*Life of Selwyn*, p. 35.) :—

"The diocese is divided into as many districts as there are Canons in the Cathedral, and every Canon is considered responsible to the Bishop for the effectual diffusion of the Word of God in his own district. The Canons are also secretaries of the great societies of the church—the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., the Society for Building and Enlarging Churches and Chapels, the National Society, &c., &c. By their preaching the principles and operations of those societies are effectually made known throughout the diocese, and liberal contributions obtained."

He also put forward a scheme called the Tetragonon, a Church Union combining the work of the S.P.C.K., S.P.G., National Society, and Church Building Society, under one roof, with the Chaplain of the Archbishop as head ; over each of the four departments he would place as secretary a prebend or canon ;—the Archbishop as president, the Bishops members of the committee for each department. Similar committees would be formed in each cathedral town with one of the canons for secretary ; and archidiaconal and ruridecanal branches in correspondence with the diocesan boards throughout the country.

It was not, however, till the revival of diocesan action by the holding of diocesan Conferences that any practical scheme to carry out some of these objects was started, and to that action, in the dioceses of Chester and Manchester, with which I am personally acquainted, I wish more fully to refer.

I. A Scheme for Diocesan Finance took its rise in the discussions of the Chester Diocesan Conference in 1871, when the project was started by Mr. Hull, a solicitor of Liverpool, of great foresight and practical knowledge, and a committee, of which I had the honour to be the chairman, was appointed to draw up a scheme. A subsequent diocesan Conference (1873) confirmed the scheme, which was matured by the legal knowledge of Mr. Hull, after conference with the Board of Trade, and which was incorporated under the Companies Act, 1867, with the following objects, namely :—to assist members of the Church of England in providing for the maintenance and furtherance of the Church of England within the diocese.

Until the Association shall in general meeting determine to enlarge its sphere of action, moneys contributed will be applied to the support of the four following diocesan societies, namely :—

I.—The Diocesan Church Building Society.

II.—The Diocesan Board of Education.

III.—The Association for improving inadequately-provided Incumbencies.

IV.—The Institution for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of Diocesan Clergy, and the Clergy Daughter School.

The expenses of management are paid out of an unappropriated fund, and the remainder is distributed annually among the four Diocesan Societies, according to their needs.

The Association is under the management of a committee composed of sixty-three members, consisting of the following :—

Five ex-officio members—the Bishop, the Dean, the Chancellor, and the two Archdeacons.

Twenty life members—donors of at least £5.

Eight annual members, two chosen by each of the societies before mentioned.

Thirty annual members, two of whom will be chosen by each of the fifteen rural deaneries.

These numbers will be slightly reduced, in consequence of the creation of the Liverpool Diocese.

The qualification for membership is :—For life members, a donation of not less than £5, or a collection by a clergyman of not less than £10; for annual members, a subscription of not less than 5s., or a collection by a clergyman of not less than £1.

The liability of life members is limited to £5 5s., and the liability of annual members to 5s.

Donations, subscriptions, and collections are received in each rural deanery, and a committee and treasurer should be appointed by each rural deanery for this purpose.

The Chester Association is at present confined to the support of the four above mentioned charities, without any interference with their internal management. Its representative character ensures that the wants and resources of each rural deanery are thoroughly known, and among the life members are included the most influential laity in the diocese. A joint report is issued annually with the accounts of the four charities. The list of collections published has had the effect of stimulating the zeal of parishes, and making known the deficiencies of those who have not hitherto contributed. There is a lay and a paid clerical organising secretary; the latter visits each rural deanery in succession, provides special preachers, and gives information respecting the societies. In some rural deaneries the finance committee has made a special canvass for funds with satisfactory results, and parochial associations have been formed. The result has been that the income of the Chester charities has been raised from £4,877 in 1872, to £7,287 in 1879, and by legacies in the year 1877 to £10,989. In both dioceses it has been found that legacies have been given to the financial Boards which might have been lost to the Church if no such responsible body had existed.

2.—Board of Finance—Diocese of Manchester.

It was originally proposed to incorporate the Diocesan Church Building Society with limited liability under the provisions (23 section) of the Companies Act, 1867; but the Board of Trade declined to grant a license, except for the registration of a new society, and many objections were felt to exist against this course being adopted, or the Society incorporated *as unlimited*.

Incorporation under the 35 and 36 Vic., c. 24, was proposed; but the Charity Commissioners doubted whether the Act would be applicable to this case, and, if applicable, whether the trouble of obtaining the necessary consents would not be so serious as to make it undesirable to proceed.

An independent Board of Finance was therefore incorporated in 1874, under the Companies Act, 1862, with *unlimited* liability, to act as Treasurer of the Diocesan Church Building Society, to hold and invest its funds, leaving the Society in its original position. (Certified July 7, 1874.)

In 1876, it was thought desirable to extend the operations of the Board, and by a certificate, dated January 31, 1877, the Board of Finance of the Diocese of Manchester was incorporated (as before) under the Companies Act, 1862. It is composed of twenty-one members, with power to add to their number.

The objects for which the Company is established are:—

(a) The *acting as Treasurer* for the Manchester Diocesan Church Building Society, and the Manchester Diocesan Board of Education, and for all or any other societies, charities, trusts, committees, institutions, and organisations, now or from time to time hereafter existing in connection with the Church of England within the Diocese of Manchester, for which the company may think proper to act in such capacity.

(b) The *receiving, obtaining, collecting, holding, investing, managing, and otherwise dealing with the moneys, lands, buildings, stock funds, securities, and other real and personal property from time to time, belonging to, or given, devised, bequeathed, or subscribed, to or for the Manchester Diocesan Church Building Society, and the Manchester Diocesan Board of Education, and all or any societies, charities, trusts, committees, institutions, and organisations, now or from time to time hereafter existing in connection with the Church of England, within the Diocese of Manchester, for which the Company shall have undertaken to act as aforesaid.*

(c) The administration, use, employment, payment, application, and disposition of the moneys, stocks, funds, securities, lands, buildings, and other real and personal property, from time to time, of the said societies, charities, trusts, committees, institutions, and organisations, and of the dividends, interest, profits, and annual income thereof.

(d) The *receiving, obtaining, collecting, holding, investing, managing, and otherwise dealing with moneys, funds, and estates, both real and personal, by gift, subscription, devise, bequests, purchase, or otherwise, and the appropriation and distribution of the same, and of the income arising therefrom, and from the sale or conversion thereof, to and amongst all or any of the societies, for which the Company shall, for the time being, act as Treasurer, or to or for any other purpose or purposes connected with the Church of England, within the Diocese of Manchester.*

It thus covers the whole ground of Church work.

The Manchester Board of Finance is composed of six *ex-officio* members, the Bishop, Dean, Archdeacons, and Chancellor, and a few influential laymen, who must be members of the governing body for which the Board is acting as Treasurer.

Such an organisation, where, as in Manchester, there are wealthy men of business who are willing to undertake the responsibility, works well, and will probably extend its operations beyond the two societies, for which it now acts as Treasurer. Funds for the repair

or endowment of churches, or to be used as benefactions to be offered to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or Queen Anne's Bounty Board to meet grants, are conveniently placed with the Board, to be permanently invested or held till the object of the contributors can be accomplished.

Such is the working of a Diocesan Board of Finance in two dioceses; and, if their example was followed in all dioceses, not only would local wants be better supplied, but the wealthier and less populous dioceses would assist the poorer, and a principle of what is called "solidarity" by the Bishop of Manchester be introduced, by which the richer parishes would recognise that they are one in brotherhood with the poorer parishes.

All systems of finance, the parochial canvass, the weekly offertory, would be stimulated by diocesan action; the local charities, as well as the central societies, would feel the benefit. Donations of money and land might be vested in a diocesan body in trust for the general purposes of the Church within the diocese.

If this discussion should lead to such a result, a Church Congress would no longer be open to the charge that its proceedings are not of a practical character.

It is with a definite object in view that I bring this question before this Congress. The best means of extending diocesan action is by reducing the size of unwieldy dioceses, and increasing the number of Bishops, thus infusing fresh life into the Church.

There are still three Bishoprics that are waiting for funds to complete them. The central Society for the Increase of the Episcopate can not do more than it has in evoking local funds; it now only needs that the liberality of Churchmen, already shown in building and restoring churches, should be stimulated by a Finance Association in each diocese to carry out this much desired work.

Under the able guidance of the Bishop of Durham, I feel confident that funds will not long be wanting to establish the Bishopric of Newcastle, that Lincoln and Ripon will not be long behind in the race, and Wakefield and Southwark be the centres of fresh diocesan action.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP of NOTTINGHAM.

GRAVE and arduous are the duties of the clergy of the Church of England, whence they greatly need sufficient means of support to enable them to dedicate themselves unreservedly to God's service and the spiritual oversight of the flocks committed to their charge. In days of old there was much generous care for the maintenance of the clergy of England, not on the part of the State, but through the generosity of private landowners, the evidences of which are still plentiful, notwithstanding past partial spoliation, and plainly declare the piety of the laity in bygone times. Happily this is not dead, but needs revival in many hearts, serving to counteract that ungodliness, that selfishness, that extravagance, but too often conspicuous among the upper classes now, leading to the neglect of God and want of charity towards man. There are indeed now, as

ever, many truly noble men who use their wealth aright ; but there are many also who seem to forget that all worldly wealth is the gift of God, to be accounted for to Him hereafter, who, instead of duly providing for the spiritual wants of their less favoured brethren, or even of those dependent on them, do nothing, or next to nothing, for the ministers of God, in accordance with the words of St. Paul, "The Lord hath ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." Unfortunately for the Church of England a large portion of her endowments was by degrees absorbed by monastic houses. Their inmates, in return, served the several parishes to which they belonged ; but at the dissolution of those houses their endowments, instead of being restored to the sources whence they were derived, or to other religious uses, were given away or sold to laymen. To this day the great tithes of nearly a fourth of the benefices of England and Wales are in the hands of lay impropriators, who, for the most part, remain unmoved when they see or hear of half-starved clergymen labouring hard in God's service, whilst they are doing nothing for Him out of the endowments they are enjoying, given by devout men in days of old ; so that, although they may perhaps be ready to aid in the restoration or adornment of churches, they leave those serving them to suffer poverty, or to the compassion of others, which their forefathers would never have done.

What remedy then can be found for this state of things, viz., for the relief of the incumbents of insufficiently endowed benefices ? Happily in several dioceses that question has been very carefully considered, and more or less successfully answered, whilst others are preparing to follow their example. One of the first suggestions which is usually, but most unadvisedly, made is, that the better endowed benefices shall be taxed for the augmentation of the poorer ones. There is, however, no justice in this, which would amount simply to spoliation, because each parish is entitled to its own benefactions ; and what would the original benefactors say could they speak, should they hear that a part of that which they had deprived themselves of, for the sake of their own parishes alone, had been given to augment the benefices of other parishes in which they had no interest, and where landowners had done little or nothing for them ? Besides which, such a levelling system would constitute a most dangerous precedent, that might be applied to landowners, freeholders, or any other owners of property, to the ultimate ruin of any country, whose people should be unwise enough, or unscrupulous enough, to adopt it. But there is a levelling that may be wisely and charitably adopted, and that is a levelling *up* instead of a levelling *down*, to the great general advantage of our Church, by the increase of its means through the augmentation of its poorer benefices.

The way in which this may be effected has been exemplified by the successful action taken in several dioceses with respect to the formation of associations having this object in view ; and perhaps I may be excused if I select as an example of what may be done in the way of augmenting the value of poorly endowed benefices, the one founded for the benefit of my own native county of Lincoln through

determined action combined with patient labour. For the information and encouragement of those who may wish to found such associations, allow me to forewarn them as to the probable words of some depressing objectors. Their first cry will be—"Nobody will give, or, if they do, it will be so little, that no perceptible impression will be made with respect to the immense work you are so daring as to take in hand." Do not, however, allow these to depress you; for, as this work is assuredly good, if you only labour discreetly as well as diligently, it will certainly prosper. You must, of course, expect to find that many will *not* respond, when you issue circulars which you think *must* touch the hearts of many on whom you especially relied, and whose names as lay-leaders of a diocese or county would have been most valuable. But be content; you have toiled well, and in honest faith you have let down your net for a draught and perhaps caught little or nothing. Well, only try again, and be assured you will not toil always in vain, but will find what you need where and when you never thought of success, and far greater than you thought possible; for the labourers are worthy of their maintenance, and God, perhaps through you, will provide for them.

The promoters of a fresh association, founded at the desire of a Bishop or through the action of a Diocesan Conference, would hardly be so sanguine as to expect to raise so large a sum as £10,000 in a few years in any county of England for such a purpose; but, for the encouragement of those at work or contemplating such work, I have the gratification of answering that we have in Lincolnshire acquired more than six times that amount in nine years towards the augmentation of some of its poorest benefices, and are well prepared to respond to further appeals for aid.

The next objection, made by some, is that by adding to the value of poor benefices, patrons will be benefited and thus enabled to make better merchandise of their advowsons through their sale; to which I would reply, that, even should it be so, we gain our end, because our object is to provide a decent competence for the incumbents of such benefices, and we do so through the augmentation of their incomes, whoever may be their patrons. A third objection is, that from the rules of such associations it is not the poorest, but the more fortunate benefices, which are augmented. One of these rules, indeed, is that a benefaction must be offered by some person or persons towards the augmentation of a benefice before it can be aided by a local association and the Bounty Board or Ecclesiastical Commissioners, whence appeals *ad misericordiam* without any local exertion, and consequently local help, must be sternly rejected, inasmuch as parishes are never without property, as individuals are; and, if such appeals were responded to, the mean and the selfish would unduly profit by the generous friends of the Church; besides which the capital of the association would lose much of its fruitfulness, and hinder one of its excellent designs—viz., the promotion of local action in behalf of poorly endowed benefices. Hence, although an incumbent may sorrowfully and touchingly say "I have no friends who can or will give anything towards this object, so that I cannot hope to derive any advantage from your association, help me out of *pure charity*," we must needs say "No," perhaps for the benefit of

that very incumbent, because this refusal may attract attention, when its justice will be acknowledged, and some utterly un-thought-of person may consequently offer a benefaction which can be dealt with. Thus four times as much will be obtained for the recipient as would have been the case had his appeal in the first place been weakly responded to by an unconditional grant. Help towards the erection of parsonage houses is usually a secondary object which such associations have in view, and a most valuable one it is; but as a rule this help can only be extended to the incumbents of benefices, the net incomes of which are under £200 a year, in consequence of the present practice of the Bounty Board. Serving as I do in two counties, one of which alone has the benefit of a poor benefice augmentation association, I am well able to bear testimony as to the great value of such associations from a knowledge of the benefit that is derived from them, and the loss felt where no local action has been taken in behalf of poorer incumbents who look with sadness upon their more fortunate brethren elsewhere, and anxiously hope that they may soon be similarly blest with a poor benefice augmentation association. May their desire be fulfilled through the formation and vigorous maintenance of such a society in every diocese of England, to the comfort of our clergy and the benefit of our Church at large!

ADDRESSES.

The Right Hon. Lord JOHN MANNERS, M.P.

I SHALL glance at the causes that have led to the present condition of the poor benefices in England, upon the same principle that a physician, when called in to prescribe for a disease of long standing, commences by making a careful diagnosis. Why is it that there exist poor benefices in what is sometimes called the richest Church in Christendom? The Bishop of Nottingham has, I think, suggested the cause of the malady in pointing out that it originated when the religious houses in England acquired that dominance over the secular clergy of the country which resulted in absorbing to themselves, by the time of the Reformation, the tithes of probably thousands of parishes in England. At the time, however, of the Reformation, not only appropriation, but impropriation, became the order of the day, and when a few years ago earnest men began to turn their attention to the poorer benefices of the Church of England, and an investigation was made to discover where the great tithes which had formed so large a portion of the endowments of the Church had gone, it was found, roughly speaking, that a sum of £760,000 a year had been alienated to lay impropriators; that in the hands of ecclesiastical appropriators there was £670,000 a year; and in the hands of schools and colleges another £200,000 a year. Thus, in 1850, there was the sum of £1,630,000 of alienated tithes taken away from the use of the parishes to which they had originally been dedicated. What then would be the probable number of livings affected by this alienation? I have not the number before me; but I will quote as an example those in the Diocese of Peterborough. A few years since, Mr. Watson, of Sharnford, and another gentleman made enquiries on this subject, and they found that in the diocese in question seventy-eight livings might fairly be called poor benefices, that is to say, they had endowments of under £200 a year, of

which fifteen were rectories, and sixty-three were vicarages, or, in other words, livings of which the great tithes had been alienated.

The alienation of the great tithes being therefore the principal cause of the poorness of Church benefices, I come to the conclusion that the chief remedy for this state of things is the restoration of the tithes. The first legislative effort in that direction was due to Archbishop Howley, in 1830, and the Act of Parliament which followed has resulted in about £23,000 a year being restored to the deprived parishes. Next in point of time, and first in point of importance, comes the action of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which has restored £78,000 of the alienated tithes. With regard to the results of individual action, it must be borne in mind that no doubt tithes in the hands of laymen, under a system which has continued for century after century, stand in a different position from the tithes which fall into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and cannot be dealt with in the same way. In spite of that, I find that during the period I allude to, £23,000 a year has been restored by the unaided action of laymen. Lastly, came the efforts of the Tithes Redemption Trust, founded by Mr. Malet, a parish clergyman in Hertfordshire, and over which I have myself had the honour to preside for many years. This Trust has, by its action, succeeded in restoring tithes amounting to £2,700 a year to the parishes that had been deprived of them.

On the whole, therefore, a sum of something like £130,000 a year has been restored to the parishes of tithes alienated before and at the Reformation. This fact, I think, justifies me, as Chairman of the Tithes Redemption Trust, in impressing upon this meeting that it is to the ancient and scriptural system of tithes that we must look for the cure of the evils attendant upon the impoverishment of benefices. Although I have alluded to the useful and beneficial action of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in this respect, I regret to be obliged to make one comment of a less favourable character on what they have done recently.

By a Parliamentary paper I find that during the last few years the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have re-appropriated some £20,000 a year to four endowments of Archbishoprics and Bishoprics. That, I venture to think, is a step of a most retrograde character; and I earnestly appeal to the Chairman and other prelates to use their influence with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to repair this wrong. It cannot be pleaded that the livings, from which they have re-appropriated the tithes, were in all cases properly endowed, because I find in two instances the parish endowments are under £200 a year, in three they amount to less than £300 a year, while in several others they are barely over £300 a year.

For that reason I protest against this action of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and I hope that the Prelates, including the Primate of all England, whose See is very largely endowed from this source, will follow the example of the Primate of the Northern Province, whose presence in Leicester has given so much satisfaction during the last few days—I mean the Archbishop of York—and procure the endowment of their Sees from some other source than that of the tithes of these impoverished parishes.

I have spoken of lay impropiators. We cannot expect the work of restoration to proceed with much rapidity with them. But I know that there is no class of property which is usually so unfavourably regarded by laymen as tithes; and there are many laymen who will be glad, either through the agency of the Queen Anne's Bounty, or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or the Tithe Redemption Trust, to restore on reasonable terms the tithes to the parishes from which they have been taken. But if, on the one hand, tithe is a disagreeable property for laymen to hold, it is, on the other hand, anything but a disagreeable class of property for the clergy to possess in time of agricultural depression. For those of the clergy who have been dependent during the last two or three years upon glebes, know from bitter experience what it is to be dependent on the income of two or three farms.

Therefore, both on account of the uncomfortable character of tithes when held by lay-owners, and their comfortable character when held by the clergyman as a means of income, I press this upon the Congress as a solution of the difficulty which they are called upon to deal with in the augmentation of poor benefices. I would say to the layman and to the cleric, "Do what in you lies to promote the restoration of alienated tithes to the parishes from which they have been taken." I would say to the layman, "It is no fault of yours that you are in possession of alienated tithes;" but it cannot be doubted, after what has been said by the Bishop of Nottingham, that the possession of them was in its origin tainted, and in its character burdensome. To all, then, I say,

"Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum."

Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart.

We shall all agree that the subjects dealt with under Church Finance are of much less importance than those others which have occupied or may occupy the attention of the Congress. But yet they deserve our best consideration.

If we members of the Church avoid waste, if we study and are seen to study the careful use of our resources—our resources in men and money—we shall not only have more power at our command but shall conciliate a sympathy which is greatly chilled by manifest waste.

During this century much has been done to turn to better account the funds belonging to the Church. More remains to be done, and I desire to bring before the notice of this section one department of Church machinery where a great economy may be effected to the benefit of all concerned.

I allude to the great number of very small parishes, that is of benefices small in respect of work and of income.

To quote from statistics already laid before a Church Congress (by Rev. G. Venables in 1877), there are 1495, with populations under 220. They contain a population of 197,924, or 132 each, and possess an income of £276,587, or an average £183 each.

It is unnecessary to say much as to the evil of these extremely small incomes. The injustice to the individual men, the loss to the Church, have been often pointed out.

We are told how the clergy are obliged to eke out an income insufficient to maintain them; how they have to add to it by obtaining other means of living; how their influence for good is impaired by having to struggle to keep their heads above water on means far less than enough for them and their families.

These great evils are often dwelt upon, when men have pressed the claims of societies for augmenting small livings, either throughout the country or in particular Dioceses.

So far as they have failed, it is, I believe, because they have lost sight of the other evils involved, and that mere augmentation of the income would not remove them.

Another ill effect of the parishes, small in population, is that the work is not enough for a man with ordinary energy to occupy his time. Last autumn the Bishop of Norwich spoke on this subject, and pointed out the tendency there is in every one, when there is little to do, to do nothing, and how likely men are to deteriorate in such a case, as to energy, activity, and influence.

Again, it is evident that in the present state of the Church the supply of clergy so lavish in some parts cannot exist without a corresponding dearth in other parts. We are continually hearing of increasing pressure of this

dearth, of the difficulty of finding men to carry on the work of the Church in the growing populations of large towns, and to meet the great needs that are manifested in English Communities abroad and in British possessions and in the vast field of missionary effort.

And we may feel sure that this demand for men is certain to increase, while some hold that it is very far from certain whether the supply will be kept up.

Whether, therefore, we look to the present, or, still more, if we look to the future, we see the urgent need of economizing our forces, of withdrawing men from those parts where they are wanted less, and of placing them where the need for help is so pressing.

To accomplish this end I believe we ought to endeavour to bring about a union of parishes—that they should be united with adjoining parishes—until none were left insufficient in income and population. In many cases this would mean that one clergyman would have to attend to two or more parishes.

In others where four or five parishes were formed into one, it might be easy for an incumbent and a curate to do the work now done by four or five incumbents.

I must now deal with the objections that are made to this proposal. It is urged that parishes have a right to those privileges which they have enjoyed in the past, and that they will object to a change, and that we are bound to attend to their objection.

I venture to think that we ought to weigh the interest of the Church as a whole as against the wishes of any one parish. To do so would be to introduce no new principle. It has certainly guided the action of Parliament in dealing with some of the parishes in the city of London, from which funds have been withdrawn and added to the incomes of large but poor parishes outside the city.

But again it is impossible to doubt that the small parishes themselves would be very great gainers. We all know the difficulties that beset Patrons when these small livings have to be filled up.

It often happens that a good and active man is found suitable to the post. The income may be ample to satisfy him but he rejects it because of the insufficiency of the work; because he desires a sphere of action where he can do a greater work, and not one where his powers will be wasted in the doing of very little.

A sufficiency of work has become one of the most important features that go to make a parish attractive; and, with the growing difficulty of finding incumbents, we shall, I believe, find it often impossible to fill up vacancies, or at least to fill them up in a way satisfactory to the parishioners.

Again, it is urged that, if several parishes were united together, it might become difficult to provide as many services as the people had been accustomed to, and that many would lose the habit of attending them.

It is clear that in any scheme of amalgamation full weight must be given to the question of area; but we may often see that the areas of these parishes are so small that they are amply provided for the education of the children when possessed of one schoolroom.

If the children can get to one school five days in the week, it is difficult to suppose that the parents could not go to the Church for the Sunday services. But it is urged there are difficulties in the way, that this proposal could not be carried out without alterations of the existing law, and that the rights of patrons are such that no amalgamation of parishes could be made without their consent. It is, I believe, very generally admitted that the Plurality Act went too far, and many of its provisions might with advantage be relaxed.

Again, I cannot admit that the patrons have any right to stand in the way of a necessary reform any more than the owner of a field has a right to prevent the building of a railway. Further, a change might be made that

would do no harm to their rights, and yet would facilitate the amalgamation of parishes. Let us suppose the Bishop of the Diocese or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners possessed of power to give notice that certain parishes should be united. The patrons might then have a period allowed during which they might come to mutual arrangements. If nothing was done on the expiration of the period, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners might then have power to purchase compulsorily the advowsons from the patrons, to unite them, and to sell them again. They have the funds at their disposal, and the estimated cost would be but little.

I have endeavoured to express my belief that the great numbers of small parishes at present existing cause great injury to the Church, and that these evils might be removed without any serious change in the law. I trust that in holding this opinion I shall have the sympathy of this meeting, and that men's minds throughout the country will be prepared for some reform in this direction to the great benefit of the Church at large.

T. SALT, Esq.

I HAVE been invited to come here and say something about the amendment of the Pluralities Act, and, from the terms in which the notice has been given, I have assumed, from the first, that the Act requires some amendment, and I have ventured to look into it with that view. Now, when we speak of the Pluralities Act, I conceive that we all mean the great Act which is known by that name, the 106th cap. of the 1st and 2nd Queen Victoria, which was passed in the year 1838, now more than 40 years ago. On looking into that Act I was much struck with a certain characteristic of that document, which I should imagine most of us would say is almost, if not quite, peculiar to an Act of Parliament. It is an extremely interesting document: it is very interesting historically, so important that I believe no writer dealing with the history of the Church of England during the last fifty years could safely neglect a careful examination of its provisions in order to throw light upon the history with which he would be concerned. Now it was called the Pluralities Act because its most important feature is probably that point in it which attracted most attention at the time of its passing, and which deals with the holding of pluralities. But as a matter of fact the Act, which is long, and contains more than 130 clauses, deals with other questions of great and indeed almost vital importance to the Church. It deals with no less than seven great questions with which we come in contact almost perpetually, though I doubt whether many of us—certainly I was not—are in the habit of tracing the origin and basis of those matters to this particular Act. It deals with the holding of more benefices than one, which is strictly forbidden except under very stringent rules; it deals with the union of benefices; it also gives powers, and very considerable powers, to provide for isolated and difficult places in parishes which require division in some form or another; it also regulates that custom [by which] clergymen of the Church of England are not allowed to engage in trade, and only partially—happily for them in these times—in agriculture. It also lays down the rules—and most important rules—with regard to the residence of the clergy upon their benefices; it deals with the building of parsonage houses, and, I think, though I am not quite sure, as I am speaking from memory, that I come to the seventh, when I say that there are long and detailed provisions with regard to curates. Now, I must look at this great Act for a moment as a whole. Of course a great deal might be said upon each of these important points in detail; but, even if I had the knowledge and ability, I am afraid that to-day I hardly have time to do more than touch upon them. Taking the Act as a whole, I think the reason why I said it was interesting will now be apparent. It throws

immense light upon the position of the clergy and the position of the Church forty years ago. It declares what were the difficulties that had to be dealt with in that day, and it shows also by its clear and forcible language, with what determination those difficulties were encountered and met; and therefore I say it is a most interesting document historically. The language of that Act, the provisions of that Act, the whole tone of that Act could not possibly be what they are, if the evils which the persons who produced it desired to remedy had not been very great and very serious indeed. But in looking back to that point of history there comes a subject of great congratulation and of much hope, because we are looking back with a knowledge of the results of that beneficent legislation. We see what it has done, and by reading that Act we see the evils that existed before the beginning of our own generation, and we know the condition of affairs now. Most of those evils which were so apparent then have now become almost a thing of the past. The clergy reside in their parishes; it is quite an unusual thing—almost unknown—for a clergyman to hold more benefices than one, or at any rate two, under exceptional circumstances. Parsonages and other houses are provided with the greatest diligence, the need of them is acknowledged on all hands, and instead of having a body of careless and self-seeking clergy we have now a body of men who for zeal and self-sacrifice, and devotion, and an honest desire to perform their duty, have never been equalled by any set of men at any period of the history of the world. Now does this Act as a whole require reconsideration with a view to amendment and alteration? I wish I had time to illustrate it by going into detail; but I would put forward for your thought this point, that an Act, however good in itself, which was passed under one set of circumstances may yet be wholly inapplicable to a totally different state of affairs. I have no doubt that, forty-two years ago, that Act was not only desirable but necessary to the welfare of the Church. I think it very possible that all its rigorous, and careful, and stringent provisions in almost every detail were necessary. At any rate they were the best that could be made at the time; and I think still that its principles were right, and that those principles should be maintained unimpaired and unaffected. But, having said all that, it by no means follows that the particular details of administration which were excellent, and good, and at the time—that is forty-two years ago—were the best that could be furnished, are the most convenient and the best for our purposes at the present day. We have had a great development of Church organisation, a great growth of Church societies: we are brought together much more easily in these days than we were two and forty years ago. At that time such meetings as the present, over which your lordship presides, could only with very considerable difficulty and very imperfectly have been held. All these things point to this, that a great administrative Act passed at the time I mention may very properly, and probably with advantage, be reconsidered and re-arranged at the present day. And what has been said by previous speakers will throw much light on this matter. For instance, it is very doubtful whether the stringent rule with respect to holding more than one benefice at a time is really applicable in all cases or advantageous to the clergy or to the people themselves. Now, it is only a few days ago that I happened to be staying in Herefordshire, and I talked about this matter to my host, who was a clergyman, and he told me that, within easy distance of his house, there were no less than six benefices, and the whole of them contained, I believe, a population of about 1,500 only; and I asked him what he would like to do? He said that he would like to unite the whole six, that they would be very much better administered, both with regard to funds and to services, if they could be united in some convenient manner, and served by some important clergyman, aided by curates. That is by no means a singular instance; there are many other cases in the country, where there are a large number of small and poor cures, in which the clergy and the parishioners are both

in a difficulty from that circumstance. Another matter in the same direction has often occurred to myself; but it requires more knowledge and more thought than I have been able to give to it. It is that a country parish might often with advantage be united to a large town parish: it would throw life and energy into the country parish, and it would be possible, by uniting a town and country parish, not only to obtain a better arrangement of funds and of clergy, but also to give something like a rest at certain times of the year to the overworked clergy in the dense places of great towns. That subject has been already mentioned, so I will leave it. There is one other point of detail which I will only just touch upon, but I think it requires consideration. The Pluralities Act gives considerable powers for the separation of isolated places with regard to ecclesiastical parishes. Now, I want to call the attention of the Congress to this fact, that during the last ten or fifteen years, and especially recently, there have been enormous changes in the area of the several parishes of the country; but the ecclesiastical parish has not followed those changes. The original theory was that the civil and ecclesiastical parish should be in area one and the same, and, probably, very much the same in government; but now we have the area of the two becoming every day more divergent. The Acts of Parliament with regard to the civil parish are actively in operation, but they in no way touch the ecclesiastical area and the ecclesiastical divisions. I have no time to dwell upon that very interesting subject, but I will throw it out as a point which requires very careful investigation and thought, both as regards the civil and ecclesiastical administration of our parishes. I cannot deal further with the subject as my portion of time has come to an end.

DISCUSSION.

The Venerable the Archdeacon of ELY.

OWING to my official connection with the Congress, I hesitate always to speak at its meetings, but having taken very great interest in financial work, especially in connection with the diocese of Ely, I believe I might add some thoughts, at any rate, to assist in the general discussion of this subject. Let, I say first of all, the addresses we have had from such eminent clergy and laity prove the wisdom of having a section like this, though it be not largely attended. It will be found from the history of past Congresses that many of the most useful meetings have not been those which have been most largely attended. It struck me that the statement made by Mr. Salt just now, with respect to the Pluralities Act, and the necessity or desirableness of getting it re-constructed or arranged for the present wants, is a strong argument for what we pleaded at a section yesterday—viz., for more powers to be granted by Parliament to the Church for internal legislation and regulation. And, again, it has struck me, seeing the eminent laymen who have kindly come forward to help us on this occasion, what immense value it would be to Church work if, through the diocesan conferences of this country, such laymen as those could be sent up to London to form a voluntary lay organization to assist in the deliberations of convocation, and help it the better to arrive at sound and practical conclusions. And now to pass on to the particular subject of the section. I should like to mention what we are doing in the diocese of Ely. We have already had a most interesting statement by Mr. W. Egerton, of the financial work done in the Dioceses of Manchester and Chester. Well, in the Ely Diocese we have what is called a Diocesan Fund, of which I have had the honour of being treasurer from the beginning. It was started in 1864, and was the very first work of the Ely Diocesan Conference. For a few years it had chiefly in view the

increase of small livings, the building of parsonage houses, the providing of additional clerical aid for large and important scattered parishes, and the assistance of clergy who might fall into special temporary difficulties. This worked very well in the time of Bishop Harold Browne, now Bishop of Winchester. We reckoned we had for that fund something like £900 a year, which was raised by contributions and offertories; and, by our grants from this sum to supplement local effort, we reckon we made 8,000 or 9,000 a year—*i.e.*, grants obtained on the average made six to ten times as much from other sources. When our present bishop came amongst us, he suggested that Church building and Mission House building should be added to the objects of the fund, and also the payment of the diocesan religious inspection, and promised to issue, once a year, a letter to all his clergy requesting them to have an offertory on a special Sunday, or within a month of that Sunday. This has been carried out during the last six years with very satisfactory results. Out of 550 parishes, certainly 450 send us up an offertory. Besides, we have a very fair amount of subscriptions. The fund is worked by ruri-decanal treasurers and secretaries, and I am the general treasurer in correspondence with the whole. From our subscriptions and offertories we derive something like £1,700 to £2,000 a year, which is distributed by the Ely Diocesan Conference on the recommendation of an Ely Diocesan Fund Committee, which meets some time previously to consider the applications for aid and to make suggestions. These suggestions may be overruled, and are sometimes, but very seldom, by the Diocesan Conference. We reckon that not only do we provide a fair amount for the general work of the diocese, but we do much more than that. By giving out new grants we reckon that our grants made from the £2,000 raise every year for the diocese (through bringing out additional local contributions from the various districts and parishes for the special works contemplated) something like £8,000 or £10,000 a year more. Especially the grants made bring out assistance for additional curates. A parish clergyman comes to us and says: "I want an additional curate." We say: "We will give you £25 or £35 if you will raise the rest." And it is very remarkable that, if you will put a certain sum into the hands of the clergyman, it is like the small snowball that we hear of, which, if rolled up and down along the snow, keeps on enlarging. The clergyman goes back to his friends and neighbours and parishioners, and says: "The Ely Diocesan Fund have offered me £25, on condition I raise so much more." The result is that the grant (£25 or £30 from the fund) brings in generally £125 or £150. That is one great means by which we may supplement the gifts of our forefathers, by bringing out the contributions of the living generation. I suppose it is the case that, through the Diocesan Conferences, immense sums are thus being raised with respect to the augmentation of poor benefices. Our livings are gradually being improved. We find that, by giving £100 towards increased endowment, the rich man and the poor meet the offer, and the combined sum is taken either to Queen Anne's Bounty or the Ecclesiastical Commission for further increase. During the last few years we have increased some of our poorer livings in this way. We have also, by like means, built several parsonage houses: we have offered £100, and that has produced the remainder. Mention has been made of the Tithes Redemption Trust. I am a member of that society—a very small subscriber, but taking very deep interest in it. We must all wish it success. Instead of getting lay impropriators to return the whole of the tithes, which in many cases would be impossible for many adequate reasons, it would, I think, be well to see where there are livings in which the endowments are very small and the lay impropriation large, and there make special application to the impropriator to give up such a portion of the tithe as would enable the clergyman who performs the spiritual duties for the tithe to live. Again I would suggest, as I have suggested before at the Congress, that, in parishes with small endowment, the

clergyman should once a year set apart a Sunday to bring before his people the duty of forming an additional Endowment Fund. In the course of a very few years such efforts would, I believe, by offertory, and gift, and legacy, produce a very large sum. You might get a very small sum only at first; but people would think it over, and the amount would probably increase as the need became better known, and donations might be found left by will or otherwise. I would, therefore have in every parish poorly endowed a Permanent Endowment Fund Sunday. Once more I venture to press what I have been pressing in my humble way during the last twenty years—the weekly offertory. The system is growing in favour; but it is not yet universal. I venture to repeat what was said years ago by a great Scotch divine: “The English Church will never know its power of getting assistance from the people till it throws itself on the people in the form of the weekly offertory.” In places where the endowments are small or the clerical necessities large, a portion of that offertory should be regularly devoted to the support of the ministry, in the spirit of the goodly number of offertory sentences having special regard to this application of the offerings of the congregation.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF LICHFIELD.

I HAD no intention of saying a word on this subject, but I have been moved to do so by the great interest which I have felt in the papers which have been read, and the speeches that have been delivered. I should have been sorry to have missed any one of them. There are two or three points that have occurred to me as I listened to them, on which I should like to say a few words. With regard to the paper of Mr. Wilbraham Egerton, I think it will be agreeable to this section of the Congress to know that the Convocation of Canterbury have taken up very heartily the subject of endeavouring to promote harmonious action between the great London central societies and the various kindred diocesan societies throughout the kingdom. If we are to deal efficiently with the question of finance it is of the utmost importance that we should have reliable statistics from every diocese throughout the country. I hope that by means of the committee that has been formed results of that kind will be obtained, and that we shall be able to tabulate those results, so as to know what has been done, and what is wanting. With regard to the interesting speech which we have heard from Lord John Manners, I cannot help thinking that the object which his lordship has had in view so long, and with which I have myself a very hearty sympathy, would have been very much better promoted if the Episcopal Fund and the Common Fund had not been fused together. I am quite satisfied that that was a great mistake. I think it would be found that if those two funds had not been amalgamated, there would have been nothing taken to augment the income of the bishops but what was fairly and rightly their own. The only other point upon which I desire for one moment to detain you has a reference to what fell from Sir Fowell Buxton and Mr. Salt with regard to the Pluralities Act. I entirely agree with them in the opinion that the Pluralities Act, important, valuable, efficient as it has proved itself to be, and thankful as we may be for its results, is an Act which at the present time very much needs amendment, and amendment in the particular direction which Sir Fowell Buxton has so clearly indicated to us. Perhaps he will pardon me if I hesitate whether I should go quite so far as he proposes, but I am quite agreed with him that the Pluralities Act does require considerable relaxation in regard to the union of small benefices, and I think I may venture to say that he will find the Church willing to co-operate in any reasonable and well-considered measure in that direction.

The Rev. CANON WATSON, Rector of Sharnford, Honorary Secretary to the Peterborough Diocesan Finance Association, and the Fund for the Augmentation of Small Benefices.

WE have in this Diocese a Finance Association, established on the lines of that association which has been founded, as explained by Mr. Egerton, in the Diocese of Chester, and the advantages to be derived from such an association are, I speak from experience, precisely those which have been already explained to the meeting. It is for the furtherance of Church work generally in the Diocese. We found that whereas in almost every parish in the Diocese there was an association for foreign missions in connection with one or other of our great Missionary societies, whereas many collected also for some one of our Home Missionary Societies, yet there was no opportunity given, except in a very few instances, to our poorer neighbours to contribute to any of our Diocesan Societies, Church Extension, Church Education, &c., which were supported by the annual subscriptions of a few individuals, and there was not, therefore, that general interest in those societies which would soon be manifested if the knowledge of their work were more extended. Here, then, is one want which our association was intended to supply. It is to make a systematic collection throughout the diocese for diocesan objects. The income, therefore, of these diocesan societies is increased by this agency; and, even if there were no increase, we do some good by spreading the interest over a wider area; for a £5 note collected from twenty poor contributors of 5s. each, indicates an interest twenty times that which would be manifested if that sum were paid by one subscriber. Another advantage to be derived from this association is that by it we are enabled in one document to present every year a comprehensive survey of the financial position of our existing diocesan societies, and to become thus better acquainted with their comparative usefulness and requirements. Another advantage is, that by undertaking the collection of funds, and the printing of the annual reports, we are enabled to save a vast amount of the working expenses of these societies. If any representative is present of a diocese where there is no such association formed, and any information is needed as to the working of it in this diocese, I shall be happy to communicate any that I possess, and to furnish copies of our report, and, one word of advice—if it is proposed to adopt, as we did, the Chester plan as the basis of your association—I recommend you to make yours less elaborate. Make your scheme as simple as possible. It is intended to be an agency for the collection of funds for existing societies in the diocese, if there are such already existing, and in that case be very careful not to interfere with their management or the disposal of their funds. As to the Augmentation of Small Benefices; this is an important subject for the clergy, but important still more for the laity. It is in truth a layman's question. It is not one of those burning questions alluded to by the Bishop in his opening address; it is not a subject on which I can say, as I have heard it said by some one speaker at almost every one of the meetings at our Congress, "If our Church is to maintain her position as the Church of this nation, she must . . . take good heed to the advice I am giving, and carry out carefully all my suggestions," for I am happy to think that our Church, sorely tried and harassed as she has been, and as she expects to be while a Church Militant, is not yet reduced to such a deplorable condition that her very existence, as some people seem to imagine, depends upon a mere question of finance. This, I repeat, is an important question for the laity. Do the laymen of England wish the clergy to be taken from a lower class, socially, than at present? Can they expect the fathers of families to give their sons a University education, at an expense of about £1,000, if the profession for which they are destined is one

from which, after preferment has been obtained, the income may be less than £200 a year? I have had no experience in large towns, but I am quite sure that in our country parishes the influence of the clergyman is much lessened if he is bound to suffer from that very common and very painful complaint, the *res angusta domi*. His parishioners will overlook many a moral offence, and make charitable excuses for insobriety, or any occasional scandal; but, if he cannot pay punctually the bills from his butcher and baker, his influence is gone, and he is treated with some measure of contempt. Do the laymen of England wish that benefices should be so poorly endowed that it is almost impossible to find incumbents for them? There is one important parish in this diocese now vacant, where the income is so small and the expenses so great, that no one, unless possessed of large private means, can possibly undertake the charge, and it has been vacant more than a year. Do the laymen of England wish that in the parishes with which they are connected there should be a constant change of incumbents? On a careful examination of our Diocesan Calendar, I find that of the seventy-six benefices in this diocese under £200 a year, 50 per cent. of them have not been held for three years on an average; 25 per cent. of them have not been held for one year and a half on an average. How are the evils of these insufficiently endowed benefices to be met? One way—theoretically the best, but practically, I fear, the method will be slow, and, therefore, it requires to be supplemented by others—is that which has been explained and advocated by Lord John Manners; and I feel sure that all Churchmen will thankfully recognise the debt of gratitude which we owe to him for the hearty interest which he has taken for so many years in the Tithes Redemption Trust, and for the work which he has so liberally and patiently carried on in connection with the Trust. The process which we have adopted is precisely that which has been described by the Bishop of Nottingham, but we have not yet reached that fortunate condition in which we can say that we have such a large surplus in hand that we scarcely know what to do with it. I venture to suggest that, inasmuch as this county was not long ago within the diocese with which he is now connected, a portion of the surplus be paid over to us as a memento of the ancient alliance. The plan is simply this, our fund offers (say) £100 to meet £100 offered by the incumbent of a poor benefice or his friends; this £200 is doubled by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or the Queen Anne's Bounty, and the income is augmented by £13 6s. 8d. The chief difficulties which I have met with are these: First, with reference to private patronage. I have heard it said, why should I give a subscription to augment the value of the property of this or that patron? But I can see no objection in any of those cases where patronage is held, as it often is, and always ought to be held, not as a saleable property, but as a sacred trust. But where it is in the hands of speculators, or where the living is likely to be sold, there we hold our hands and wait patiently for the day, not far distant, I hope, when the Legislature shall enable us to get rid of some of the shameful abuses which are now connected with the sale of livings. Another difficulty is this. The poorer the incumbent, the more we desire to assist him, but the less is he able to contribute the one-fourth of the capital required from him as a local benefaction; and to beg of his friends and neighbours he is ashamed. This is a real practical difficulty. As a rule, I quite agree with the Bishop of Nottingham that we must insist upon it; but there are some cases in which I am satisfied we ought to make exceptions. We want many reforms in the Queen Anne's Bounty; there is no time to mention them now, but I wish to mention one way in which power might be given to meet this difficulty in the case of incumbents who are poor, who do not expect to remain long where they are, and who object to pay £100 down, when the full benefit of this augmentation will be given to his successor, who does not contribute to it. In some special cases I would allow the Queen Anne's Bounty to advance this £100, or a portion of it, as

a loan on mortgage of the benefice, at interest of £3½, and repayment of the capital to be spread over a period of ten years. It will be said this proposal pays into one pocket what you withdraw from the other. It does so in the first year in the extreme case where the whole of the £100 is lent, and the period of repayment is only ten years; but in the second year there will be a lesser interest to pay, and so on in each succeeding year until, after ten years, the whole augmentation will be acquired. And, more than this, suppose the benefice is worth £100 a year, this augmentation dose may be administered to the poor patient annually, with such beneficial results, that at the end of eight years an income of more than £200 a year will be secured permanently to the benefice. One more difficulty may be mentioned. It is asked, why waste your money in adding to endowments, all of which will soon, at one fell swoop, be seized upon by the State? In reply, I have only time for one short anecdote. I have read that when the city of Rome was thought to be in imminent peril, and her enemies were encamped within easy march of the gates, the very land on which the hostile army was encamped was put up to auction, and the price which it fetched proved that the brave old Romans had full faith in the stability of their nation and the permanence of their institutions. Although we have been threatened again and again with a confiscation of our endowments, we with something of the old Roman spirit are proving that we believe in their permanence, we have confidence in our countrymen that they as honest men will not rob the Church of her inheritance; we fear not threats of disendowment, because we know that these endowments are now no longer abused nor misappropriated, because we know that the Church is gaining every day a deeper and a firmer hold upon the affections of the people of this country; and whatever may happen in the future, our present duty is, as owners of a property which we hold in trust for a sacred object, to hand it down to our children in a condition which, considering the altered circumstances of the age, shall be at least as valuable and efficient as that in which we received it from our fathers.

The Rev. E. A. SALMON, Vicar of Marstock, Somerset,
and Prebendary of Wells.

THE excuse for my appearing before you on this occasion is, that I come from a diocese where there are no less than 200, out of the 500 benefices, under £200 a year, so that this is a still worse case than has been mentioned to you. Almost since its commencement I have acted as Secretary of the "Incumbents' Sustentation Fund," better known as "The Marquis of Lorne's Fund," which has for its object the augmentation of these small benefices. Some people think that fund has been a failure. In the diocese of Bath and Wells it has been a great success. Although it may not have been so great a success in other dioceses, we must remember that they had already started associations for the augmentation of small benefices. The work it has done indirectly has been enormous. It has called the attention of laymen to the wants of the Church; and I could tell you of splendid acts of munificence resulting from representations to laymen by the officers of that Society. One of the excuses which have been given to me constantly for not subscribing to that Society has been this: "Already in the Church there is a tremendous waste of power." Now, I want in a few words to explain that waste of power. It has already been alluded to to-day more than once. The Pluralities Act was an excellent Act for the day in which it was passed. When I tell you that, to my own knowledge, in my own immediate neighbourhood one clergyman—the immediate predecessor of myself—was Incumbent of what are now five ecclesiastical districts, and Master of the Grammar School; and another

had livings in Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and Somersetshire, and found an excuse for not living at either of them; it was quite time that the Pluralities Act was passed. But very often Acts passed to deal with enormous anomalies go too far. In Bath and Wells there are, say, 500 livings. Nearly half have a population under 500, two-fifths of the remainder, a population under 400; one-third, a population under 300; one-sixth, a population under 200; and over one-twentieth, a population under 100. These are all distinct benefices. I will give you a few instances from my own immediate neighbourhood. Within ten miles of my own home, one living has a population of 40, another 23, another 80. Two have a population under 100, and three a population under 200. And none of these livings can be held together, although in some cases they are close together,—the income of one of the livings exceeding a net sum of £100 a year, which excludes amalgamation under the Act. I think, therefore, a strong case is made out for the amendment of that Act. I would, in the event of its amendment, make most stringent regulations, so that there should be no danger of going back to that glaring system which was one of the greatest scandals of the Church fifty years ago. I think the direction of the amendment of that Act should be to consider souls before money—simply to take population as the basis, and to strike out altogether mention of endowment; and also, at the same time, I would say, slightly to increase the distance between the two churches of livings which might be held together. In these days a fair pony—some of my brethren ride about on the tricycle, and do some very good work—would bring two parishes together. The roads are better, and I think many of these parishes might be held with great advantage together. The work of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners is very materially hampered by the Pluralities Act. I think the Commissioners have not had the credit which they deserve. In Bath and Wells they have already augmented eighty-two of our livings, and have thus done a very good work. But they are hampered in this way: they cannot now augment livings unless they are separate charges. Now, a great many of the parishes have outlying hamlets, and they want help: What are we obliged to do? Make those outlying hamlets separate parishes, before we can do very much to help them. The consequence is that you increase the number of small livings, and make a great mistake. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners in my own parish have left me with the largest church in the diocese of Bath and Wells, an entirely poor population, with an income of £300; while they have made two of the hamlets, one, with a population under 400, a living with an income of £280 a year; and another, with a population of just 501 at the last census, a living of £300 a year. Now, I maintain that those hamlets, which are within easy distance of my own parish and my own church, could be far better worked at far less expense by re-uniting them to the parish church, and letting them be worked from an efficient centre. Some one will say, perhaps, that that would interfere with the chances of preferment for licensed curates, and create a great evil. I think that might be very well met by altering the status of licensed curates placed in outlying hamlets to work in connection with the parish church. I maintain that it is a great waste of power to retain so many small benefices throughout the country, with a population of 300, 400, or 500, when there are many men working in our towns with populations of 6,000, 7,000, or 8,000. One of the greatest arguments against the augmentation of small livings has been the enormous waste of power created by the Pluralities Act. Agitate for the careful amendment of that Act, and the sweeping away of the restrictions of the union of benefices, where they are not suited to the time in which we live.

The Rev. JOHN THOMPSON, Vicar of Upper
Armley, Leeds.

I DESIRE to speak on the augmentation of poor benefices, and my claim to do so is, that I am secretary to a Poor Benefices Augmentation Fund, and I might almost add the founder. The necessity for some movement for augmenting the incomes of underpaid incumbents seems to be admitted by all. I would not, however, advocate the adoption of measures to secure this end, so much from the point of view of the comfort of the clergy as for their work's sake. Not stopping, then, to dwell on the principle laid down in Scripture "that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel," a principle which should at all events secure to every minister of God a decent maintenance, I would rather put it thus, that up to a certain point in parochial work money is power, *i.e.*, without an adequate income it is impossible for parish organization to be in any degree complete. The adoption of some scheme for augmenting poor benefices is loudly called for in large and increasing towns. This is especially the case in the North. In large manufacturing towns you have poor benefices, because the rapid increase of population required all the energy and resources of churchmen in forming new parishes and building new churches, so that in too many cases the only income that could be looked for was the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' £200 a-year, a sum far too small to organize and meet the demands of a large, and, frequently, of a poor parish. This condition of things can only be improved by the adoption of some well-considered augmentation scheme. And I would submit that the present time is very opportune to bring forward a movement of this kind. For go where you will—into villages, however remote—and almost everywhere, you will find churches restored. The work of church restoration is all but finished. A large amount of liberality has been called forth for this purpose. Might not this liberality now be drawn into some other channel? And what channel can be more suitable than that of providing a sufficient income for the clergy who have to minister in these restored churches, or in the new parishes of our large towns? I am of opinion that for any scheme of augmentation to be successful, it must have a definite object and a defined area of operation. The object should be not merely to augment benefices, but to augment them to a fixed standard, and no standard should be considered satisfactory, which is less than £300 a-year and a residence. The area of operation is an important matter. A scheme—a most laudable one—of which we heard a good deal a few years ago, had for its object the augmentation of all poor benefices in England, but this scheme in very great measure failed because its area of operation was too wide—few are sufficiently catholic in sympathy as to take in the whole Church. Neither do I think a diocesan movement would succeed from the same cause. I believe I have heard of a diocesan endowment scheme ceasing to exist from lack of support. I would advocate the establishment of a Poor Benefices' Augmentation Fund in every rural deanery, or at all events in every large town, appealing to the local sympathies and locally administered. At the same time there might be a common centre to which annual statements of accounts might be forwarded. This Common Central Association might have its agents forwarding such movements in every part of the country. By a scheme of this kind you would secure (1) a great movement embracing the whole Church, and (2) the local sympathies of churchmen, for all would see the direct fruit of their own liberality in more complete parish organization and more vigorous churchwork. I may illustrate what I have proposed by the fund with which I am connected. In Leeds—where the rural deanery is conterminous with the borough—there are a considerable number of poor benefices. The very rapid increase of the population called for the formation of many new parishes, and the erection of many new churches, during the last twenty years. In nearly all cases the only

endowment is the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' £200 a year. Three years ago this state of things called into existence the Leeds Poor Benefices Augmentation Fund. Its area of operation is confined to the borough of Leeds. And its object is to raise every benefice to the limit fixed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as the standard at which they aim, viz., £300 a year exclusive of residence, a sum by no means too much to enable a clergyman to carry on his work free from harassing care, to educate his children and start them in life, and to make provision for his family in case of death. The income of the fund arises from annual subscriptions, donations, offertories, legacies, &c. In the first place the association makes annual grants to meet existing deficiencies. This year 50 per cent. of the deficiency in each case will probably be secured. And confidence is felt that by and by we shall be able to take up the question of permanent augmentation. The movement has been well received, and I believe similar movements might be begun in every part of the country—securing at once the comfort of the clergy, and greatly increased parish work.

F. S. POWELL, Esq., M.P.

I do not purpose to occupy the whole of the few minutes allotted to me, but think it might be well, before the meeting closes, to make some further reference to the scheme of "Diocesan Finance." I have the honour of being a member of the Ripon Diocesan Conference. At our first conference, Diocesan Finance was discussed. At our second a scheme was laid before us, and was received with such favour as a new scheme, complex in its character, might be expected, to receive, viz., attention and postponement. I hope that postponement will not be for many years, and that before long we shall have, in the Diocese of Ripon, a Diocesan Fund. A previous speaker, I think, fell into error when he said that the province of this fund was to interfere with the distribution of subscriptions. That province is confined to distribution according to the wish of the donor, and not according to the desire of those who administer the fund. The advantages appear to be simple. Firstly, you give system to your offerings. It is not a mere accidental circumstance, which society is assisted; but all have their claims laid fully and fairly before the diocese. Another advantage is economy. You have one organization, not many organizations. You have another advantage which appears to me to be important, although some might deem it somewhat supplemental in character. You give oneness and unity to the work. You do not feel that you are giving to a society however admirable as a society, but because it forms a part, an important and recognised part, of the work of the Church. And there is this further advantage, which I believe to be one of considerable moment. The fund is diocesan in character. The parish is an important and prominent part of the Church of England system, and may it ever be. The Church of England as a Church—in any sense of the term—is powerful and fully recognised; but the diocese has to a considerable extent fallen into the background—so much so indeed, that the Pastoral Aid Society does not report the gifts by the diocese, but by the county. And I am sure that any system which would give more life to the diocese, as a diocese, and bring it more prominently before the people, would confer great benefit upon the Church. Some may say that the diocese is too cumbrous and too unwieldy. I venture to say, in answer to such an observation, that that fact proves that the diocese is ripe for a new bishop; it does not prove at all that the scheme is unsound. I may mention one other point in connection with this. If you have a diocesan fund, strangers may be induced to give to the diocese. I dare say there are few of us who have not received, again and again, pitiful applications from Wales. You know nothing of the parishes; but your aid may safely be given through a diocesan fund. One word respecting the augmentation of small benefices. The last speaker touched upon a

point which has often pressed itself upon my mind, and of which I have some experience. Men are often reluctant to give to endowments. They say that the securities in which endowments are invested give a poor return; and that, in the present position of affairs, you do not know how long those endowments will endure. I have not the fear which the second observation suggests; but I admit the force of the former remark. I think there might be an annual offering. By that means you give the clergy a sum at least as secure as the pew-rents or the offertory; and you have this further advantage, that, in case a clergyman neglects his duty or indulges in strange practices which are not in accord with your judgment, you may withdraw the benefaction and cause him to have a due sense of his duty and his position. There is one further remark which may be made. May not the time come, when some endowments should be diverted from wealthy parishes with small populations to parishes which are poor with large populations? Already the power exists in cases where both livings have the same patron. I hope there may some day be a transfer—not of lands—but of those other sources of income which do not geographically belong to the parish, but are entirely personal in their character. I wish to make a remark with regard to the combination of small livings. That subject is more within the knowledge of those who live in country districts than of those in towns. If livings are amalgamated, I hope the preaching of the gospel will not cease in any church. When a population have been in the habit of attending church near at hand, they will never learn to walk a long distance. In the case of a church there is no compulsory clause, and I am afraid you will not by mere option bring about a new habit, especially with some of those members who are advanced in years and slow to change. Another difficulty will arise. When the clergyman withdraws, some of our Nonconformist brethren will step in, and the congregation will either lapse into infidelity, or stray away into some Nonconformist community. I think that what has occurred this afternoon must be sufficient proof, that we have within our reach, and under our hand, valuable reforms in the Church of England, reforms which may be carried into effect without the sacrifice of a principle, without the violation of a sentiment, and if accomplished will be the source of no evil, but of much good.

The Rev. HENRY EVERARD BULLIVANT.

As one of those unfortunate incumbents of benefices less than £200 a-year, I wish to express my thanks to the Lord Bishop of this diocese and to Lord John Manners for the support which they have always given to the augmentation of poor benefices. I have been trying for 40 years, save two, to keep my head above water. No one can tell—not even the vivid eloquence of our gifted chairman depict—what a clergyman has to suffer in mind and body from the littleness of his income, which precludes the due education of his children. A brief outline of my vicarage will show the dilatoriness from Queen Anne's Bounty help and the need of a spur from diocesan financial associations. In the year 1482 the rectory of Lubenham was given by William Lord Hastings to the monastery of Sulby on condition of providing perpetual vicars. At the Reformation it came into the hands of the laity, and all that was left to the vicar was £8 5s. a-year, as stated in the "Liber Regis." For a long time that was all that was paid. In the year 1767 £200, by lot, was granted out of Queen Anne's Bounty, and that was laid out in 1797 in the purchase of 3a. 2r. op., which now produces an annual rental of £12. Nothing further was done by Queen Anne's Bounty till the year 1809, when another £200, by lot, was granted and laid out in 1824 in the purchase of 2a. 2r. 3op., of land which is now bringing in £14 a-year. When a great sum of money came unexpectedly, I believe, into the country by a payment from Russia, a Parliamentary Grant was made, and one of the lots in 1817, amounting to £1,200, fell to this poor parish of Lubenham. For 24 years no augmentations were made, but in the year 1842, when I

became vicar, a grant of £200 was offered on *condition* that I raised an equivalent sum. With all due deference, I think it is "hard lines"—*very hard*—that no benefaction should be given without a conditional contribution. I do not say this in any spirit of selfishness, because I have myself raised in benefactions not less than £500. Now, at the beginning of this century, the whole income was £34. During the life of my predecessor, it was raised to £84; that was the state of the living, without a house, when, in 1842, I had the courage to accept it. Formerly, it had been held with the neighbouring rectory of Marston Trussell by my father and my grandfather under a sequestration de paupertate. I believe in the life of the Church of England, and I believe in the value of land, notwithstanding the present depression, and I think it should be imperative that incumbents should invest the grants made to them in land, as required by the Queen Anne's Bounty Charter. During my incumbency I have bought altogether 25a. 1r. 34p., which now brings in, with two previous investments in land, an income of £120 18s. 6d. By what seems to me a singular providential coincidence I recovered, after the lapse of generations, the old vicarage garden and cottage, upon which I expended upwards of £100; and when the Lorne Fund was started a short time ago, through the kindness of my rural dean Canon Pownall and other friends I raised £100, and obtained the £100 grant. Having thus secured £200, I expected that it would be treated in the same way as my £100, added to £100 from the Pyncombe and Horner's Charity was treated in 1843, and that I should receive another £200 from Queen Anne's Bounty, making a total of £400. I have never heard any explanation why it was not so treated. I believe there is a feeling—a very strong feeling—that there is something about that office of Queen Anne's Bounty, "how not to do it." I am over 60 years of age, and if I lay down £100 or £200 to obtain a grant, I am in a different pecuniary position from what I was 30 years ago. I would say in conclusion, take and break up the present management of Queen Anne's Bounty, and distribute the vast money amongst the several dioceses throughout England, and it will be far more economically (certainly under £8000 a-year) administered, and more promptly apportioned for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, when under the control of diocesan finance associations. Should any revolutionary wave sweep over the country, Queen Anne's Bounty treasure would be amongst the first on which the spoiler would lay his hand.

The Rev. THEOPHILUS BENNETT.

YESTERDAY, in answer to the appeal of the meeting in behalf of a curate that he should be heard a little longer, I took upon myself to put his remedies before the Congress. That curate stated, that of all the speakers he was the only *curate*. That went to my heart. And out of all the speakers we have heard to-day, we have had only one poor incumbent—we have had a noble lord, a baronet, three archdeacons, and we have had only one clergyman with an income of less than £200 a-year. I think it was Daniel O'Connell who said long ago, that "of all the poor rats a cu-rat was the poorest." I think there is a poorer still, viz., the *poor* incumbent. I am sure that the account which was given by him to this meeting must have gone to the heart of every one of us. I am not here to tell my own little troubles. The trouble of the Vicar of Wakefield was to contrive to be rich on £40 a-year, so that you may think I am not a bloated aristocrat, when I tell you that my professional income is less than £40 per annum. It was my lot to hold for some years a large parish in Yorkshire. It was eight miles long and four broad. It contained a population of 1715. I went to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and asked for some augmentation. They asked what the living was worth, and they found in the clergy list that it was worth £202. They said they could do nothing for me. "That £2 spoilt all," and they said, "If it were £198

we could do something for you." I then went to Queen Anne's Bounty, but I was not poor enough for them. Oh! that we could put plenty of irony into this word *bounty*. The other day, when I got my present living, I went to Queen Anne's Bounty and said, "I hope I am poor enough for you now." They said, "Have you got any benefaction to produce to us?" I said "No, I tried the benefaction business in the other place." I went to my predecessor, and he said, "If you have £1,000 to put down from your *own* purse, well, you may succeed; but you will get a £1,000 from nowhere else." Now, I say this in the presence of one of the most eloquent bishops on the Bench, in the hope that he will use his eloquence to stir them in the matter, and that not only he but the other bishops and archbishops will endeavour to make the so-called Queen's Anne's Bounty do something. I think that Lucian has said "That poverty is surrounded with so many little hooks, that try to get away from it as you may, some one of the little hooks will still cling to you." That is a true description of the poverty of the clergy; for, try to get rid of it as we may, it still seems to cling to us. Certainly, the Queen Anne's Bounty does not do much to deliver us from the hooks of poverty. I see that the time is just exhausted, and I should be very sorry to transgress the rules. Before I sit down, just let me allude to the remedies which were suggested for the poverty of the clergy.—Lord John Manners suggested the restitution of the great tithes. That would be a very good thing indeed. I only wish we may get them. In my own parish very little of the tithes comes to the vicar. Sir Fowell Buxton suggested amalgamation; that is a very good thing, but it is subject to the difficulty which has been already suggested. Next, I rejoice in quoting the name Titus Salt. He suggested the reconstruction, the amendment, of the Pluralities Act. Then Arch-deacon Emery suggested the weekly offertory. That was a very good thing too. Then another suggested the augmentation of poor livings. That was a very good thing too. At last we had the suggestion that we should help ourselves. I would say that each diocese should help the poor clergy in the diocese.

CONVERSAZIONE, FRIDAY EVENING,

OCTOBER 1ST.

By the kind and hospitable invitation of the Worshipful the Mayor of Leicester, John Bennett, Esq., the *Conversazione* was held in the Museum Buildings at 7.30 p.m.

A little before nine o'clock the company adjourned to the Congress Hall for the final proceedings.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at 9 o'clock.

The proceedings commenced by singing the hymn, "Ye Servants of the Lord;" at the conclusion of which

A deputation of Nonconformist Ministers, consisting of the Rev. James Thew; the Rev. Joseph Wood; the Rev. J. E. Greenhough, M.A.; the Rev. S. Naish, B.D.; the Rev. John Gair; the Rev.

William Bishop; the Rev. I. Morley Wright; and the Rev. F. B. Meyer, B.A., presented the following address, signed by thirty Nonconformist Ministers, which was read by the Rev. Joseph Wood.

*To the Members of the Church Congress assembled at Leicester,
September 28, 1880.*

DEAR BRETHREN—We, the Nonconformist ministers of Leicester, embrace this, the earliest opportunity the rules of the Congress allow, of giving you a hearty welcome to our town.

Your presence amongst us, and in such imposing numbers, renders it fitting that we should give public expression to our high appreciation of the noble examples of holy living, and the earnest, self-denying labours of so many Christian ministers.

While it would be unmanly in us to affect to ignore the points of difference, both ecclesiastical and doctrinal, which separate us and our churches from the community to which you belong, yet the present is an occasion of which we gladly avail ourselves for the proffer of our sympathy and goodwill, rather than for bringing our differences into prominence.

We desire to acknowledge our obligation to you, as representing the Church of England, for the healthy stimulus we have received from the lives of your many saints, confessors, and worthies. The illustrious names of Herbert and Ken, Leighton and Wilson, are as dear to us as to yourselves. Nor are we less indebted to your scholars, your theologians, your masters of sentences, for a vast and instructive literature; for a thousand contributions to a right study of the Bible, and a clear apprehension of Christian truth. The works of Hooker and Jeremy Taylor, of Pearson and Milman, of Lightfoot and Westcott, are the delight and possession of the Nonconformist ministry as well as of your own. If our forms of worship vary from yours, yet your noble liturgy, enriched by the penitence, the trust, the sorrow, and the gladness of the saints of many ages, is for us, no less than for others, a priceless treasure of devotion. Scarcely ever do we come together to give thanks for the Divine goodness without using those hymns which the singers of your Church have given the world; and side by side with Wesley, Watts, and Doddridge we place the solemn and beautiful melodies of Heber, Lyte, and Keble. Your eloquent preachers, your seraphic doctors, your saintly examples have laid us under an immense obligation, which we can never repay, and which, while we confess in words, we feel we can best confess by uniting with them, as we hear their voices calling us, in the service of our one Lord and Master.

We trust that your visit to the town has been pleasant to yourselves, and will be full of advantage to the Church of Christ. There is no nonconformist in our midst who would not deplore as a great calamity any diminution of the religious efficiency of the Church of England.

Rather do we earnestly hope that your labours here will have for their result an increase of spiritual power, such as shall be felt throughout the whole of your communion, and throughout the country at large. We offer you our greetings in the spirit of that wise and comprehensive charity which is, happily, becoming more

and more a distinctive note of the Churches of our time; well assured that all who seek to follow as disciples in the footsteps of our Lord Jesus Christ, and who labour with a single heart to bring in His glorious Kingdom, are friends and allies, notwithstanding the different means they use, and the different names by which they are called.

J. H. ATKINSON.
E. R. BARRETT.
JOHN BATEMAN.
WILLIAM G. BEARDMORE.
WILLIAM BISHOP.
ROBERT CAVEN, B.A.
WILLIAM DAWKINS.
WILLIAM EVANS.
J. C. FORTH.
JOHN GAIR.
J. G. GREENHOUGH, M.A.
DAVID HEATH.
ALFRED JAMES.
N. JEFFERSON.
J. CALBRAITH LUNN.
ELIAS LYON, LL.B.

F. BROTHERTON MEYER, B.A.
S. NAISH.
JOSEPH ODELL.
LL. HOWARD PARSONS.
RICHARD PEART.
GEORGE PLUMB.
R. YOUNGER ROBERTS.
THOMAS ROBERTS.
CHARLES ROSE.
JOHN RUTHERFORD.
JOHN GEO. SMITH.
JAMES THEW.
JAMES WILLIAMSON, M.A.
T. WILSHER.
JOSEPH WOOD.
I. MORLEY WRIGHT.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

DEAR BRETHREN,—Most thankfully do I accept for myself—and I think that the ringing cheers to which you have just listened have anticipated my assurance on behalf of this great meeting—that we gratefully accept the kindness and courtesy of your welcome to Leicester. I regard it as a fitting conclusion and completion of the reception we have met with from members of your flocks in this town. But to my mind it is more than that. It seems in great measure to show the reason for that reception. You are occupied in teaching from year to year a large portion of the inhabitants of Leicester. If, in your teaching from your pulpits, there had been illiberality, bitterness, and intolerance, it is impossible that we could have received from the members of your flocks a welcome so kind and so hearty as that we have received. We know that Nonconformists have vied with Churchmen in their eager hospitality, and I can assure you that without that we should have found it difficult to house the members of our Congress.

This *rapprochement* between Nonconformists and Churchmen, so happily experienced to-night and during the last four days, is, however, no new thing in Leicester. Nearly seventy years ago, one of the most eloquent orations ever made was spoken over the grave of an incumbent of this town, by a great Christian orator, whose name is indissolubly connected with the religious history of Leicester. Nearly seventy years have passed since Robert Hall expressed the grief of a Christian brother over the grave of Thomas

Robertson, of St. Mary's. Gladly do we recognize the renewal of good feeling, of charity, and mutual respect which then blossomed around that grave, and which are bearing fruit here to-night.

Let me say, in the next place, how cordially I agree with the manly and straightforward utterance of your feelings in your address as regards the differences that separate you from us. I am not one of those who talk in what I believe to be a very hollow cant about the "sinking of minor differences." If the differences are minor, they ought never to have kept us apart. If they are real and great, they cannot be got rid of by talking of sinking them in this fashion.

I fully feel, with you, that the true test of Christian Charity is not the sacrifice of principle by pretending to sink differences, but the exercise of brotherly love that reaches beyond and across the barriers of differences; and which, while grieving for the separation, as we must grieve, owns and recognizes the brother who is still so far apart from us. It is indeed an easy and a cheap liberality that sneers at differences that are not deeply felt, but it is the reality of Christian charity that is unquenched by differences that are understood, and are not undervalued.

In this spirit you greet us, and in this spirit we heartily accept your greeting. Let me say, however, that while we recognize the existence of differences, which are matters of principle, and of something to move men more strongly perhaps than principles—old traditions, old habits of thought, old reverences for the past, that are dear to the memory of each one of us, and which we would not and cannot lightly forego—while we recognise this, we feel, further, this also, that while there are and must be these differences of principles and of habits of thought, it is our duty to see that there be between us no other than these. It is our duty to strive that, while we stand apart from one another necessarily somewhat, there rise between us no mist of passion, or suspicion, or hate, in which the figure of the brother looms largely and darkly before the eye of him who looks at it through such a disfiguring and distorting medium.

We desire then, of all things, that our differences should be reduced entirely to those which are necessary and inevitable; and what we feel that you have done in these last four days in Leicester, and you are doing now, is this, that you have removed, and are removing, one of the most fruitful causes of those additional differences—I mean social estrangement. It is hard for men to meet around the same board, to kneel before the same family altar, to join in the same prayers, to sing the same hymns, to grasp one another's hands in fraternal greeting, and then to continue ignorant of or suspicious of one another's motives and principles.

Thankful we are then for the removal at least of this difficulty in the way of union; thankful are we also to remember this, that if you are good enough to tell us that you owe us something for the lives, for the words, of Churchmen, we have our like debt, on our part, to you.

I cannot stand on a platform in Leicester and forget the name I have already mentioned, of Robert Hall. I cannot hear from your

lips of Watts and Doddridge, and not remember how familiar these names are to us, and how our children have learnt to lisp the words they have taught us. I cannot forget that one of the most masterly and successful defences of the Christian religion—the “Eclipse of Faith,” a work well known to many of my reverend brethren, is a work we owe to a learned and able Nonconformist. I cannot forget that one of the dear friends, whom I occasionally welcome to my own house, the learned and accomplished Dr. Stoughton, is one of the distinguished leaders of your Nonconformity in the present day. I cannot forget that I have stood on the platform of the Christian Evidence Society on more than one occasion, and gladly welcomed there the logical acumen of more than one Nonconformist minister, whom I rejoiced to hail as a Christian brother as he took his place beside me in the war against the Infidel. We owe to you all this, and we owe to you something more. We owe to you from the very separation which, as I have said, cannot be hastily healed over, and must doubtless continue to exist long after we are laid in the place where there is no longer separation—we owe this to you, that you, seeing us somewhat from the outside, having that which we have not, as we have that which you have not, are able to point out to us the defects of our system; you are able to criticise us in a way in which we cannot criticise ourselves from within, and I hope we have profited, and shall profit, by criticisms which, of course, your courtesy and brotherly kindness prevent you from offering us this evening.

Then, as regards this matter of criticism, just let me say one word. I am glad to find that our Nonconformist brethren have so largely mingled in our gatherings during the last few days. They have discovered by this time that we Churchmen are a tolerably free-spoken people about one another. I think they will have observed that there is hardly an abuse, hardly a fault, of the Church of England that has not been discussed and brought out with very considerable freedom by Churchmen in our meetings. May I venture to add that if not in our meetings, in certain auxiliary and supplemental meetings during the last few days, there has been, to say the least of it, considerable freedom of discussion, and it will doubtless surprise you to hear, that even bishops have not escaped a slight touch of criticism. On the other hand, as I have already said, there is no echo of these criticisms in your address.

It would seem, then, that for once, at least, there has been this happy division of labour between us—that while we have been dwelling upon all our defects, you have been dwelling upon all our merits. Were all religious controversy or rivalry conducted in this spirit, how much of it would ere long vanish altogether! Let me say one word more; a word which it needs all the kindness I have received from both Churchmen and Nonconformists here to embolden me to say, and it is this. Our Nonconformist friends meet their Church friends at a moment when we Churchmen are suffering under great irritation from recent political events, an irritation which seems to many of us to be just and righteous, and which doubtless appears to you at least natural, inevitable, and pardonable. Surely it is an event of good omen at such a moment, that our

Nonconformist brethren have met us with words of such kindly greeting. I cannot help trusting that this omen will have its fulfilment year by year as time goes on. It seems to me to give hope that the new rights which have come after a painful struggle will, on the one hand, be used in Christian forbearance and kindness, and that the exercise of them will, on the other hand, be acquiesced in with dignity and courtesy.

We have spoken, by allusion at least, of Burial Acts and of the grave. There is one grave, beside which the feet of each one of us, as he moves along in life, are constantly passing; the grave that swallows up so much that is precious and so much that is hopeful; the grave that we tread upon at each step, and that still crumbles and yawns beneath our feet—the grave of the past! In this let us hope and trust that much of the estrangement, much of the suspicion, much of the hatred, much of the old wrong between Church and Dissent may be buried; and if from that grave of the past, if from this moment which is now vanishing into the past, we see in the future lines of action which do not converge, which are parallel lines at least in this world, the point at which they converge being so far away in the distance of the age that they never seem to us to be convergent but still parallel, we can at least rejoice in this, that for a moment or two we have met together as brethren in the name of the common Father whom we worship and the Saviour who has redeemed us all, and, as we pass along our several parallel or divergent paths, the memory of this night of fraternal interchange of sentiment will linger in our hearts, and we Churchmen shall go away from Leicester—I am not going very far, but I speak for other members of this Congress—with one added memory to the many pleasant ones that have clustered around our presence here—that this singular and remarkable incident has graced the closing scene of the Leicester Church Congress—that our Nonconformist brethren spontaneously, heartily, and kindly have come here to-night to give us a fraternal greeting, which we cannot forget, which we do not wish to forget, and which we heartily return you in the name of the Lord.

The usual votes of thanks were then passed; and so the Leicester Church Congress ended.

APPENDIX.

THE following speech was received from the speaker, to whom it had been sent in MS. for correction, too late for insertion in its proper place.—It is the speech which is referred to in the foot-note on page 359.

The Rev. STEWART D. HEADLAM, Curate of St. Thomas',
Charterhouse.

I ASK to be allowed to say a few words about Secularism, because, during the last seven years in which I have worked in London, I have been in constant communication with Secularists. I have on Sunday evenings been in the habit of giving short lectures, at which a large number of Secularists have attended, and have given me pretty clearly and plainly their opinions about the controversy between Secularism and Christianity. I most strongly endorse what Mr. Symes has said upon this subject. It seems to me that it is because the Christian Church has not got itself recognised as a society for the promotion of righteousness in this world, that the Secular Society is so strong, and really will be a good deal stronger. The Secular Society exists to declare that it is the duty of man to work to leave this world better than he found it, and that this world demands our utmost care and attention. It does seem to me monstrous that men are able to say that, and yet to think that in saying that they are fighting against Christianity. If, then, we want to get rid of Secularism, we must let people see that the Christian Church is the great Secular Society, that the Kingdom of Heaven, of which Jesus Christ spoke, was not merely a place to which people were to go hereafter, but a Divine Society established in this world. If that were popularly understood, and that we are inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven, and not merely heirs, the Secular Society would not be very strong. I must say that I rather deprecate the word "vulgar," which was applied by one of the speakers to the Secularists. No doubt they are common, hard-working men; but they are just the people we want to get back to the Church, and we shall not do that by speaking scornfully of them. A great many of them do attack the religion of Christianity—but they are chiefly a Society for working well in this world. On that point, I think we ought to combine with them and stand on the same platform. I have often found it my duty—I have been blamed for it a good deal—to stand by the side of Mr. Bradlaugh on the same platform. What is the teaching which the Secularists attack? I can assure you that the three things which Mr. Symes mentioned really cover it. They attack the doctrine of the infallible inspiration of the Bible. It seems to them quite new that that is not the Church's doctrine. When I tell them that, they say it is my private opinion. Therefore, if you want to win them back, let them see that we throw over the doctrine of the infallible dictation of the Bible. Then, again, we should take pains to let them know that there is a great difference between the Church's doctrine of punishment, and what we may call the Calvinistic or Puritanical doctrine of punishment. I think if we do this, it will go a great way towards winning them back. Once more, they confound the Church's doctrine of the Atonement with that special kind of teaching which may be summed up under the name of Substitution. I say, let us show that we can believe in the doctrine of Atonement without holding those special views which collect themselves round what is called Substitution. If some of the clergy would

go to see the Secular Society in this town, I am sure they would learn a good deal of what is meant by Secularism, and would find that the Secularists here are doing a great deal for the good of the people. Let us unite with them. It has been said by one speaker that at the Halls of Science no science is taught. Well, the main work there is not what is called scientific. But I myself have the honour of being president of some science classes there. The statement that there is no science taught at the Halls of Science shows how easily religious people allow themselves to be misled about their opponents. The Secularists do teach science, but they think politics of far more importance.



List of Church Congresses.

DATE.	TOWN.	PRESIDENT.
1861—	Cambridge ..	Archdeacon of Ely (Dr. France).
†1862—	Oxford ..	Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce).
*1863—	Manchester ..	Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Prince Lee).
*1864—	Bristol ..	Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott).
*1865—	Norwich ..	Bishop of Norwich (Hon. Dr. Pelham).
*1866—	York ..	Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson).
*1867—	Wolverhampton	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Lonsdale).
*1868—	Dublin ..	Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Trench).
*1869—	Liverpool ..	Bishop of Chester (Dr. Jacobson).
*1870—	Southampton ..	Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Wilberforce).
*1871—	Nottingham ..	Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Wordsworth).
*1872—	Leeds ..	Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Bickersteth).
*1873—	Bath ..	Bishop of Bath and Wells (Lord Arthur Hervey).
1874—	Brighton ..	Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Durnford).
1875—	Stoke ..	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Selwyn).
1876—	Plymouth ..	Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Temple).
*1877—	Croydon ..	Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait).
1878—	Sheffield ..	Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson).
1879—	Swansea ..	Bishop of S. David's (Dr. Jones).
1880—	Leicester ..	Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee).

† Reprinting with New Preface by the Editor, Rev. T. G. Medd, M.A.

* These reports are out of print; anyone desirous of completing sets or having odd copies for sale should apply to the Publisher, John Hodges, King William Street, W.C.

